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Special Committee on Poverty.
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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 21 - 35

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1970

WITNESSES:

Canadian Federation of Agriculture: Mr. Charles G. Munro, Président;
Mr. David L. Kirk, Executive Secretary. *Vanier Institute of the
Family:* Mrs. A. F. W. Plumptre (Beryl A.) President; Dr. Thomas
J. Ryan, Professor, Carleton University; Mr. Stuart Sutton, Secretary
General.

APPENDICES:

"A"—Brief submitted by the Canadian Federation of Agriculture.

"B"—Brief submitted by the Vanier Institute of the Family.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, February 17, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present; The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Eudes, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*), Pearson and Quart. (9)

In attendance: Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following were heard:

THE CANADIAN FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURE: Mr. Charles G. Munro, President; Mr. David L. Kirk, Executive Secretary.

THE VANIER INSTITUTE OF THE FAMILY: Mrs. A. F. W. Plumptre (Beryl A.), President; Dr. Thomas J. Ryan, Professor at Carleton University; Mr. Stuart Sutton, Secretary General.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

The briefs submitted by the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and by the Vanier Institute of the Family were ordered to be printed as appendix "A" and "B", respectively, to these Minutes.

At 12.30 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.00 a.m. Thursday, February 19, 1970.

ATTEST.

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Charles G. Munro: outstanding dairy farmer from Embro in Oxford County, an area that has won recognition as one of the most highly developed dairying sections in all of Canada.

Born in West Zorra Township, Oxford County, in 1916, Mr. Munro received his formal education in the Embro Public and Continuation Schools.

Charles has expanded the original 100-acre-farm into a modern 500-acre enterprise on which he has developed a fine herd of Holstein cattle. He ships his milk to the Toronto fluid milk market.

Mr. Munro is the immediate Past-President of the Ontario Federation of Agriculture. He was the second man in the history of the OFA to gain three consecutive one-year terms as its leader.

He is also President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, and recently he was named a Vice-President of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers.

Despite the heavy demands of his farming operations, Mr. Munro has always found time to take an active part in church and community affairs.

He is a member of the Session of Knox Presbyterian Church in Embro, a past-president of the Oxford County Federation of Agriculture, a past-president of the Oxford County Holstein Association, a past-president of the Oxford County Soil and Crop Improvement Association, a past-chairman of the Oxford County Whole Milk Producers' Association, and a past master of Thistle Lodge, AF and AM, Embro.

In their earlier years, both Mr. and Mrs. Munro played an active role in Junior Farmer Activities. Mr. Munro is a past-president of the Oxford County Junior Farmers' Association, while Mrs. Munro was, at one time, a member of the executive of the Junior Farmers' Association of Ontario.

Mr. and Mrs. Munro have three proud children.

David L. Kirk: Executive Secretary Canadian Federation of Agriculture and Dairy Farmers of Canada. Born—Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, 1920. High School—Ottawa, Ontario. University —BA (Honours Economics)—University of Sask., 1942.

Joined Saskatchewan Wheat Pool on information and secretarial staff in 1944, where stayed until spring of 1953. Joined Canadian Federation of Agriculture in 1953.

Member: Economic Council of Canada. Canadian Consumer Council.

Chairman: Canadian Council on Rural Development.

Executive Member: Private Planning Association of Canada. Canadian-American Committee. Canadian Economic Policy Committee.

Associations: Agricultural Institute of Canada. Canadian Agricultural Economic Society. Canadian Association for Adult Education.

Stewart Sutton: Born — Coaticook, Que., 1909, married, 3 adult children.

Previous to graduation from the Department of Social Science (now the School of Social Work), University of Toronto, 1933, worked with the Big Brother Movement of Toronto, Toronto YMCA and latter with the Regina YMCA and the Saskatchewan Boys' Work Board of the Religious Education Council.

Following graduation spent a period of study at Hull House, Chicago under the guidance of the late Jane Adams and also with the Institute of Individual Psychology.

Was employed as a social worker with the Protestant Children's Homes, Toronto until 1936, subsequently for some years as Assistant Director of the York County Children's Aid Society and later Director of the Frontenac County Children's Aid Society, Kingston.

From 1942-1946 organized and directed the Directorate of Social Services for the Canadian Army and was briefly seconded to the Department of Veterans' Affairs in Ottawa to advise on the reorganization of its social service section and on medical and psychiatric social services.

1946-1955, Director of the Children's Aid Society, Toronto.

1955, UNICEF Representative in East and Central Africa.

1956, UNICEF Director for the Middle East.

1961, UNICEF Director for Continental Africa.

1963, International Director of International Social Service, Geneva.

January 1966, Secretary General, Vanier Institute of the Family.

Mrs. A. F. W. Plumptre (Beryl A.): attended the Canadian Conference on the Family in 1964 and has been a member of The Vanier Institute of the Family since its formation. She was elected President of the Institute in November 1968, succeeding Dr. Wilder Penfield, the Institute's first president.

From time to time Mrs. Plumptre has served as economic consultant to several federal government agencies—the Wartime Prices & Trade Board, the Tariff Board and the Royal Commission on Coastal Trading.

Formerly a member of the National Industrial Design Council, of the Advisory Council of Consumers to advise the Department of Health and Welfare on matters involving consumer interest pertaining to the Food & Drug Act and the Proprietary or Patent Medicine Act, and of the Canadian Consumer Council. National President of the Consumers' Association of Canada 1961-66.

At present a member of: the Economic Council of Canada and the Ontario Economic Council, and a Director of The Canadian Welfare Council.

Also a member of: the Voluntary Action Committee of the Canadian Association of Adult Education.

Activities in other voluntary agencies have included: Canadian Red Cross, Ontario Board Member Toronto Children's Aid Society, Board Member Ottawa Children's Aid Society, Board Member Ottawa Family Service Agency, Board Member.

Mrs. Plumptre has travelled widely in Canada, speaking to consumer organizations, Canadian Clubs, industrial and union associations and conferences such as The Conference on Social Welfare, The Canadian Conference on Business Education in the Secondary School, The Managers Conference of the Federated Co-operatives, and The Canadian Tax Foundation Conference on The Report of the Royal Commission on Taxation.

Thomas J. Ryan: Born – Montreal, July 9, 1935, Marital Status: Married, two children. Schools: McMaster, Honors B.A., Psychology, 1959. McMaster, M.A., General Experimental Psychology, 1960. Iowa, Ph.D., Child Psychology, 1963.

Professional Experience: 1963-66, Assistant Professor of Psychology, University of Western Ontario. 1965-66, Research Consultant, Children's Psychiatric Research Institute (London, Ontario). 1966-67, Assistant Professor of Psychology, Carleton University. 1967-present, Associate Professor of Psychology, Carleton University. 1969-70, Leave of absence from Carleton to undertake a project for the Economic Council of Canada and The Vanier Institute of the Family. The project involves preparation of a report on "Poverty and Young Children". 1965-present, Journal Abstractor for *Child Development Abstracts*. 1968-present, Editorial Board, *Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science*. Referee for the *Canadian Journal of Psychology* and *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*. Referee for the following Granting Agencies: Ontario Mental Health Foundation, National Research Council, Canada Council. 1968-71, Advisor Council for Family Studies, Algonquin College of Applied Arts and Technology, Ottawa. Chairman, Advisory Committee, Early Childhood Education, Algonquin College.

Publications: (a) in the following journals: *Child Development*, *Journal of Experimental Child Psychology*, *Journal of Comparative and Physiological Psychology*, *Perceptual and Motor Skills*, *Journal of Experimental Education*, *Psychonomic Science*, *American Journal of Mental Deficiency*, *Psychological Bulletin*, *Development Psychology*.

(b) a chapter on learning in a recently published text book entitled, "*Experimental Child Psychology*".

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, February 17, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, this morning we are to hear a presentation by the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. On my right is Mr. Charles G. Munro, President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, and who was recently named a Vice-president of the International Federation of Agricultural Producers. Sitting next to him is Mr. David L. Kirk, Executive Secretary of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the Dairy Farmers of Canada. There are biographical sketches of both these gentlemen in your files.

Mr. Kirk will open the meeting by giving us a run-down of the brief.

Mr. David L. Kirk, Executive Secretary, Canadian Federation of Agriculture: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I shall try to be fairly brief. This is not a long submission to start with, but it makes a number of points that we think are worth making.

The first paragraphs are philosophical in their vein, and the basic point we make is that poverty is no longer a social and economic phenomenon with which we must try to deal, but which will, in fact, continue to exist. We believe that that traditional view of poverty is no longer held by people. Society increasingly is now saying that poverty should not exist. That is new, and is rather profoundly important and revolutionary in the final analysis. I do not know whether this is the impression you have been getting in your hearings, Mr. Chairman, but it is the feeling we have about poverty.

However, we must deal with the problem of poverty, however you may define it—and it is getting a broader definition all the time. We make the point that in programs dealing with poverty you are intervening in people's lives, even though you are trying to help. If you are going to intervene in people's lives then you must make sure that you intervene for the better, and you must make sure that you intervene in a way that treats people with dignity and respect. When you are intervening in people's lives by means of social planning of various kinds then you must do it in a way

consonant with human dignity, and in a way that really helps, and that leaves people with a sense that they have had something to say about their lives.

This is what we mean by participation. We think that this is profoundly important, and we emphasize the aspects of participation without an adequate and open flow of information at all levels and stages of policy development. That is the point we want to make there.

There are two paths to the alleviation of poverty. One might be called welfare programs. That is to say, by provision of goods and services, either private or public, you try to increase the level of material and personal well-being of people. That is direct provision. The second is the developmental concept, that you do not give people anything but you help them make a living better. These are the two basic approaches to poverty. They, of course, inter-relate. Good welfare programs can profoundly affect the development of economic opportunity and successful economic development. Similarly, many programs that have welfare aspects are not purely welfare programs. They are social service programs, such as education and health, going far beyond poverty-stricken people. These kinds of programs inter-relate.

With those few remarks we arrive at the farm policy question in relation to the poverty problem and the situation of farm people. We say and believe it to be true that a great many farmers receive well below acceptable levels of income. There is no proposal known to us for an approach to agricultural policy which is acceptable even to the majority of farmers, much less to the Government, that offers the expectation of a really acceptable level of returns from agricultural production to the large majority of those persons now engaged in agriculture. That is a hard, brutal fact, and one of the main points we wish to emphasize.

There is not sufficient market in relation to our resources and the number of farmers. The current technology does not permit the indefinite continuation of present numbers of farmers on an economically viable basis. At the same time many farmers now in agriculture cannot be expected, realistically, to improve their position through change of occupation in their lifetime. In addition, there are extensive areas of the country where there are farm people who are

boxed in badly by chronically high unemployment rates in alternative employment areas. That is true of Quebec, the Maritimes and other areas. Currently it is true also in the Prairie provinces.

We refer to the agricultural problem, limitations of the market, potentialities for expanding the market. We do know how great the potential is for some products. The producers think we had better stick to the domestic market and plan our production so that at least we have some security in milk, poultry and egg production. This leaves pork, beef, grains and oilseeds where the potential for export is the critical question. In other products there is a real export potential, but with huge question marks about the potentiality for increasing export markets. Overall, the point is that for the poverty question the field of opportunity for the small farmer is contracting and the farmers' legitimate need for security and price stability will likely lead to an increasing degree of planning. Such planning will leave little room for easy assumptions that the solution to the farmers' problems will be to produce in larger and larger quantity and more and more efficiently—that is the way to solve the farm problem. Because every planning proposal means for every person you say can be placed in a good position, that very plan says that another fellow is not going to make it.

That is the tough nature of agriculture planning. We find it very true in the dairy and even in the grain sectors. Many individuals will identify themselves as people for whom there is little or no hope of successful expansion into remunerative commercial production. Their position is going to get worse and worse, rather than better and better. There are many of these people.

In paragraph 22 at page 7 of our submission, we mention some of the variations to be found in personal circumstances. We say that to change the picture significantly for tens of thousands of small producers, for whom there are limited alternatives and for whom you just cannot expect that the industry is a very optimistic place, would involve much more extensive subsidization.

There are two basic areas of policy. One is mobility policy, retaining, re-establishment and all the package of mobility such as alternative employment opportunities. We are all in favour of a massive and very necessary effort in the agricultural field to facilitate agricultural adjustment and the search for new employment opportunity. We want that very much, but our thesis is that it still leaves a significant residual of people who will not and cannot be helped by these programs and who are going to be in an increasingly disadvantaged economic position year by year. There are anywhere from 50,000 to 100,000 of these people in agriculture today. So we must not fool ourselves that we are going to help all these people by retraining, re-establishment and mobility programs, no matter how desirable they are. They

are not in a position to avail themselves of that type of program. It is not known how many there are, but we do know that the numbers are significant.

It is pointed out in our brief that farm policy in the sense of programs cannot be relied on to meet the problems of this sector, but we should not ignore the possibilities of giving marginal help to many of these people. Improvement of farm prices and market can be marginally helpful to the small farmer and very important to him programs of this nature have some advantages, but they have many weaknesses in the sense that they are inaccurate in their incidence. Who needs the assistance and who does not? However, they are inexpensive to administer and they may be only assistance available. For example, it is all very well to say that the small milk producer should not get \$100 or \$200 a year extra for his milk production through the support program. Where else is he going to get that amount of money each year? That is a good question as far as the small producer is concerned. Ultimately we arrive at a proposal for minimum incomes. We recognize the arguments against this and try to deal with them to some extent. We make a point which reverts to the earlier philosophical basis on the question of whether we can afford a minimum income policy. We say that it is an arguable matter. In terms of economic growth and investment needs, a strong argument can be made for the contention that we cannot afford it. The present stance in the country is that taxes are too high. We recognize that. But there will be an increasing credibility gap between those who say we can help and those who say we should help. There is an increasing basic scepticism in society that in this age of modern technology anybody has to be poor, in the traditional sense of the word at least, and if we do not recognize this I think we will get severe social disaffection, because that credibility gap is distinctly there, whatever the economic analysis. That is one of the propositions we put forward. We say there should be a minimum incomes policy. That is where we come on this sector of the farm group, where mobility adjustment, retraining and all that kind of thing cannot do the job.

We think price support programs planned to do that kind of job, to help the smaller farmer—might have some potential. A program of early retirement for farmers, where the land is purchased as part of a land used program, plus a program of helping small farmers, such as are widely used in Europe, so they can obtain a pension, is worth inquiring into.

I hope I have made clear our basic analysis, that developmental programs alone will not meet all the problems of all the farm people now getting into deeper and deeper trouble.

The Chairman: Mr. Munro, have you anything to add or will you wait for questions?

Mr. Charles G. Munro, President, Canadian Federation of Agriculture: At this point, Mr. Chairman, I will wait for the questions. I think Mr. Kirk has given a good summary.

Senator Pearson: I was interested in your brief, but you do not arrive at any cure. This is the problem with agriculture today. There is no cure for any of this poverty in the rural areas, whether it is in the non-farm group or the farm group. To take farmers off the land and retrain them is just to put them in the situation where they are pushed into the cities or towns where there is already this problem; there is no need to shove any more people into the cities, because they already have their problems. Just what would you do in the way of retraining? What have you in mind?

Mr. Kirk: There should be a package of policies to enable a person who wants to to obtain training. That is the minimum, that if somebody wants to he should be able to try to start a new life. There are many people, although by no means all of them, who, if there were policies available to make an adjustment, would be prepared to do so. It must not be assumed that farmers are a totally immobile group who will not change and will not shift. That is not right. The history of the past 20 years shows that; they are a most mobile group.

Senator Pearson: They are shifting on their own at the present time.

Mr. Kirk: They are shifting on their own under the force of attrition largely.

Senator Pearson: Your idea is that they should be retrained before they get away so that they are able to take positions in the city?

Mr. Kirk: There should be less attrition and more help.

Senator Pearson: What do you think of this program of their not leaving the land but going into stock, financing people to go into stock rather than into grain growing? Surely then there will be a flood of beef cattle, dairy cattle, poultry or pork. What will happen? We will very quickly have a surplus in another product instead of in grain.

Mr. Munro: That is clearly a very great concern to many of us, because this will not help the small producer in any event; He will not have the shifting ability; and furthermore he will not have sufficient product to help himself. For the farmer that we look on as economic, this becomes a terrific problem. In

the poverty sense, this is not necessarily the whole problem. Moving into a modern hog operation, for example, requires a considerable amount of money and a lot of know-how. The same can be said of moving into a beef enterprise, in which, depending upon the type of operation, it may be two to four years before any return becomes noticeable to the producer. Any shift taking place there will be relatively slow.

As Mr. Kirk said, poultry, egg, dairy and vegetable producers are very conscious of the domestic market, because they see absolutely no hope of moving into exports, particularly because of dairy subsidy programs which result in dumping dairy products on world markets at absolutely fire sale prices. To embark on exporting poultry and vegetables is to move into with integrated operations, and we are generally at the wrong end of the market, due to our geographical location, to have any advantage.

Senator Pearson: If a small farmer is financed to go into poultry, at the present time he could produce 70,000 to 100,000 eggs a day and flood the local market. This can be done so easily nowadays. It is exactly the same with the hog market. A very few small farmers could flood the local market, and the problem is how to help all the small farmers in a district, because there are more small farmers than big farmers. I do not see how to create a median when they are allowed only so much.

Mr. Kirk: The first thing we say in our brief, which I should like to re-emphasise, is that we know of no agricultural policy that gives an out for everybody now engaged in agriculture. There is no such plan, and the reasons are rooted in the technology and the nature of the market. That is a fact, not an alternative, unfortunately. We wish it was not, because in the farm movement we have been knocking ourselves out for 50 years trying to find some way of beating that fact, but we have not been successful because there is no way to do it.

Senator Pearson: That comes to the only problem you have and that is to dispossess the small farmer of his lands by buying him out and putting him on pension or retraining him for some other kind of work.

Mr. Kirk: We would not put it that way. You have got to improve his opportunities on the economic side and improve the circumstances by some welfare programs, public or private. By private I mean provisions of privately used goods and publicly used services. I do not mean charity versus government. What we are saying is that you have got to do some of that if you expect to deal with that aspect of the poverty problem. It is as simple as that, because there is no other way for some and it would be very wrong to say that you are going to solve the prob-

lem by telling everybody that they must move into town if they are unable to make a living as a farmer. Many of them would be vastly worse off under those conditions.

It is rather a striking statistic that one-third of the total net income of Canadian agriculture is represented by farm produced goods and the imputed rent of farm homes. It shows how very widespread the income earning base is from that sort of income itself, and I think it is very remarkable in this day and age.

The Chairman: Would you please state that again?

Mr. Kirk: Your net income figures—they are aggregate figures for Canada and it is calculated by taking your cash sales and then deducting your expenses and getting the resultant. But also you put in a figure called income in kind, which is added to the cash receipts as a form of income, including goods used on the farm, such as farm wood lot utilization and the imputed rent on farm homes. All of that is one dollar out of every three of net farm income.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have one thing that I want to put into the minds of the committee here. We are talking about farmers who are moving to town. I think that we have a lesson to learn from what happened in the City of Montreal. Montreal, as you know, has the highest unemployment rate across Canada, which I think is between 16 and 20 per cent. You will find that most of these unemployed are farmers.

The Chairman: Senator Fournier, I do not wish to contradict you, but I have not seen any figure other than 8 or 9 per cent.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have seen 16 per cent.

The Chairman: All right.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You will find out that these unemployed people are ones who left their farms in 1965 and 1966 and went to work in Montreal because there was a surplus of work, due to construction at Expo, the new highways and approaches. This was a boom and the farmer could make all kinds of money, but now these people become a problem to the city. This is an example and we should be careful in the future when hiring these farmers who are untrained and unskilled. There was a boom of employment, but only for a short period of time.

I would like to know more about the Canadian Federation of Agriculture. Are all 10 provinces members of this organization?

Mr. Munro: Mr. Chairman, with the exception of Newfoundland, all provinces are members.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): How do you affiliate, through the Department of Agriculture of the local association?

Mr. Munro: We would not go through any Department of Agriculture. This is the farmers' own organization. In each jurisdiction we have a provincial organization run by the farmers in that province. We have, as well, the Dairy Farmers of Canada, an organization established by the federation and the United Grain Growers, which stretch across the three Prairie Provinces and upper B.C. British Columbia. There is also the Horticultural Council, another organization that went back before the days of federation. It represents the fruit growing and vegetable industry. They are also members. That is the basis of our organization.

In the Province of Quebec we have really three strong organizations which form the basis of our membership. We have the L'Union Catholique des Cultivateurs, the Co-operative Federée de Quebec, and the Quebec Farmers' Association which is a group of English-speaking farmers, and I understand they are forming a fairly close alliance with the UCC. This is why we have the word "federation," because it is truly a federation, the same as Canada.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Would you have a rough idea of how many members are in the organization?

Mr. Munro: We do not operate with direct members except in some jurisdictions. The UCC has a direct membership base and in the Maritimes the organizations there operate on a direct membership, but many of our organizations do not necessarily identify their individual members. The scope of our organization, in one way or the other, takes in almost all farmers in Canada. This may seem an anomaly to you, because you are also aware that there is a national farmers union. We could be representing the one and same person through the association of that farmer and the fact that he has laid some money on the line to belong to the national farmers union.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Are the headquarters of the federation in Ottawa?

Mr. Munro: Yes. The address is 111 Spark Street, within sight of this building.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have one more question and then I will pass to somebody else. Your brief mentions little about farm labour. Is that not a problem for the small farmers, that they are unable to get farm labour?

Mr. Munro: I think the problem for the small farmer is that he does not generally want farm labour. Certainly if he operates in a small way, particularly with livestock, then it does become a problem, because he cannot afford to get sick. He cannot have any time off unless he can find someone to pick up the "chores," which is a farm expression. Another anomaly is that the farm labour becomes a problem for the larger economical farmers to get, and this is paradoxical. We have a surplus really of underemployed in one area of the country and we have the mobility to get them to where the jobs and this is becoming a very serious problem. I happen to be a dairy farmer and as President of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture it is necessary that I employ labour. I have always done this because I have never believed in a one-man operation. As I said, you cannot afford to get sick in that type of a situation. I, therefore, developed my own organization so that we could have people working for us enabling us to have time off and live somewhat like the rest of society. One can take holiday and everybody knows that they are going to get one. You can structure your operations so that when Sunday morning comes someone knows they are not going to have to get up at six o'clock and milk the cows. This is a problem in the structuring of agriculture in Canada today.

As a matter of fact, I was at the advisory committee meeting of the Farm Credit Corporation a couple of weeks ago and they were making recommendations for the freeing up of some money to establish some livestock operations in western Canada in the prairie region where the surplus of grains is at a disastrously high level. I said that if you are going to do that, give some thought to the development of not just one man operations but two men operations, whether the one man owns it and the other man works for him. I think it is cruel on the agricultural community that we are structuring on livestock and one man operations, for the reasons I have given.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): This is not exactly the type of labour I had in mind. I had in mind the small farmers who have about ten months out of the year and can go all right on the road but there is a period in the spring where they need help, when they are going to plough up grain in the ground, and there is a period in the fall where the farmer needs additional help, if it is only one person. This is where the problem of the small farmer arises. You cannot get men in the spring or in the fall, with the result that many small farmers have thought it better to give up, because they are getting older in age and they cannot carry on.

Mr. Munro: Mr. Chairman, if I may come back to that, this is part of the transition which has to take place. My concern, from an economic point of view, aside from the poverty problem, is that we do structure depth to our farms, so that our labour force is employed.

As to the labour force on my farm, may have to go a bit faster at certain times of the year, particularly if the weather is catchy in the spring period, but they are fully employed the year round. We structure our farm that way.

This is also the problem on cash crop farming that you mention, that there are high periods of stress. It is also the problem on certain types of crop farming—fruit and vegetables, tobacco. This has a very high seasonal import of labour, so this undoubtedly affects the situation.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Thank you, sir.

Senator Carter: I would like to follow on Senator Pearson's earlier questions. Mr. Kirk has emphasized both in the brief and in his reply to Senator Pearson that there is not one policy, and he has given examples that where you employ one you disemploy another, that you help one and probably put another out of business. Have you broken the overall problem down into segments—the ones which can be helped, on the one hand, the one that has possibilities—and the ones that cannot be helped, on the other hand? Have you devised policies for those that can be helped? Perhaps my question is not clear. You mentioned two divisions of agriculture—one geared to the domestic market and ones that have possibility in foreign or export markets. It seems to me that within those two groups there should be some groups that are not entirely hopeless.

Mr. Kirk: That is right. The Farm Credit Corporation has been the agency most directly involved in the individual decisions in the development of the farm industry as a whole. Their criteria historically has been that no one should be loaned any money unless they can make it economically. Of course, the trouble always with that kind of decision-making is that if you do not have a context of planning of the total economy, this accumulation of individual decisions can result in a situation that changes the basic economic situation that you are going by in the first place in lending the money. That is to say, you can create an excessive demand.

The answer, as far as that part of it is concerned, is "No, we have not got complete answers to that". There are some agricultural sectors where the producers simply do not believe it is worthwhile or desirable to plan in this way or share up the market. The dairy producers, the egg producers, the poultry producers are thinking in terms of sharing the market

in a quite deliberate and systematic way, setting quotas, and then probably have some form of negotiability to that right to market access which allows for adjustment.

The beef producers on the other hand are a long way from any such concept, on the whole. On the whole, they do not believe in that very much, and for reasons that are clear in the beef industry. So there is a wide range of views on that part of it, that is, agricultural planning. In so far as you do plan, then you do of course pinpoint with more precision the limits of the opportunity of the industry for farmers as a whole. You say "this is the market" and then you have some mechanism whereby people get access to that market and under those conditions what happens is that you get a competition for quotas. The worst thing about that policy is that the value of the quotas becomes capitalized. That is the problem. There is no doubt that the farmers as a whole want to move towards more stability in their basic program. I think you would agree, Mr. Munro?

Mr. Munro: Yes.

Mr. Kirk: The historic instability and attrition and waste of human lives is the result of the farmers' blood-letting. There is a blood-letting that takes place in the farm industry, a competitive blood-letting. Farmers are fed up with that. They do not think that is the way to live.

In the circumstances, our basic position has been that we do not think any individual should have to be told that he must not farm. We have never come to that position. He should have opportunities for making alternate choices, and improved opportunities. We have always said that we think that good agricultural policy needs longterm agricultural structuring and adjustment and should have in it a program whereby the government can and will acquire land.

Senator Carter: Regarding the ones that have some economic viability, to what extent is that developed? You say you cannot force farmers to do this or that, and that a lot of individual plans add up to one cancelling out the other. You do not know what the ultimate result would be. To what extent does the individual farmer who is a marginal farmer, develop those plans with an intelligent assessment of what is likely to happen, what income he is likely to get? Or does he go ahead in blind hope, "I will do this anyway and hope to God things will work out". To what extent do you help farmers to band together to help themselves to eliminate chance as far as possible, to have at least some intelligent basis for their activity?

Mr. Munro: I think they are tied to tradition—and I have said this many times to farm meetings. I think they are tied too closely to tradition. It may be that our total society is too tied to tradition.

The innovators are relatively few in number and this becomes part of the total problem, because these people cannot adjust to the technology and may become in many instances unaware of the services that are available. In many instances they took up farming because their fathers were placed in that position through some program—it may have been a Government program of retirement from the army or something else—and they were placed in a location that, geographically, would not lend itself to modern technology in the use of equipment. So long as they were using horses in the irregular shape of their fields and their location was not as highly important factor, as it is today. Even within some of the better areas, geographically, we find those that are tied to tradition.

But my concern, basically, is that we have a program that somehow involves that individual as a person in the program. One of the most notable of our many programs was the ARDA program with which you are familiar. That started out as a philosophy to restructure the rural community. Basically it was to help these kinds of people. But those responsible for that program in the provinces saw it as a program to do physical things. That is not a very good word, but I think I convey my meaning. They wanted to do physical things rather than to involve the individual in the program.

Senator Pearson: In the community program?

Mr. Munro: Yes, rather than involve the disadvantaged individuals. As president of the Ontario Federation at that point in time, I found that we simply could not develop the thesis that it was the individual who was important. Very bluntly, our politicians saw the physical things, because they could stand up on election day and talk about the physical things—the dam that was built to control the flood waters in a river basin and so on. Those sorts of things that had formerly been done in another branch of Government were moved across, but the disadvantaged individuals were not gathered together in a conscientious program. As a matter of fact, I don't think we even had at that point in time sociologists trained to deal with that type of situation. I know in my own organization we had some transformation within the training of our own staff to deal with this situation, and some of those staff people did go across eventually and work for the Government.

Senator Carter: Would you make the same criticism of regional development which has taken over ARDA? Or would you take over the ARDA program?

Mr. Munro: Perhaps Mr. Kirk would like to answer that question.

Mr. Kirk: A couple of mistakes have been made. I am sure that this committee has heard a lot about the economics of optimum resource use, but there is another basic economic proposition which should be kept in mind and that is that you should always assume, in the absence of any other evidence, that an individual is making the best economic adjustment he can in his circumstances. Any other assumption is madness. Right? Now, I don't say that everyone does make the best adjustment possible, but that this is a very sound assumption to start with.

Then it may be asked how we then change the circumstances in order to change the incentives and the responses. It took 20 years to find the answer to that in respect of the programs for developing countries and international technical assistance. It finally sank in that the peasants in middle India, for example, were doing the best they could for themselves as they saw it, and probably as it actually was, and it was necessary to do something to change the rules for them, or change the opportunities, or else nothing would happen.

The same thing is true here. One thing that was not done so far as the small farmer was concerned was to really have any program that changed the package of economical alternatives that he was faced with. Not really. So nothing happened.

Another major mistake we have made was to adopt the idea that, in respect of the people about whom we are talking, they must be changed into something else, and that it is a question of major radical changes in all cases in all circumstances. I don't think it is. All that is necessary in some cases is a quite marginal change. Sometimes \$100 or \$200 or \$300 in one form or another is very important. Especially is it important if you don't have any other program to take the disadvantaged individual out of his circumstances. In that case either he gets the \$100 or he does not, and the \$100 is a lot of money in terms of a net income of \$2,000 or \$2,500.

Senator Carter: So these little subsidies on milk are important to him.

Mr. Kirk: Yes, they are.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, coming from a small agricultural province, Prince Edward Island, and having been born on a farm and feeling quite close to the farmers there, I am particularly interested in this brief. On page 2, paragraph 5, there is an enumeration of programs to help people. In the middle of that paragraph the brief says:

Fourthly, there are real problems in making sure that administrations, beset by many problems and pressures, and the need for internal order and consistency, achieve necessary flexibility and responsiveness in dealing with the people they are supposed to assist.

Is this a question of administration and do you find many cases where administration is to blame?

Mr. Kirk: Administration is to blame, yes. What I should like to make clear here is that that statement should be taken particularly in relation to the sort of listing seen in paragraph 22 on page 7. That is a listing of all the different circumstances—or some of them, at least—which people can find themselves in. There are some alternative income sources that some people adopt; some people are older, some are not; some are in debt, some are not; and so on and so forth. The point is that a perfect program would have a good deal of selectivity and flexibility in it, because of the complexity of the circumstances in which the people with whom you are concerned live. It would be extremely difficult, especially in federal programs, to achieve flexibility and responsiveness in a program that seems tolerable administratively. You need rules, in other words. You need what looks like equity of application in the sense that at least one rule should apply to everybody. But one rule applying to everybody, far from treating everybody alike, may in fact treat everybody differently. One rule does not apply to everybody. This is a basic problem of programs aimed at getting at individual people. I think it is a basic problem, and I don't know any answer to it, except through the participation means. By participation I mean that you ask these people and you work with them and you tell them what is going on and you help them. That does not mean you do anything they say, because it can't work like that. But you are very honest and open about what you are prepared or not prepared to do, and you are willing to reconsider.

Senator Inman: I was thinking of this in the context of and in connection with programs such as NewStart which we have had in operation for the last year and a half or two years in Prince Edward Island. Do you know about that?

Mr. Kirk: Very generally. I am not really thoroughly acquainted with it.

Senator Inman: Under this program an effort is being made to take people off farms that are not very productive, and a great many people are not very happy about it, of course.

However, to continue, on page 3 you mention about the lack of power. You say "it is becoming increasingly clear that one of the hidden causes of continued poverty is a lack of power." What do you mean by that?

Mr. Kirk: I think that is the old question that is so often mentioned these days; too many organizations do not represent the poor, and that in fact the poor are not represented at all. I think it would be fair to say even about our own organization that while we are concerned about the poor, for us to stand up in

a naive sense and say that the basic power base in our organization in terms of representation comes from the very poor in the farm community would be flatly wrong.

Senator Inman: You say they are not given enough power and responsibility. Does that refer to the making of decisions regarding housing or equipment, or what do you mean by that?

Mr. Kirk: When you have a program like NewStart, responsibility can mean that in fact you involve the people concerned so that they make some of the decisions about how the NewStart program works. I think that is what is meant by responsibility. Secondly it means that they are not merely manipulated, and this is where administration comes in again. Participation can be very difficult. You go out to a community and you say "we want to hear what you have to say, and we want to help," but if there is a plan already prepared that really has no potential for real modification in response to the demands made, then everything that is suggested fouls up the basic policy structure and is rejected. Then what you end up doing is trying to sell these people on your policy and you just are not interested in getting a policy from them.

Senator Inman: We have a very strong federation of agriculture in Prince Edward Island and I have in mind, for instance, two farms where the farmers went into a lot of expensive equipment, but after three or four years they were left with practically nothing. They had over-bought themselves. In one instance a farmer had bought two or three heavy tractors and another man bought two combines. Consequently they could not pay for them. These instances come to mind in the context of responsibility and the seeking of advice about this sort of thing.

Mr. Kirk: That is disastrous extension, isn't it? I think there has been a great deal of disastrous extension in the Maritimes.

Senator Inman: Yes, because our farms do not warrant it. We might have two or three farms of 500 acres or so in Prince Edward Island, but the average farm does not run to much more than 200 acres.

Mr. Kirk: I do not really know this, but I have had a suspicion for many years—and this is a personal view—that we have not given nearly enough attention to adapting our technology or finding a technology that can best be adapted to some of these cases you are talking about. What has been done is simply to try to transfer a large farm technology to these medium-sized farms. What you need in fact is a better technology for farms of this size.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): In many cases people like this were advised by experienced salesmen. Here I am not referring just to salesman or equipment, but to salesmen who are experts in agriculture. Being from New Brunswick I know what happens in these cases.

Senator Inman: Then in paragraph 37 in page 10 you speak of the principal alternative that appears to be available, and you mention early retirement for farmers associated with land purchase policies. However, I wonder if this would be beneficial to the individual. We have spoken of this situation before where a farmer was getting on in years and could no longer operate his farm and making him retire. But is this beneficial to him when he has worked all his life on a farm?

Mr. Kirk: Well, if it is not, you must not make him do it in the first place. Of course there must be quite a number of people who, within their physical capacities can maintain production on a very small acreage, and with the retention of their house for the rest of their lives can retain the benefits of that income. However, the cases we are speaking of are where individuals may have a house, but have very little other real income to start with. If you acquire his land and make fairly generous annuity payments in compensation for it, you might be helping greatly. You might very well, it seems to us, save a considerable expenditure of resources in farm production that is not very economical. There are many instances where you could give people who have next to nothing some security and some income and enable them to live in the neighbourhood where they belong and still have their house, garden and maybe a wood lot for the stove. That is the kind of thing we are thinking of.

Senator Inman: I am in full agreement with that because some of these people when they move away from the farms and into the towns are very unhappy.

Mr. Munro: Mr. Chairman, there is another aspect that we should keep in mind. If there is such a program, you not only help these people by leaving them in their houses and leaving them in the communities that they know and are content in, but you do something else as well; that is you stop the next generation by the purchase program from getting into an even worse position on that piece of property trying to eke a living from agriculture on a diminishing base in our technology.

Senator McGrand: The first question I want to ask relates to page 8 where you refer to the development of new employment opportunities in rural areas. Before dealing with that, however, I have another question to ask. Is there an over-production of butter or

the danger of an over-production of butter in Canada?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, more butter is being produced in this current dairy year in Canada than is being consumed.

Senator McGrand: I understand that this situation is general throughout the world, is that right?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, it is pretty general. Ours is just a drop in the bucket compared with the total surplus.

Senator McGrand: And I understand that in Britain, Holland, Belgium, Norway and in European countries generally they do not produce enough food for themselves. I understand there is no European country producing enough food for itself.

The Chairman: France does, doesn't it?

Senator McGrand: There is no European country producing enough food for itself, so there is a chance to import Canadian food. However, the agriculture in those countries is protected. They produce and sell what they have, and then, what they do not have, they can import. So, Canadian agricultural products going into those countries are going into a market that is sort of loaded against them, are they not?

Mr. Kirk: Right.

Senator McGrand: That is one of our big problems.

What is the future in these small areas, the small farms, the six-o'clock-in-the-morning-every-day-of-the-week farms, and this sort of thing? What is the future of co-operative action where small farmers can pool their livestock, and so on, and put them into a large compound with all the technical equipment, and can do a real job which they cannot afford to do individually? I do not mean that they give up their jurisdiction over it, but they have community planning. What is the possibility of developing that in these problem areas?

Mr. Kirk: I think the potentialities are very great, just as they have been in the past, except for one problem. That is that Canadian farmers and people generally do not have and do not want to acquire social skills involved in that kind of co-operative.

Senator McGrand: It is a question of teaching them. You will not do it with the man 60 years of age, but you can with people in their thirties. I thought this was one of the things ARDA was going to do.

Mr. Kirk: Broadly speaking, I think it is true to say—except to a limited degree in Saskatchewan, for a period—that there has never been any real govern-

mental support to the co-operative philosophy of farming. The Co-operative Union of Canada has tried to push it, but the difficulty is due to the fact that farmers have not been exactly complaining bitterly day in and day out about it, they are not all that enamoured of the idea themselves.

The Chairman: Are you not the greatest individualists we have in Canada?

Mr. Munro: Can we answer this another way? The only successful one I know of works on a different basis, it is social and religious—the Hutterites; but there you have a different philosophy of life completely. Our hope of developing that in the rest of the economy, I am afraid, is not very great. Unfortunately, from my point of view, I think we are moving the other way.

Mr. Kirk: I wish it could happen; it would be wonderful.

Senator McGrand: You are from Ontario and know Ontario well. What are your problem areas? Eastern Ontario—I have heard so much about it—the Bruce Peninsula, the Muskoka area, are they the areas where it is most difficult to keep agriculture alive?

Mr. Munro: Frankly, it is those areas where the geographic base for agriculture is limited due to thin soil—Prince Edward County has thin soil and is droughty—due to a shallow base and high rock level, and it would get little rainfall in the summertime. Then there are the irregular shaped fields of those areas traditionally. But interspersed through the rest of the country we do have problem areas.

Senator McGrand: Having asked those introductory questions, will you answer the one on page 8 concerning the development of new employment opportunities in rural areas? What does that mean?

Mr. Kirk: The Department of Regional Economic Expansion will tell you it means nothing. They tried it and it is not a viable way to go at it. Broadly speaking, as I understand it, the philosophy of the new department is that they had better concentrate on the larger growth centres in disadvantaged regions, because they are not going to create widely dispersed new employment opportunities in small centres.

It must be admitted that in the ARDA program, although it was an early objective of the program to create a widely dispersed economic base, in terms of small processing plants, tourist development opportunities, farm vacations and all kinds of things, it just has not worked out that way. All we are saying is that we are not really convinced that there are not real opportunities there, if we went at it better.

Senator McGrand: What happened to ARDA?

Mr. Kirk: The bulk of the actual money, apart from research money, was spent in soil and water development projects which, broadly speaking, were not relevant to these very small farmers. That is the shortest, simplest answer.

Senator Carter: I thought the underlying principle of ARDA was better utilization of land resources. If land was being put to a certain use, if it could be better utilized for a woodlot or building houses, I thought the idea was to change the use of the land.

Mr. Kirk: Yes, and there has been a certain development of reforestation and some things like that, including community pastures. It would be very wrong to say nothing was done under ARDA. A great deal was done, but they were not employment development programs, on the whole; they were resources programs, as you have pointed out. These simply did not impinge on very large portions of the population, and I do not think there was enough intensified on-the-spot, on-the-ground search and exploration for that kind of opportunity.

I can find people in this country who still say that huge opportunities, not making \$1 million but for a little help and better employment and better use of resources, are being neglected because there is not sufficient detailed attention on the ground to working with people in that area, so money flows in easily and rapidly if the case is made, in small amounts, if necessary. People still say that there is still a great potential there.

I wish I could be much better informed about it. It is a big subject, but we are saying we think you should not totally neglect those possibilities yet and that you should still work to them.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Who are the people who are saying those things? I think this can reflect on ARDA too. Who are the people who were going to New Brunswick with a great big program and trying to sell ARDA? Were they qualified; did they know what they were talking about?

Mr. Kirk: I really cannot answer that question. In principle, the federal Government established the framework for policy-making and the provinces made the policy. It did not work quite this simply. The very existence of the federal policy put a lot of pressure on the provinces to act. I do not know who the people are. It is a very complicated process and I do not think you could pin them down. I think the New Brunswick Government wanted to do something and tried to, and they had this federal opportunity.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I cannot agree with you, and we are certainly not going

to get into an argument. They were not provincial, but federal employees.

The Chairman: I have just two questions. If maintenance income is accepted, is there to be a differential between rural and urban groups?

Mr. Kirk: I think that that is a matter that should be discussed in very great detail. It would depend upon the level, to start with. For instance, if you had a low level of income as a matter of general policy, and it was a recognized part of that policy that you would have to supplement that income in many areas, then that is one thing...

The Chairman: But, Mr. Kirk, it would not make any sense to put in a maintenance income if it did not meet the needs of the people. If you are going to have to supplement it then it is not maintenance income, is it?

Mr. Kirk: Let us take this negative income tax proposal. It is quite clear that there are some families in some urban locations where the maintenance of their income at the level of the income tax exemption would not suffice.

The Chairman: But, take the level mentioned by the Economic Council. This morning one of our great political parties made a declaration of policy in which it said: "We are opposed to income tax for people who are below the poverty line as defined by the Economic Council." That is an important declaration. In the light, of that statement would you have a variation between the rural and urban areas. That is my question. Perhaps you would think about that for a moment. My next question concerns the credibility gap in respect of which you said the question is: "Can we, or can we not?" What is your view?

Mr. Kirk: My view is that we had better move fairly rapidly towards doing it.

The Chairman: We must be able to afford it, or we should not get into it. Is that what you said?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, that is what I said.

The Chairman: Let us get into it quickly.

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Senator Carter: Does Mr. Kirk mean that the longer we wait the less we shall be able to afford it?

The Chairman: I hope not.

Mr. Kirk: Let me answer your first question in this way: It is undeniable that individual circumstances

differ in respect of maintenance incomes. That is undeniable. If the thing was based upon criteria that did not create more injustices than it eliminated—well, it is an administrative problem again. I would want to know exactly what you mean by “some areas” and “some persons” with respect to differentials. I would not be against differentials in principle.

The Chairman: I did not suggest a differential, Mr. Kirk.

Mr. Kirk: I thought you did.

The Chairman: No, I asked if you were in favour of a differential. If you have read our record then you will know that we are not for it. At least, we have not indicated that we are for it.

Mr. Kirk: I see.

The Chairman: Dr. MacEachen, and Professor Eagleson, whom we heard a short time ago, were very emphatic about there being no differential. You are another group with an agricultural background, and I wanted to ask you that same question. With respect to the credibility gap, they were also of the view that we can afford it, and we ought to get on with it. You agree with that?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, I do.

The Chairman: And that is your view as well, Mr. Munro?

Mr. Munro: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, you have asked the question I was going to ask about the differential. My other questions are very brief. All the references have been made to people who own farms, but nothing has been said at all about the people who are farm labourers. They do not belong to your organization, of course, but you must have a closer association with them than we have. I wonder whether there is any future for that sort of people. Is it possible that they could be trained to become experts in their fields?

Mr. Munro: I think I can answer that question. Those who are in that field now generally get to be experts. Certainly those who work for me are experts. You do not find those people in the areas that we are concerned about in respect of poverty. Those that I know have a good income because they have complete mobility. They can move to good jobs, and the farms that employ farm labour are generally those types of operations that have scale enough that they can pay a decent wage. In all fairness, I do not think these people are suffering.

If I can use a personal example, I know a man who worked for me for twelve years, and he has now retired because he has got to that time in life when he has had a slight heart attack. The man who is following him has been with me for ten years, and he is still only 32 years of age, and is married with a young family. He commands a good wage by anyone's standard in the labouring field, because he is not only a labourer but he has management responsibilities.

These people are in a good position, and there is a crying need among the economic farm units for this type of people who have these skills.

Senator Fergusson: Could we not train more people to fill that need?

Mr. Munro: That is a good question, because some of us are not able to find people with these skills within Canada, and we have to reach outside Canada and bring people in from other countries. This is something in regard to which there has not been a conscientious program in Canada. In the United Kingdom the people that form the basis of the work force on the farms have a great deal of stability, and that stability comes from their early training.

The Chairman: Does Manpower enter into this in any way?

Mr. Kirk: Manpower does.

Senator Fergusson: Does Manpower give some training?

Mr. Kirk: Yes, they do have some programs of farm training, but I do not know that they are as well developed as they should be. There is an increase in demand among farmers for such people.

Senator Fergusson: But we have people who want to work, and this is something that they can be trained to do.

Mr. Kirk: Yes, I think we should look at that very intensively.

Mr. Munro: This is an anomaly in our times, because we have those who are disadvantaged and those who need help, yet although the Department of Manpower and Immigration is involved I do not believe that they are doing an adequate job.

Further to that, I know that in my own Province of Ontario in order to take care of this the provincial Government inaugurated a program because of the inadequacy of the federal one. In my opinion this is ridiculous.

Senator Fergusson: How is it working in your province?

Mr. Munro: Trained labourers are recruited in Europe.

Senator Fergusson: Further to what Senator McGrand said about the employment opportunities in rural areas, why can we not develop Canadian handicrafts in rural areas? For instance, we have beautiful woods, so why can we not manufacture Canadian furniture? Is this not one opportunity that might give employment to people living in rural areas? I do not mean furniture alone, but various other articles.

Mr. Kirk: There is one shop in Ottawa which manufactures traditional type furniture in a relatively small way. It has been very successful and perhaps could be expanded.

Senator Fergusson: I do not mean luxury type products. It could be kitchen chairs and a great many ordinary items made from our wonderful lumber. I wonder if this has been tried and whether it would work?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): The people who have the ability to do that have no money, so you are right back where you started.

Senator Quatt: I have heard arguments for and against guaranteed annual income. I hope this question will not embarrass you. Would your group be in favour of a guaranteed annual income?

The Chairman: Yes, they said so in the brief.

Senator Quatt: I have not had a chance to read the brief.

The Chairman: They are very emphatic about it. The question also arose as to whether the country could afford guaranteed income. They are of the opinion that we can afford it and should get on with it right away.

We are going to have a member of our staff contact Mr. Kirk to see what further information he can provide in relation to the European experience of purchasing farms, leaving people on them and giving them an annuity or allowance. Mr. Kirk, you have literature and knowledge on that subject.

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

The Chairman: Our staff will speak to you with regard to this at some time immediately after the hearing. Will you provide the information to them?

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Senator MacDonald: I have been a member of the Federation of Agriculture of Prince Edward Island for many years, and I would like to deal with the diffi-

culties in the farming population. I had a very good friend there, J. Lincoln Dewar, who died a few months ago. I am sure you must have known him.

Mr. Kirk: Yes.

Senator MacDonald: In 1935 the Farm Loan Board was revamped and put into operation with branches throughout the country. The limit of the loan then was \$6,000. Anyone who was in debt had to possess sufficient physical assets to secure a loan. We also had another organization, known as the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act under which, if a farmer owed \$5,000, both secured and unsecured liabilities, and the appraiser found that he was not competent to meet his payments, he could recommend a loan and refer him to the Farmers' Creditors Arrangement Act. In some cases the Supreme Court heard the application.

The Chairman: Senator MacDonald, would you mind getting to the question. We are running short of time.

Senator MacDonald: This is information which I am sure the members of the committee would like to hear about the cause of many of the difficulties in farming communities.

Some years ago the Government raised the amount of the loans to \$40,000, but an applicant had to have sufficient physical assets to secure it. I have been informed that many people received big loans and are now so badly loaded down with debt that they are ruined. That is one of our troubles. Another fact which I will mention more especially for those who do not farm is that a few years ago the Government saw fit that in the purchase of a tractor, for instance, a certain percentage was paid as a down payment and the remainder loaned by the bank. That was fine, but pay day generally comes around and here is where the difficulty started. Some farmers would buy too much machinery on that basis. That is one of the factors that has caused much of the difficulty. In addition, some of these people would borrow from finance companies in order to settle their debts, paying 16 or 20 per cent interest on the loan, thus going into debt again.

I am not asking you to answer this unless you wish to do so. Do you think that any of these factors have been the cause of difficulties?

Mr. Kirk: In individual cases probably people have got overloaded with credit in relation to their ability to earn an income from it. That kind of thing is not really the basic nature of the agricultural problem, which is the fundamental economic situation of increasing productivity and limited markets.

Mr. Munro: These are not the people who we are concerned with in this brief. We are thinking of people

who are not able and never have been able to even borrow money, because they had no real equity.

Senator Pearson: You are referring to the scarcity of markets. Given a little assistance a small farmer could produce more than the market would stand. Do you think we in this country should start working on a basis of scarcity rather than plenty, and that the guaranteed income should fill the gap?

Mr. Kirk: Farmers are all in favour of working on a policy of plenty, provided they can get paid. It is as simple as that. They are congenitally inclined to produce plenty; they do it all the time. Their problem is that they do not get paid enough for it. The small farmers that we are talking about do not contribute a large proportion of the total production, and the kinds of things we are suggesting will not significantly increase that proportion. The surplus problem does not arise primarily in this group.

Senator McGrand: It seems to me that when we discuss these things it is always suggested that people in rural Canada should be trained for jobs in industry in the urban areas.

The Chairman: That is not what he said.

Senator McGrand: That suggestion seems to go on and on. About ten years ago, when a Senate committee studied the manpower problem, there was a report that in this technological age people would have to be trained three or four times during their lifetime for new jobs, that so many million jobs must be found by 1970 and so many million jobs must be found by 1974. It is frightening to contemplate where these job opportunities will come from if we continue to try to take people out of the rural areas and train them to live in the large cities. If you were given an amount of money to look after somebody, where would you prefer to keep him, in the country or in the city? In the country where taxes pay the rents or in the city where rents are high? In the country, where he can grow a certain amount of his own food? Would you answer that question for me? To me that is important.

Mr. Kirk: First of all I would ask the man what he wants to do, and then I would work out the best way with him.

Senator McGrand: Say you have a certain amount of money. It seems to me better to pay these people to stay where they are than to spend money training them.

Mr. Kirk: The central point in this brief is that, as you say, there are a great many people for whom you will not meet the problem by talking about mobility,

manpower and resettlement. That is the central point in our brief.

The Chairman: Perhaps, senator, you would not mind my saying this. I think the committee might be interested. One of the significant things that has happened as a result of the old age security supplement is that these people have not moved to the city or to more urban areas, that there has been a significant movement of older people from urban areas into smaller areas, where the money goes further. From our point of view, that is a very important statistic, which I saw recently, on which we will shortly have some evidence.

Senator McGrand: That is why I asked that question.

The Chairman: May I, on behalf of the committee, say to you, Mr. Munro and Mr. Kirk, that you have presented a very interesting brief. It had much of philosophy and a great deal of realism. It was a thoughtful brief on your part, it was helpful to us, and we are very appreciative.

Mr. Munro: Thank you very much. Thank you for hearing us.

The Chairman: We now have a brief presented by The Vanier Institute of the Family. On my immediate right is Mrs. Plumptre, who is very well known to all of you, and you have her curriculum vitae in the record. Next to her is Thomas J. Ryan, a professor at Carleton University, and Mr. Stuart Sutton, who is Secretary General of the organization. Mrs. Plumptre will make an opening statement to cover the highlights and then questioning will commence.

Mrs. A. F. W. Plumptre, President, The Vanier Institute of the Family: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, The Vanier Institute of the Family wishes to thank you for this opportunity to present our submission, and to express to you our concern regarding the large number of Canadian families now living in poverty. We also wish to commend your chairman and the members of the Senate for their quick response to the suggestion of the Economic Council that the Senate "might consider the advisability of creating a committee to inquire into the problem of poverty in Canada". The evidence submitted to your committee and your deliberations will, we hope, strengthen the determination of Canadians to respond actively to the call of the Economic Council "for a national commitment to move towards the elimination of poverty."

In examining the evidence submitted to your committee and other studies, we have been interested in a particular theme which has been discussed in a number of these documents—the influence of the in-

stitutions in our society on poverty and the biases against the poor which exist in various institutions. We have been struck by the persistence of this theme of institutional and institutionalized discrimination. In our submission we have suggested a hypothesis which, if fully substantiated, could help not only to explain poverty, but to indicate definite lines for policy and action for the eventual elimination of poverty in Canada. We have taken this approach because we believe that the process of formulating and testing such hypotheses is going to be essential to the further development of effective anti-poverty policies. It is our hope that the theory of poverty we present and the questions we raise will be further examined and tested by your committee and your staff, and that it will, like other theories of poverty, generate wide debate.

The hypothesis which we submit for discussion is that there is in our society pervasive discrimination against low-income people—discrimination which, consciously or unconsciously, permeates the policies of most of our major institutions. Through this discrimination the poor are excluded from the broader social and economic participation which is open to others. It is the exclusion of low-income people, when this exclusion is not voluntary on their part, which we define as the essence of poverty.

The social and economic environment, a product of the attitudes and activities of the whole society, is embodied in large measure in social institutions. We have families and communities and governments, we have churches and clubs in abundance, we have markets for labour and for products, we have school systems and political parties. A close examination of the policies of at least the major institutions would be necessary to test the hypothesis that there is pervasive institutional discrimination against the poor. We have not undertaken such a test, but we have drawn together some of the readily available evidence presented in testimony to your committee or in the results of recent research in Canada. The cumulative effect of this evidence, to us at least, indicates that a full and searching examination and documentation of the way many institutions function is urgently needed. To us, this preliminary evidence suggests that this hypothesis of institutional discrimination might go a long way towards explaining how poverty is created and sustained in an affluent society.

It might also help to explain the difference between the characteristics of the poor and the non-poor. If the risk of becoming poor through income-interruption is greater at low levels of income, and if the poor are functioning in an environment in other ways less receptive or more hostile than that of the non-poor (to a degree which cannot be explained simply by the lower relative incomes of the poor), then, given equal effort and skill on the part of

both, a poor man can expect to achieve less success in any given endeavour.

The experience of less success or more frequent failure will affect attitudes and expectations. It could affect school leaving age. It could affect employability. A relatively harsher environment could further reinforce disadvantage and discrimination as the individual and the environment interact. Is there evidence to suggest that this indeed is happening in our society? Is there evidence that some of our citizens live in a Canada Minor where they are not merely poor but where the very fact of their poverty serves to keep them poor?

Our brief examination of the evidence relating to the policies of some of our major institutions indicates that the form of discrimination which had the most serious effect within the whole institutional structure is the discrimination associated with unemployment. Low-income workers also experience discrimination in other ways, such as lack of information on jobs, lack of training and adequate counselling, and earnings too low to support a family at an acceptable standard of living. But the most discouraging is that resulting from unemployment. The unskilled marginal worker, the old and the very young worker, these are the people who suffer most from income interruption. Although least able to bear it, they are the first persons to feel the burden of unemployment when restrictive policies are necessary to maintain price stability. Can poverty be eliminated if steps are not taken to shield the poor from the full brunt of maintaining price stability?

As we have pointed out in our submission, the poor also experience discrimination through policies of other institutions. As consumers, it is not simply the difficulty of having less purchasing power. Less information, more fraud, higher prices associated with small quantity purchases, lack of transportation for family shopping, and many other elements enter to reduce further the real income that their limited dollars represent. Moreover, consumer problems for poor families may be particularly serious because they can affect income-earning ability quite directly. Access to credit, to health services and information (especially on nutrition and family planning), to transportation, to education and to various forms of public services are especially significant. Discrimination against the poor by such institutions as supply these goods and services could have grave consequences.

Here, honourable senators, I wish to draw your attention briefly to two of these areas of discrimination which we have discussed more fully in our submission—consumer credit education. Consumer loans are made partly on the basis of an applicant's assets but chiefly on the stability of his income. A marginal unskilled worker who has few assets and who has a high risk of income interruption through unemployment, has more difficulty securing credit

than workers with more assets and regular income. This inability to secure credit may and often does cause severe hardship for families of such a worker. It may even result, and often does, in forcing him out of his job.

But this policy which discriminates against the poor could also be economically wasteful. If credit worthiness rather than the probable productivity of the loan is the basis for issuing consumer credit, and if, on this criterion, a poor applicant is refused credit for purposes such as further training for himself or for more education for his children—that is for investment in human capital—then society loses as well as the applicant. The Special Joint Committee on Consumer Credit recommended that loans to the poor should be guaranteed on the grounds of equity. We would add to these grounds those of economic productivity. The contention that “red convertibles” should not take precedence over loans to the poor for productive purposes is an argument supportable on grounds both of equity and efficiency. This is an argument of particular importance at a time when restrictions on consumer credit are being considered. Reducing availability of consumer credit irrespective of its proposed use would clearly be discriminatory against the poor as well as economically wasteful.

With respect to education the evidence to support an hypothesis of discrimination is very strong. Dr. Ryan of Carleton College is here to discuss with you the results of research to date which indicate that the experience of a very young child in a deprived environment may so affect its future development that it may never develop its full potential. This is the area where the Economic Council of Canada and the Vanier Institute are jointly sponsoring further research.

Within the school system itself, the system takes a large toll of children from low-income families. Their progress tends to be slower, their grades lower, and their drop-out rate higher than that of their classmates from non-poor homes. Those children from low-income families who persist in the school system are also much less likely to continue their education than are children from non-poor families. Higher education in this country still requires some substantial commitment of personal resources, and also some evidence, for admission, of good past performance. Both may be particularly difficult for the student from a poor family to provide.

Honourable senators, you have already received testimony indicating the discrimination which many of the poor experience in regard to housing, and to which we have drawn your attention in our submission. We cannot stress too strongly the disrupting effect of dilapidated houses, overcrowding, lack of heat, of adequate sanitary facilities and of privacy on

family life. It is a sad commentary on our society that only in recent years has there been evidence of a serious public commitment in Canada to provide better homes and a better environment for poor citizens. The gross inadequacy of the provision of public housing units in the past is a matter of record. Even though housing for low incomes is now, for the first time, forming a really significant proportion of new housing construction there is still no reason for complacency either regarding the supply of housing for families living in poverty, or in the administration of these units.

Most regrettable is the discrimination which the poor experience under our system of justice. It would be difficult to defend the view that all Canadians feel equal before the law. It would also be difficult to maintain that the poor do not experience discrimination in the enforcement of the law and its daily application to their lives. Evidence indicates discrimination through the system of administering family law, through the high cost of divorce proceedings and the application of reciprocal enforcement of maintenance orders under various provincial legislations.

The poor do not understand their rights under the law, nor do they always have the resources to fight for these rights or to protect their interests. Legal aid in some provinces, especially in Ontario, offers some help, but is only touching the tip of the iceberg and still not assisting those who are submerged. Until the poor have assistance in understanding the law and knowing their rights they will continue, not without reason, to regard the law not as a protection of their rights but as a source of injustice.

For many years there has been considerable debate regarding the need for reform of our tax structure. This is not the time to discuss the Federal Government's proposals for this reform, but we would like to raise some questions which indicate the need for a system more equitable for the poor. Why, for example, have we tolerated a policy which places a higher proportional burden of taxation on those with low incomes than those with higher incomes? Why do we favour those with high incomes by accepting the principle of permitting exemptions from incomes rather than giving tax credits? Why is there no provision permitting the deduction of expenses incurred by an employee in earning wages? Why is a deduction not permitted for child-care expenses when both or the only parent is working? And in relation to the fiscal policies, why are those who are excluded from the Canada Pension Plan and Unemployment Insurance predominately the poor?

Information systems constitute one of our social institutions. Much of the available information is vital to the efficient performance of individuals and families in labour markets, consumer markets or capital markets. Much of the vital information does not reach

the poor. Often, mainly through lack of facility in reading, the poor are not aware of many occurrences or opportunities which could be helpful to them in their roles as workers, consumers, parents etc. Are we failing in our responsibility to the poor by not developing and using radio and television in a more informative, creative and educational way?

All this preliminary evidence indicates strongly to us that the current policies of our institutions may be maintaining poverty in Canada or at the very least delaying its elimination: it also indicates that to the degree the poor have characteristics which differ from those of the non-poor, some part of this difference is likely to be attributable to the unpleasant experiences they have accumulated in the environment in which they live. Alienation from society constitutes a rational response to an environment in which they experience insecurity of income, social exclusion, non-participation and physical deprivation. To ask them to change in the absence of environmental change is to ask for irrationality on their part.

No anti-poverty policies which aim to change the individual without changing the environment in which he functions are likely to succeed in eliminating poverty. To be fully effective, these policies must change the policies of all our institutions which discriminate against the poor. This calls for a careful and systematic examination of these institutions, and the involvement in anti-poverty policies of all those responsible for the policies of these institutions. Since institutional change does not require additional resources but a re-allocation of existing efforts and the re-thinking of existing priorities, important anti-poverty policies can be undertaken even at a time when the overall demands on the economy cannot be increased for fear of generating further inflation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

At this point it must be stressed that the most important factor for the elimination of poverty is the rate of growth of the economy and the provision of jobs through his growth. But the experience of recent years when our economy has grown and expanded indicates that growth alone will not solve the problem of poverty. The majority of Canadian families and individuals have benefited from the increasing affluence of our society, but many members have been left behind in poverty suffering from inadequate incomes and an inadequate standard of living.

We have submitted for debate the hypothesis that the essence of poverty is the exclusion of the poor from the broad social and economic participation in our society which is open to others. In other words, because of the pervasive discrimination in the policies of our major institutions, the poor are unable to lift themselves and their families above the poverty line, and so remain in poverty.

1. If we are fully committed to eliminate poverty from our society then a strong central agency responsible for the direction and co-ordination of anti-poverty policies should be established. This organization would involve not only those responsible for anti-poverty policies of governments at all levels, but also those responsible for the policies of our institutions.

2. This agency would be responsible for the direction of a study in depth of the policies and structure of our major institutions to ascertain the extent to which these institutions exclude the poor from social and economic participation in our society.

3. In the near future, the Federal Government will be announcing new policies on taxation and social security. These policies should be carefully examined to ensure that any recommended policies and actions should not continue discrimination by these institutions against the poor. In the case of taxation policies, assessment should be made to ensure that any regressive measures more burdensome to lower groups should be avoided.

The social security policy should ensure security of income, tied to fluctuations in the cost of living, to those persons who cannot earn adequate incomes. This income should be sufficient to provide an acceptable standard of living for these individuals and their families.

4. Accepting the thesis that the poor do not lack the motivation to work, we maintain that the most devastating discrimination against the poor is the lack of opportunity for regular employment which will provide sufficient earnings to keep a worker's family at an acceptable standard of living. Those who wish to work should have the right to work. To adopt a policy which forces a worker out of his job, and to offer him welfare rather than another job when he wants to work is an insult to his human dignity. This principle—the right to work—has particular importance at the present time when restrictive policies are aiming to secure price stability. The burden of unemployment is falling on those least able to bear it—the unskilled and marginal workers, the old worker and the very young worker. Statistics of unemployment should indicate the level of unemployment among these workers as compared with that of skilled workers.

Are we as citizens fully accepting our responsibilities for the social effects of our economic policies? When jobs disappear, incomes of the unemployed are partially maintained through unemployment insurance payments, or failing these through welfare payments. Are we willing as citizens to continue policies which discriminate against a large proportion of our population, are costly to us as taxpayers and ignore the opportunity of increasing productivity in areas where we are demanding increased production—such as more hospitals, better services, better housing and other facilities? Is it more costly to society to use

human resources productively than to maintain them on welfare payments? Are our welfare policies closely associated with those who could organize the production of services and better public facilities need by society? Why is there an entrepreneurial gap between the worker on welfare and possible productive employment? Are governments and industry making available sufficient training facilities for workers whether they need additional basic education or training in work skills, so they will be able to meet the requirements of jobs in productive employment? Do we lack the imagination, intelligence, courage and determination to guarantee jobs for all those who desire them?

These are questions we must face if we are really determined to eliminate poverty and to enable all citizens to participate fully in our social and economic environment. To remove the basic causes of poverty rather than ameliorating the problems of the poor demands the involvement of all sections of the community, government and non-government.

Honourable senators, you have accepted a most important challenge. You are fortunate to have a chairman who in the past has accepted many challenges which he has met with constructive ideas and recommendations. We are sure your report will be no exception in this regard. We look forward to this report which we hope will make Canadians realize fully both our responsibilities and the action we must undertake for the removal of the canker of poverty from our society.

Proféssor Thomas J. Ryan, Associate Professor, Carleton University: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, this portion of the brief has focused upon the children who are growing up under conditions of poverty, of whom there are approximately 1½ million in Canada. For these children, poverty is to be considered not so much in terms of economic deprivation, but more in terms of the physical and experiential deprivation commonly associated with economic deficit.

There are two introductory statements which I would like to make. First, there is sufficient evidence to indicate that a child's physical, cognitive, and social development is largely determined by conditions experienced during the first five years of life. Second, any program designed to combat poverty and the effects of poverty will not attain maximum success unless there is included a means of providing infants and young children with adequate cognitive and social stimulation, as well as physical care.

The most visible evidence comes from assessing school performance. Children from low socio-economic groups reach a deficit in school performance in grade 1 which becomes relatively worse throughout the school years. Certainly, part of the problem stems

from "middle class" school systems attempting to serve "every class" children. But there is more to it than that. Measures of physical, intellectual, language, and certain aspects of personality development, all of which are positively related to academic achievement, reveal that children from lower socio-economic groups perform more poorly than children from higher socio-economic backgrounds.

Much is known about the causal factors behind these poor performance levels. For example, inadequate nutrition during pregnancy and the first few years of life is related to infant mortality and morbidity, physical development and capacity to learn, and the knowledge of and the capability of providing nutritional requirements varies considerably across socio-economic groups. Intellectual development is a function of early learning experiences; the provision of such experiences differs markedly between socio-economic groups. Language is largely learned through parental rewards and through imitation of adults. Parents from lower socio-economic groups are not prone to reward verbal behaviour nor do they provide a good model for speech development. Achievement motivation is positively related to socio-economic status as well as to academic success, and lower-class as compared with middle-class mothers are less likely to encourage and reward achievement-oriented behaviour.

Based upon the data from longitudinal studies, curves of growth and development lead to the generalization that a child's development does not progress in equal units per unit of time. Periods of rapid growth tend to be in the early years of life followed by periods of less and less rapid growth. This differential rate of growth with time is important to note because the importance of the influences which affect growth and development is likely to be far greater in the period of rapid development of a characteristic than in a period of less rapid development.

The results of investigations which have manipulated the early childhood environments of disadvantaged and retarded children are indeed encouraging. The beneficial changes in the intellectual performance of children, as a result of having experienced an effective intervention program, should be sufficient to arouse the attention of Canadian governmental bodies. While advocating the benefits of environmental stimulation during early childhood, it is fully realized that the timing and type of intervention as well as its long-term effects are not fully known and are in need of extensive research.

In Canada, research programs for disadvantaged children are sparse, uncoordinated and undersupported. Each program stands on its own when, without too much effort, an integrated program of research making better use of present resources could more efficiently gather the information needed. We should no longer allow the provision of early child-

hood experiences and the evaluation of their effects to proceed in a haphazard manner. Integrating the sources of financial support would facilitate the development of a research policy, promote the development of urgently needed longitudinal research projects and would be guaranteed support for their duration.

The recommendations in this brief have taken into account the need for social action as well as the need for research. The efforts of federal, provincial and municipal governments have been advocated. It has been suggested that the federal Government might serve as an information clearing house, an advisory bureau in the development of research policy. An elaboration of these functions is contained in the brief. One or more provincial governments might initiate a university-based child development centre which could become the basic research centre for the development of new techniques for disadvantaged children. Specialized graduate training in child development is also needed in Canada.

Finally, it is suggested that municipalities should become involved in, first, the development of preschool centres; second, the establishment of "corner nurseries"; third, programs of home tutoring and, fourth, the provision of mobile nursery schools for rural areas. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Senator Ferguson: I should like to compliment Mrs. Plumptre on her excellent brief. She summarized it very well in her presentation today.

I find it rather discouraging that apparently the institute believes that until there is a change in society's attitude toward the poor there really is not much we can do. How in the world are we ever going to accomplish a change in attitude.

Mrs. Plumptre: You have raised a very good point, senator. Quite frankly, most Canadians don't realize the plight of the poor, which is one of the real problems facing your committee. But the fact that you are having these hearings across Canada and because of the information you are bringing out you are making people realize the great need for something to be done.

We feel and hope, as is obvious from our brief, that a body will be established to research these institutions — not only the ones we have mentioned but other institutions as well — to really indicate how, sometimes quite inadvertently, they do discriminate against the poor. I think as people begin to realize this is the case, a change in their attitude will come about. In respect of such discrimination, people are only beginning to realize that our taxation, for example, has been regressive; they are only beginning to recognize many of the difficulties that the poor suffer under the system of justice. That fact has come out very strongly in some of the evidence submitted to you.

As you say, we just don't realize, and we must keep at it, because it involves all citizens making up their minds that they are not going to have poverty in their midst.

Senator Fergusson: I suppose it can only be through the efforts of committees such as ours and other similar bodies that we will bring to the attention of the public and persuade them that the poor have been discriminated against.

Mrs. Plumptre: Quite frankly, I am very disturbed by this problem. In fact, our board had quite a discussion on this topic when we were going through the brief, and we were very disturbed, too, with the problem of unemployment. The burden is falling on the unemployed.

An editorial in the *Globe and Mail* on Saturday is quite indicative of the emphasis that should be placed on this problem, because it shows the increase in millions of dollars that is going to be spent in just one city merely because of increased unemployment. The question that comes to mind immediately is whether any study has been made to show the real cost of what we are paying in welfare to the unemployed who want to work — not the people who need welfare continually, but the unemployed who really want to work. We are spending millions of dollars to keep them alive on a subsistence level. Are we really incapable of taking those resources and putting them to work for us? After all, the money is being spend anyway.

Senator Fergusson: Yes, the same money could be put to much better use with much better results.

Mrs. Plumptre: I should hope so.

Senator Fergusson: On page 14 of your brief, Mrs. Plumptre, you refer to the cost of divorce proceedings. You say that a further source of discrimination is the high cost of divorce proceedings, especially since the adoption of the new federal legislation. I am very sorry to hear that the new federal legislation has not been all to the good. We thought we had done something wonderful.

Mrs. Plumptre: Unfortunately, it would appear to be the case. This point was brought up by a member of the board, a seasoned member of the legal profession who is working in legal aid. I don't like saying this about the legal profession, but in this gentleman's city the legal profession, apparently, is now saying that, whereas a divorce used to cost \$500, it will now cost \$800 and, if the person wishing to get a divorce does not have the \$800, too bad. In other words, it used to be \$500 and it is now \$800.

The Chairman: Let us deal with the poor first. There has been evidence before this committee that the poor in the province of Ontario can obtain legal aid and

obtain a divorce. That evidence has been before this committee. In Winnipeg we heard similar evidence with respect to Manitoba. That is a fact, and is a result of the hearing and the heat we applied at our hearing.

Divorce is not really the problem that troubles us the most, however. Nor am I defending the legal profession when I say that I don't believe the statement you made is complete.

Mrs. Plumptre: Mr. Chairman, I should like to draw the attention of the committee to the latest issue of the *Law Society Gazette*, in which an article on legal aid points out that legal aid has still a long way to go before it meets the needs of the poor.

I should also like to draw your attention to an error in our brief. On page 14 we attribute a statement to the Minister of Finance. It should have been the Minister of Justice.

Senator Fergusson: I have another question referring to page 14 of the brief, in the middle of the page where you have a statement—"Similarly the application of reciprocal enforcement of maintenance orders under various provincial legislation, affecting deserted and separated spouses and their children work serious injustices on the poor." Would you elaborate on that?

Mrs. Plumptre: This comes from a study which we are doing at the present time and we have been very diligent to have evidence forthcoming to justify the study. If a court issues a maintenance order against an individual, and the man skips off to another province, hundreds of dollars may be spent in tracing him, and then if he has no job, he goes into jail and the family goes on relief. There is this considerable difficulty in enforcing maintenance orders because of provincial regulations. There is a study of which you may have read done by the Ontario Law Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Baxter, and they have dealt with this problem and also with the question of reform of the civil code in Quebec. In both studies they are dealing with the question of maintenance orders and the difficulty in questions of family law. It is very surprising how much improvement is needed, and the studies, I think, will show that there is need not only for improvement in administration, but for reform in the law itself.

Senator Fergusson: Will it recommend changes in the law?

Mrs. Plumptre: We hope so. It is still in the process of conducting its study.

Senator Fergusson: At this stage I would like to say that although you announce that Mr. Stewart Sutton is the executive general secretary, I should like to mention for the benefit of members of the committee who may not know it, that he has been a very

distinguished employee of the United Nations in the UNICEF. He has worked throughout the world, and I think the Vanier Institute are to be congratulated on having him as secretary general.

Mrs. Plumptre: We certainly agree.

Senator Carter: Mrs. Plumptre, the essence of your brief, as I interpret it, is that the poor are victims of their environment, and their environment is determined largely by the attitudes of certain groups that make up the public at large.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes.

Senator Carter: And you say that no matter what programs we develop, welfare programs or income programs, it is not going to make much difference unless we change those attitudes.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes.

Senator Carter: That at least is your hypothesis which you have not tested, and you say in your brief or at least you suggest that this committee should do this testing.

Mrs. Plumptre: It is not just the attitudes, but also the policies of the institutions.

Senator Carter: But you cannot divorce policies from attitudes. Are they not related? Do not attitudes determine policies?

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, but I just want to emphasize that the policies are not of themselves the real reason for discrimination. However, I am sorry to keep interrupting.

Senator Carter: Then, my first question is this; how can one go about testing your hypothesis? It is such a broad thing. Do you suggest that we should take two parts of it or two elements of it and test those?

Mrs. Plumptre: I would hope there would be somebody who would test them all. For example, let us take the labour market. Why don't we test the whole labour market to ascertain the extent to which the labour market discriminates against the poor? This we feel to be the very basic and most important discrimination which the poor have to suffer. Take the case of a young man or a boy who wants a job. He has no skills and no training and he lives in a poor environment where people do not buy a newspaper. Now, he may ask his friends about opportunities for jobs, but they are in the same situation that he is in. He may get a job and he may not, but right at that moment the discrimination starts. But then take the case of a boy or a young man who has been to school and who has received some training and has achieved

some skill. His family can direct him into something or he is in touch with people who in turn are in touch with industry and because of this he is enabled to make a start.

Senator Carter: Well, in a sense that is true, but in another sense it is not. I agree that to a certain extent the discrimination is there but it arises out of the young man's handicaps or lack of skill.

Mrs. Plumptre: But what is the basis of the handicap?

Senator Carter: Let us develop this a little. How do you suggest that any policy to change this can be implemented? We are wrestling with the problem and government is wrestling with it. But they have manpower training problems and so they have developed programs through which they are trying to upgrade the handicapped and give them better skills and teach them how to make better use of the skills they have and how to make better use of land and things like that. But the scale on which this has to be done is very great and I do not know if we have the resources to do it. You are assuming that we have the resources to do it, but I really do not see how you can get on to the practical implementation. I agree that much of what you say is true, but let us take for the moment the concept of the "right to work." How can you implement this "right to work?" I take it you mean that if a job is not there, you must create a job.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, indeed. This is exactly the situation. You must create the job. Here we have all sorts of people who are unemployed and are on welfare and who want to work. At the same time we have great entrepreneurs in our society. In between you have this tremendous gap which needs to be filled. This gap is so great that we have to keep these people on welfare, paying them money, because we do not have enough imagination to bridge that gap. It is a very great problem, but I think we have to face up to it. And I do not think that we are facing up to it. I realize that the manpower people are beginning to do an excellent job, but it is not sufficient just to train people, you have to have jobs for them when they are trained.

Senator Carter: That is contrary to some of the evidence that has been presented before us. In fact we have been told that the day is coming when we will have to pay people for not working.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, but that is still some distance away and I do not think I shall be here when that happens. We may have to reduce the hours of work and spread the work, if you like, but before that happens we have to sit down and recognize the fact that we do have poverty in our society and ask ourselves if we, as people in an affluent society, are

prepared to go on with this situation. I do not think we are.

Senator Carter: What you are saying then is that if we have 6 per cent of our people who are not working, while 94 per cent of our people have jobs, that 94 per cent must give up part of their jobs so that the other 6 per cent can work.

Mrs. Plumptre: No, no.

Senator Carter: Well, then how do we implement this?

Mrs. Plumptre: Why don't we take a look at the process? We realize and we would like to stress that the 6 per cent unemployment figure can be very misleading. I think it would be very important to have a breakdown of the unemployment figures because I think they would show that a very great portion of these people who are without jobs are the poor. I was reading an article concerning some research done recently in the *New Republic* published in January. It referred to the fact that in some of the states they have something of the order of 8 per cent unemployed but that probably 15 to 20 per cent of this group of people are the unskilled. Now it is fine for us to talk about these percentages, but they are not the main thing.

The Chairman: This morning Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche) referred to the City of Montreal as having an unemployment rate of 18 per cent in the poorer areas whereas Quebec as a whole has 7 or 8 per cent. That is the point the witness is making and she is quite right on that.

Senator Carter: I know. Even in my own province the figure is about 20 per cent at the present time, but what I do not see is how you can provide jobs for this 20 per cent.

Mrs. Plumptre: To follow up your question, Senator Carter, surely, you do not think the demands for goods and services are satisfied, do you? Do you not think we still want more? Do you not think we want better housing, more hospitals, more sewers, more parks, greater possibilities for recreation for poor people? There are so many demands. Cannot we meet them by somehow or another putting our minds to work and saying: We are not content with our society at the present time. We are going to make sure that we get the most important resources in our economy to work, and to work more efficiently?

I agree that it is complicated, but we have to look at the whole economy and say: These people have difficulty getting out of the situation they are in. They need training, better housing, greater justice before the law—in fact, better education. It is no good looking at things piece-meal; we have to look at the whole

economy and put our minds to work on it—just as you people are doing and, goodness knows, you are bringing this whole thing out into the open.

Senator Carter: In other words, you are saying we have to revise our priorities?

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, and get the whole nation and the people involved in these institutions to work at it and to put their minds to it.

Senator Carter: I would like to know how you go about doing it.

Mrs. Plumptre: First of all, I would have a body come up with strong recommendations.

The Chairman: You did not hurt our cause or the cause of the poor this morning.

Senator Pearson: I was quite interested in that allusion of yours on page 16 to the two different Canadas. This seems to indicate that the poor exist to a large degree because our society wants them there, wants to keep them poor and out of the way. I do not think this is exactly right. I think that the great majority of people who are in the middle-or upper-class are indifferent. Everyone is indifferent to his neighbour; he does not even recognize his neighbour.

Mrs. Plumptre: You say that you think that is so?

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, I agree with you.

Senator Pearson: This is the trouble with the different elements in society. Each is doing a little dab of work to help the poor, but you have to involve everyone. How are you going to get everyone involved?

Mrs. Plumptre: You can do it by hammering away and by somebody giving good leadership. Look what has happened since the Economic Council put out its Fifth Annual Review 1½ years ago now. We had poverty before that, but it was somehow tucked away somewhere, and it was not until the Economic Council said, "Here it is. Look at not only what it is costing the poor but what it is costing the economy as a whole," that people began to take notice. Then, in the Second Annual Review they showed what it costs. If we can get this across, we are all going to be that much better off.

Senator Pearson: In the brief we had earlier this morning, that of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, they talked about the problem today being the tremendous amount of services we can produce in this country in agriculture. The problem is, what are we

going to do to get and keep everyone employed in the rural areas yet, at the same time, cut down the surplus? You are suggesting that you go for cutting down the hours of work.

Mrs. Plumptre: Maybe. I did not actually say that, because I think there are so many demands to be met.

Senator Pearson: You think that we should build up the demands?

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, and we cannot always do that to the extent that, in the case of wheat, say, we grow all the wheat. However, I think we can help a great deal. Of course, I am not going to put myself forward as an agricultural expert here this morning; you have already heard those people.

Senator Pearson: I have written down here that a child of the poor is less apt in his educational instruction because of the nutrition he receives, his home environment, and so on. Will he not be behind the children of the middle class all through his life, even when the children of the poor have special types of education and training for their future life, until the guaranteed income brings future parents up to the status where the present middle class is?

Dr. Ryan: I think the answer to the question is: Yes, but not necessarily. He does not have to be behind for the rest of his life.

Senator Pearson: But do you have to change his type of education, the environment of education, because the middle class is a little ahead of him all the time and he feels a little depressed because he cannot move as fast?

Dr. Ryan: The point is that you could have him ready for that school system, to perform in a manner comparable to the middle-class child, if during his first five years of life certain procedures were undertaken to promote his intellectual development, including such things as working with his parents to teach them how to stimulate a young child. In the area of language development, language is probably the single most important skill a young child needs to progress normally in school. There is a vast difference in language used across the socio-economic groups. This has been shown in studies, an example of which is contained in the brief of how the lower class parent might respond when he wants his child to be quiet, with "Shut up!" or, "Be quiet!", a very short imperative; whereas the middle class—implying along with that, the better educated parent will say, "Would you be quiet for a moment because I want to make a phone call, and if you are not quiet I will not be able to hear too well." There is a vast difference in the number of words used and the reasoning and quality of the words.

Senator Pearson: That is the type of instruction right there.

Dr. Ryan: Yes, and this starts within the first few months of life. One can observe the parental responses to vocalization in young infants, a child as young as three months of age being led to vocalize.

Senator Quart: Mr. Chairman, first of all, I would like to congratulate Mrs. Plumptre of the excellent brief; and I would particularly comment your answers, Mrs. Plumptre, to Senator Carter regarding the creating of jobs. I am with you all the way on that. I have always felt that way about it, and I thoroughly agree with you.

Regarding slum housing, and all the rest of it, where the unemployed and the poor could be employed, I think it is an excellent idea you have left with us.

Regarding the services of the various organizations you mentioned, it has always been a sort of pet theme of mine that I believe in many cases—as you mentioned, I think it is on page 6—the poor are reluctant at times to go to Manpower, or some other government agency, and they do not realize, because they do not have the know-how, what services they can get through these agencies and also the various voluntary organizations. The question is, how you inform the poor. Would a co-ordinating council of some kind, such as your own, be the answer, that would undertake to co-ordinate and investigate the various services, to find out what they really can do, particularly for the poor? I know of specific cases where the unemployed have gone to Manpower. There is a discrepancy somewhere. If we want an employee of some sort we are told by Manpower that they simply have not got one. I know that I have never heard of any employer having any great success in getting the type of employee he wants from Manpower, other than just casual labour. On the other hand they do not seem to keep a record of the demands of employers. There seems to be a lack of co-ordination.

Mrs. Plumptre: I think you have raised a very important question. We, in the Vanier Institute, feel that the family today is much more alone than it used to be. The family in the small community had the grandparents and the aunts around it, but the small family in an urban area is very dependent upon the community for many resources, and it does not know about these resources. I know that the Welfare Council and the Social Planning Council in various cities have tried to put out various pamphlets, but poor people do not read and pamphlets do not reach them. This is something we need to face up to. I do not know whether our organization, with its present income, is the one to do it, but somehow or other we have to solve this problem and let the people know that the community resources are.

You have raised a question about the manpower situation. One thing is that many people do not like going to Government offices. It may be that they go once and they are greeted by an official who is not sympathetic, and they tell their friends about that experience, and hostility develops.

However, there is one matter that I should like to see this committee deal with. I should like to know what percentage of job vacancies are reported to Manpower. I tried to get some statistics on that, because I think it is a very important matter. I know from having discussed it with officials that they are trying to get better co-operation from employers, but at the moment we do not know to what extent employers are reporting not only the job vacancies but the qualifications required. They should be more precise in respect of the qualifications of the people they want for the job. This is most important. When Manpower is trying to develop its training courses it wants to know of as many jobs as possible.

Senator Inman: I have read both of these briefs, and I would like to congratulate both of you, Mrs. Plumptre and Dr. Ryan. I should like to ask you if you think that welfare is somewhat at fault in not doing enough to investigate cases. I should like to mention something that happened in my own province. There is a big fish plant there that operates the year round. The trawlers come into the open harbours, and at times unload 20,000 tons of fish. That plant advertised for 75 workers. I saw the advertisements in the paper, and I know that they were, as we say, scouring the country for workers, and they could not get one. The people said that they were on welfare and they were not going to give it up. I am just wondering what is the answer to that situation.

Mrs. Plumptre: I cannot comment, of course, on that particular instance, but in the brief I draw your attention to the fact that there are many people with large families who cannot afford to take a job. They are much better off on welfare. This is a sad commentary on our society, that there are jobs that do not provide enough to keep a family. This is dreadful. This point was emphasized when we were discussing our brief, by the labour people, and especially by Mr. Donald Macdonald, who is a member of our board. He said it is true. Many of them just cannot afford to take a job.

I am not in a position to criticize the welfare agencies. I think we all know of some unfortunate instances, but one of the sad things is that we are tending in some ways to keep people on welfare, and there is a great deal of cheating going on. I know of cases myself where the applicant has refused to give all the information he should to the welfare group because of the unpleasant way in which he has been received.

I know of one particular widow, whose husband died only recently, who decided now that her children were at school that she would take a job because she wanted to start a fund for her boy who wanted to go to college. She was told that she could not do that; that if she did she would be cut off from welfare.

This is an insidious kind of thing, and you have raised a difficult question for me to answer. I am not associated with the welfare people, but I do think we have to look carefully at our welfare system.

Senator Inman: You speak of the poor as regarding the law not as a protector but as a prosecutor. Are there not cases where poor people can obtain legal help, if that is necessary?

Mrs. Plumptre: My information is that Ontario is doing something, but this article by Mr. John Honsberger, to which I referred, suggested that many of the poor do not know that their problems are legal problems, and they do not know that there is protection for them. If they do not know this then they do not go to the Legal Aid office. The Legal Aid office does not initiate any help; you have to go and ask for it. If you do not know you have a legal problem, then you do not go. One of my young lawyer friends pointed out that the only office is down town, and it is open between the hours of 9 to 6. If you cannot get there between those hours then it is too bad.

Senator Inman: We have heard many criticisms from people who live in public housing, especially about the inspectors, and the type of help they get from them. Would you like to say something on that?

Mrs. Plumptre: This is one of the things I have discussed with people who have been closely associated with the problem. I know that the members of this committee have seen this housing, and therefore will know more about it than I, but one cannot help but get the impression that there are very many unfortunate occurrences because of the inspection. If a woman with a child is on welfare and is living in public housing they will burst in on her in the middle of the night to make sure that she has not a man there. This is terrible. She has a right to privacy as much as anyone else. There is room for a great deal of improvement in this regard, but there are other people who know more about that than I do.

Senator Inman: I have mentioned before that many of them seem to be painted in very grim colours. I think Senator Fergusson was in one place where the woman complained about the white tile on the floors.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes, I read that in the evidence, but I think there are many more serious things than white

tiles. That is a minor thing when compared to the basic question.

Senator McGrand: I should like to follow up with Dr. Ryan this question of the development of underprivileged children, and the statement that they should receive attention early in life. There is a great deal of crime and violence in the world today, and some people are worried about it. I have been told that if you recognize a psychopath at three or four years of age you may be able to liberate him from whatever he will develop into. That is rather along the line of what you are talking about, although I am talking about poverty in a slightly wider sense. Do you know what can be done or has been done about this? Do you work with Professor Wake at all?

Dr. Ryan: Yes. He has moved to St. Patrick's now, but we are together quite a bit. We are in the same area, although he is more concerned with the question you have just asked—the development of aggressive behaviour and physical cruelty in children.

In answer to the specific example you have chosen I can only answer in the general sense. We could presumably alter the subsequent behavioural development of this child at the age of three if we had introduced certain conditions during the first three years of life. The argument is similar to those I am presenting, which are in terms of social development. The psychopathic would fit within the scheme of developmental social behaviour. If psychopathological behaviour is recognizable at three years of age, it presumably is because of the child's experiences during his first three years of life. I question whether extreme psychopathological behaviour is detectable at three years of age, although it certainly is within a few years after that.

Senator McGrand: It is certainly recognizable.

Dr. Ryan: You cannot pick out deviant behaviour so early. I would push it beyond five years of age, when you get the children in the school area with constant observation of behaviour.

Senator McGrand: If you can bring this boy along a little quicker, you could do the same thing for these people who develop criminal tendencies.

Dr. Ryan: Yes, it is quite in line with the suggestions we are making. The reason that has not come into this particular submission in more detail is that within that area of behaviour we know much less.

The Chairman: Please do not present us with new problems, doctor; we have enough as it is.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I am in full accord with the two briefs and believe they are on

a very high level. They contain some of the best information we have received and are full of goodwill, ambition and well meaning. However, they lack the application of some of the methods. It has certainly opened many doors for long arguments and discussions. There is enough material in the briefs to keep us here for a whole week and every minute would be interesting.

The question is raised why we do not do certain things. The short answer is that the financial structures in our system do not permit them to be done. This is one of the big problems, especially with regard to housing. With regard to labour, we have technology, electronics, computers and mechanization on one side, which eliminate jobs. On the other side are the problems of management and production.

Mrs. Plumptre: I agree with you. We submitted this brief with the intention of arousing debate. We need much more debate across the whole country on these problems. I do not agree with you when you say the finances are not there. This is a rich, affluent country and we do not have to go on with the same system we have had for years and years. We have to make sure that we get the conditions we desire from our affluence. I certainly hope that you will stimulate a great deal of debate. We have to face up to these problems if we really want to do something about them.

The Chairman: I have been saving up three questions for you. I do not have to tell you anything about committees; they meander along until they reach some point of consensus. We are thinking in terms of income from the federal Government, services from the provincial Governments. Delivery under the Canada Assistance Plan Act. Where what we need is not available, we would buy it from voluntary agencies.

Mrs. Plumptre: The first thing is that you have to make many leaders at all levels across the country more concerned with poverty. This cannot be done in a piecemeal way. There must be very strong co-operation between governments at all levels, not only federal, but provincial and municipal. The Canada Assistance Plan Act needs to be looked at very carefully. I am not sure that it is really working to the extent it should in order to alleviate poverty. Incomes must be provided for the people who really cannot work. We must also make sure that they have a good living. On the other hand the other people must be given an opportunity to really do the things they want to. If they wish to work they should be able to. This is almost the basis of it.

The Chairman: Once we agree to a maintenance income do we not set the people free at that moment? We do not say you have to take this sort of

shirt or housing. Are they not put on their own at that moment and set free to a great extent?

Mrs. Plumptre: Do you mean if you give them a guaranteed income?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Plumptre: I am not sure that I am sold on a guaranteed income for everybody. There is no doubt whatever about people who cannot work or hold a job. We have to look at it in a broad way. Giving some sort of an income to people will be helpful. For example, at the moment a man who may wish to move from one province to another is not helped under the manpower mobility program, which is only within a province. If the man has an opportunity of securing employment in another urban area in another province and has a little money he can perhaps afford to take the step. I can see that that would perhaps make them more mobile and secure, but just giving them money is not going to bring them out of poverty when all our institutions discriminate against them.

The Chairman: We are just thinking of one thing at a time.

Mrs. Plumptre: I know you are looking at these annual incomes to see the results. I am prepared to go along with it to a certain extent, but I think there are many more important things that need doing.

The Chairman: The American experience today indicates that the pattern of life has not changed.

Mrs. Plumptre: That is right; this is the real basic thing.

The Chairman: It is the most wonderful thing that has happened. We are thinking in terms that a person on relief is a prisoner of the system.

Mrs. Plumptre: Yes.

The Chairman: We are thinking in terms of liberating them from the system so that they are on their own responsibility.

Mrs. Plumptre: We want a system under which they have a choice of where they want to live, what kind of work they want to do, what they want to buy. That is what we are aiming at.

The Chairman: I have another question on something you raised, and which we discussed. You were talking about the working poor and the fact that the family can receive more on relief than from working, due to minimum wages and perhaps other conditions. In that case, do we recommend subsidizing industry or do we subsidize the person?

Mrs. Plumptre: You may have to subsidize industry if you want them to establish training schemes to give the man a skill and give him a good wage. However, immediately you get into that it raises great constitutional difficulties. On the other hand, you must make sure that you bring the person along with you. He may not have a basic education and therefore may need something more before he gets into industry. He may not be ready to have the training industry can give him. Therefore you say you have to subsidize the man. You may not only have to give him an income but also make sure that he is having some education so that eventually he can join the labour force at a wage that will give him an income sufficient to support his family.

The Chairman: You have hit two points, but not quite on the head for me. Leave training out of it for the moment. Consider the man who has been working, who has four children and a job that does not pay enough to support the four children. At that moment he needs more money and says to himself, "I may as well go on relief. I can get more money on relief".

Mrs. Plumptre: He has to go on relief.

The Chairman: We say, "Don't go on relief. We will subsidize you". Now, do we subsidize his employer or do we subsidize him?

Mrs. Plumptre: Subsidizing him is another way of putting him on welfare is it not?

The Chairman: No, do not put him on welfare.

Mrs. Plumptre: You mean a new subsidy?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Plumptre: Which is a type of welfare. What is the difference between that and welfare?

The Chairman: What we are trying to do is to keep him working. That is the point.

Mrs. Plumptre: I see. I am sorry, I did not understand that.

The Chairman: Never mind where it comes from. We are trying to keep him working and induce him to do so by giving him a certain amount of his earnings over and above the amount he would receive if he was on welfare.

Mrs. Plumptre: I am sorry, I did not realize you wanted to keep him working.

The Chairman: Yes, we want him working.

Mr. Sutton: Could I ask a question, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Sutton: Do you have in mind that he gets this with dignity, that he receives an increase in his wage or gets it as a welfare supplement?

The Chairman: He cannot do much about his wage. The point I am trying to get at is this. I am trying to keep him off welfare.

Mr. Sutton: He gets it as a right though?

The Chairman: He gets what we give him.

Mrs. Plumptre: As a right?

The Chairman: Yes. As a matter of fact, there are three provinces doing just that, quietly and very nicely. You and I can be a little ashamed that one of them is not Ontario, although she can well afford it.

Mrs. Plumptre: She certainly could.

The Chairman: That is the point. I think the committee would be hesitant to subsidize the employer, because the tendency would then be to keep the wages at the lowest level, no matter what happened.

Mrs. Plumptre: I was going to say, it is not only a question of giving him something. Would you not feel a worker would be a better person if you could say that not only would he get a subsidy but we would try to develop him more so that he could have a better job?

The Chairman: Yes. That is two things. Now the third one. When the inflation issue became a little warm and it was reflected in the unemployment, we immediately asked our research staff to provide some background material, which was passed on to all members of the committee. Of course, they reflected our views. Now, I know exactly what you were saying when you were talking to Senator Carter. The unemployed person who loses his job in the national interest becomes something less than a statistic. You say there is a social responsibility towards that man.

Mrs. Plumptre: Absolutely.

The Chairman: Wait a minute. Senator Carter then says, "I can't quite put my finger on a job for you." That is being realistic.

Mrs. Plumptre: Sure.

The Chairman: What is the alternative?

Mrs. Plumptre: You certainly may have to pay. You have got to keep the man alive, therefore you have to

pay him something in the meantime. The point is that there should be a quicker adjustment. I think Mr. Rasminsky said that the policy to control inflation must have different aspects. Up to the moment there has been a great deal of emphasis on employment. Now we are beginning to think it is not always good for some regions and some people. Surely when a man is put out of work there must be a much closer contact between the welfare people. Some organizations believe that instead of spending all this money in that direction a new hospital is wanted. Suppose the man is a construction worker, could we not try to get the man working on that? Or put him to work on digging for a new sewer? I do not suggest we should make work. These are things that society needs.

The Chairman: In your answer you mentioned spending money on new projects. Many say that when you do that you are heading up inflation.

Mrs. Plumptre: No, you are not, because you are already spending the money on welfare.

The Chairman: Not quite the same amount of money is spent on welfare.

Mrs. Plumptre: Well, it is an awful lot.

The Chairman: It does not bring any results, of course.

Mrs. Plumptre: That is the point.

The Chairman: That is the normal argument used. I do not agree with it either.

Mr. Sutton: Is not the point that while it may cost more than welfare, while the man is on welfare he may live, eat and survive, but he is completely unproductive. Surely you do not just take account of what that welfare costs and limit it to that. If the man is productive, there is not only what welfare costs but what he can add by his productivity.

The Chairman: When Mr. Smith of the Economic Council was before us we asked him what it costs. He is very adroit.

Mr. Sutton: He has to be.

The Chairman: Yes. He gave us some idea, and of course, it runs into fantastic figures. We asked our own staff to examine it and they told us it was a very expensive exercise. Nobody is able to say what the figure is.

Mrs. Plumptre: Exactly.

The Chairman: That is about the truth of it. Of course it is expensive, and of course it is a narrow

viewpoint, but we have to live with some of it and the best you can do is try to correct it. Are there any other questions?

Senator Carter: I would like to ask one question of each of those here, starting with Dr. Ryan. Dr. Ryan, recently I read an article containing a statement that struck me as something new. It was that a normal child, with normal average intelligence, can learn as much in the first nine years of life as in the remainder of a normal life span. Would you agree with that statement?

Dr. Ryan: Definitely. The child's intellectual development is half-way there by the time he is four or five. This comes from studying curves, just taking the I.Q. scores up to adult age. He is half developed by the age of five.

Senator Carter: Which means that our whole educational system, in so far as they know that fact, is wasteful. It is initial in the sense that in order to bring about certain changes at grade 8 or 9 that it can be accomplished, but it is more difficult than it would have been at the age of four or five.

The Chairman: Yes, but Dr. Ryan, we really do not get at the poverty at home until the child comes to school.

Dr. Ryan: Right.

The Chairman: At four or five years and then we have lost the battle.

Mrs. Plumptre: We would argue that that is too late.

The Chairman: At the present time we have almost lost half the battle before it begins. What you are saying to us in effect is that we should get into the homes.

Dr. Ryan: I am saying that we should begin at least by age three.

The Chairman: How do you get into the homes at age three?

Dr. Ryan: In the United States, for example, there are programs of home tutoring which begin at the age of two or three months. We have, available in this country right now, agencies, such as the Public Health Nursing, that check to see if the baby has a rash or any disease. I would think that we could expand this kind of service and build into it provisions so that these agencies or something similar to them could help by tutoring parents in the techniques of child bearing. The big thing that the poor parent seems to be lacking is knowledge of alternative ways of doing things. From what I understand, these home tutoring programs—this

is exactly what they give the parent—teach the parents that there are different ways of saying things to children and also different ways of getting them to accomplish things.

The Chairman: Recently Tim Reid got me on this subject, as you know. He is pretty knowledgeable. As a result of that he is going to get an invitation to come before this committee. The studies are just in their infancy in the United States. Important as it is, there are other areas that we could follow that would be much more rewarding at the present time or appear to be. What do you think about this, Dr. Ryan?

Dr. Ryan: I cannot think of an alternative approach if I understand your question.

The Chairman: If we cannot reach the child at that very early age . . .

Dr. Ryan: But we can.

The Chairman: When you talk about that health nurse getting into the home you are talking about .0001 of the number of people and it amounts to almost nothing in the present context. Therefore, if we cannot reach them at the very early stage, should not we see if we can reach them at four or five years of age?

Dr. Ryan: I do not know if it is better; I do not think so. You do have a chance to reach them at four or five years of age through your nursery school and day care facilities and it is clear that reaching them at this age can help tremendously. There are studies which show this.

Senator Fergusson: What proportion of poor children attend those schools?

Dr. Ryan: This is the next point. Your nursery schools are typically a middle class . . .

Senator Carter: That is the point I wanted to develop. You recommend corner nursery schools and I presume these would be what we would call neighbourhood schools so that they could all be on the same level. Who do you see administering them? Do you see these as a part of the general system or are they special schools operated by private agencies? What is your opinion as to how these should be organized?

Dr. Ryan: They are not generally part of the system. Let me go back one step. The thinking here has grown from some studies in the United States in regard to their home tutoring programs in which they are using, as home tutors, disadvantaged parents who may train in techniques of child bearing and then go about and train other disadvantaged people. This does two

things, it bring the home tutoring program to disadvantaged homes while at the same time creating a job for a poor person. With a corner nursery, for example, we would get a parent in this small area, effect the necessary renovations in the home, which would be minimal, and train this person in child care and how to stimulate young children. This could be restricted to a very small number of individuals. The advantages here are that—coming back to the knowledge that there is an information gap which poor people have—they would be more likely to find out about something a block away than across town and also more likely to have some trust in the person running this particular outfit because they might know them right off the bat. They could participate in it.

The other part of your question in regard to who would be in charge of these, I do not understand the Government structures at all . . .

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You are lucky.

Dr. Ryan: But, I think this would have to be a combination of municipal and provincial governments, because provincial governments are involved in licensing and regulation for day care centres. However, municipalities would have to also be involved.

Senator Carter: Do you think it could be applied to the rural areas?

Dr. Ryan: The rural areas are different, especially if you are talking about a home here and one seven miles away, et cetera. I would think that some kind of mobile nursery or mobile day centre could provide a better alternative than what is available so that a parent would know, for example, that this institution would be moving within a mile or two of their home every other Monday or two days a week, whichever way it could be arranged. I do not see a development of a fixed centre in rural areas as a kind of place where people would be able to get to easily.

Senator Pearson: There is one rural area in Saskatchewan where they are doing this.

Dr. Ryan: A mobile centre?

Senator Pearson: No, but there is a centre where the mothers are working on this problem. Each mother has a certain amount of training and she works for a month or six weeks at a time and then the next mother takes on the job. It is all voluntary as far as that is concerned. They are doing the training of the people right from the early ages.

Mrs. Plumptre: I would like to add that we do not have to wait until the people have the children. We could do a great deal by looking at our educational system and seeing if we are giving the children

today—some are going to be parents very shortly—the real education for family living. This is a real question we have not faced up to, but are now beginning to. When you think that some people get married very soon after they leave high school and have no apprehension really of the problems, is this not a reflection on our educational system?

Senator Carter: Mrs. Plumptre, you mentioned a co-ordinating central agency. Would you elaborate what its powers would be and as to whether it would be functioning as a private, Government or joint agency?

Mrs. Plumptre: We have not really discussed what this should be in detail, but we feel that there is such a need for co-ordination in even the piecemeal policies we are doing in many areas and voluntary agencies. At the present time there has not been enough co-ordination. I would think it would be a federal body with, of course, the co-operation of the provinces. It would need to bring in a lot of other people and not just Government representatives.

Senator Quart: My last question, which I have asked before in other cases, is this. Would you think this would be an admirable solution? For instance, let us take men and women drawing welfare payments, when he takes a job he makes \$50 over and above but he has to declare it and he is taken off welfare. Would it be some sort of solution if he did not have to declare this, probably up to \$100. Would it not give him an incentive to work and perhaps be promoted and finally get off welfare? I have been speaking to quite a number, and even on Saturday afternoon I was speaking to a number of very intelligent people—Guide officers—and we were talking in general; and most of them say the people who go on welfare do not want to get off because it would take so long to get back on welfare again.

Mrs. Plumptre: I think that is very important. It is an unfortunate principle we have, that you must declare everything you earn and then it means the less welfare you are getting. Either it takes away the incentive to work, or else they work and cheat. Now, what do you want?

Senator Quart: That is it, we are teaching them to cheat.

Mr. Sutton: Mr. Chairman, dare I ask a question?

The Chairman: Certainly, go ahead.

Mr. Sutton: In your first question, you said that this committee had certain types of possible procedures in mind and you mentioned three. Your last one, if I understood you correctly, referred to the purchase of service from voluntary organizations. Am I correct?

The Chairman: That is correct.

Mr. Sutton: I wonder if I might comment on that, in connection with what Mrs. Plumptre and Dr. Ryan have been saying. It occurs to me that if by this you mean voluntary agencies and at local levels, this could be an extremely part of the whole business of reaching families in the sense in which Dr. Ryan was thinking of, where in our own brief we are speaking of the lack of access to information and fact and understanding by the poor.

I have been out of this country for 11 years and back here for 3½ years; but I am very much impressed by what appears to be the “dying on the vine” of the voluntary agencies, if I have in mind the same group that you have. In the early days, they were set up to provide aid to the poor but now the whole function has changed to counseling and education and support.

If you have in mind something which would lead to the enrichment and expansion of those services, this is one way in which—provided we know what we are doing and know what we want—you can get into these homes. You are raising a question of how you talk to the poor. Yet this very service is dying on the vine.

The Chairman: We realize that and we realize it is not possible for us as a government to reach them.

Mr. Sutton: That is right.

The Chairman: We have in these voluntary agencies thousands of people who want nothing but an opportunity to serve. We can get that service much cheaper than we can establish it. At the same time we can get something with the service that you do not always receive in the public service.

Mr. Sutton: This will not put an end to poverty, but it will help with the education.

The Chairman: Yes, and give some credence to what Dr. Ryan has said.

Senator Carter: You have the main fact, which Mrs. Plumptre has put, in regard to attitudes. Those people go out with a spirit of care and if they will not change attitudes, I do not know who will.

The Chairman: If there are no other questions, I would say, on behalf of the members of the committee that this has been for us a rewarding morning. We have had the representatives here of the Canadian Federation of Agriculture, knowledgeable persons who knew what they were talking about and who presented their case well. We have had Mrs. Plumptre and her group, speaking for the Vanier Institute of the Family, and this has been a delight. I do not know if you realize, honourable senators, that she was the person who gave meaning and purpose to the consumer

movement in this country. We are looking for great things from the Vanier Institute. Mr. Sutton and Dr. Ryan, thank you, too, for being so helpful. You have spoken clearly and forcibly and we will pay a great deal of attention to what you have said. All of you

have made a contribution this morning which will go a considerable way towards finding a solution to the problem of poverty in this country.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX A

SUBMISSION TO THE
SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
FROM THE
CANADIAN FEDERATION OF AGRICULTURE

The Issue of Poverty

1. Poverty is a good word, which is why it is used so much. Like all good, non-technical words, it defies precise definition in technical terms. Rather it tends to expand in the scope and richness of its meaning. For us, the word "poverty" has acquired not only new meaning in material terms, but expanded social, psychological and political content, reflecting conditions created by the emergence of our technological society.

2. More and more strongly the point comes through. In poverty's material sense at least, and in its social sense too, it is not only an offence to be indifferent to poverty and lacking in charity; it is an offence to permit the continued very existence of poverty. The job is not just to help the poor. It is to eliminate poverty, if poverty is defined in the two classical senses of people suffering acute material deprivation, and people constituting a social substratum.

3. This is of course rather revolutionary. The point is that the goal of the elimination of poverty is no longer considered utopian by many, perhaps most, persons. We are in, as the colloquial phrase goes, a new ball game. We are sure that as this Committee wrestles with the subject before it, this is becoming clear. The old meanings and connotations of poverty become less appropriate. The very existence of it becomes a kind of measure of failure.

The Human Requirement in "Poverty" Programs

4. Programs and policies to reduce or alleviate poverty involve changing the conditions and circumstances of people's lives. Accordingly, there are two very important things to watch. One is to ensure that people lives and circumstances are in fact changed for the better, and not for the worse. The second, is to make sure that people be treated with dignity, respect and understanding. The last is actually the most important. It is first of all a human right. Also it is in fact a requirement for real success in any program.

5. Programs to help people, or to help them help themselves, normally encounter certain hazards. First of all, people do not always in fact treat other people with dignity and respect, and this must be watched. Second the interests affected by programs designed to

eliminate or alleviate poverty are not normally those only of persons living in poverty. Conflicts of goal and interests can arise. Third, the expectations held out for programs can be far ahead of their real potential for meeting the need, and the discrepancy can lead to unhappy results including less than adequate assessment of the programs themselves by those responsible for them. Fourthly, there are real problems in making sure that administrations, be set by many problems and pressures, and the need for internal order and consistency, achieve necessary flexibility and responsiveness in dealing with the people they are supposed to assist. The problem of avoiding the creation of credibility gaps is a continuing one. One should not promise to do what one cannot or will not or does not intend to do. This is at best unfair, and at worst cruel. It is also destructive of the social fabric.

6. All this relates closely to the question of participation—that much used and abused word. Participation basically has to do with the democratic principle that people should have a proper say in how the country is run—with special emphasis on how it affects them. It is, in short a profoundly important matter. It is a very complex operational not to say philosophical question. Nevertheless, two basic requirements for participation are clear:

7. (1) There should be adequate means for people to have their say, and to express their needs and aspirations, in matters affecting their lives. It is becoming increasingly clear that one of the hidden causes of continued poverty is a lack of power. Power to affect the decisions that are made about people by those people. Under the existing system poor people have things done for them or done to them, but seldom if ever are they given enough power or responsibilities so that they can make some important decisions for themselves. The cost of our imposed help may be very great not only to the rest of society but also to the poor themselves and, most important, to their children.

8. Pride and self esteem are essential to each of us and to deny it to people with less economic wealth is burdening them with a double disadvantage. It is neither just nor very intelligent.

9. (2) There should be an adequate information flow to all concerned and by all appropriate means, and at all stages of policy formation and implementation. Information is a basic and essential tool to achieving the first requirement. This means a much more open process of access to and transmittal of information than we have yet achieved in this country.

Basic Paths to Alleviation of Poverty

10. There are, it seems to us, two basic kinds of ways by which one deals with the poverty question, which though interrelated are nevertheless distinct:

11. —The first is what might be called the welfare program—by which we mean the provision of goods, and services, either directly to the individual or in the form of public services—that increase his level of material and personal well being.

12. —The second is the economic or “developmental” program—by which we mean those that create and increase the ability of people to earn a living, and so pay their own way.

13. Programs in the welfare category can of course have a profound impact on economic opportunity and performance. Programs in the second, correspondingly, are ones in which all, not only the poor, share, and in which major issues of public policy regarding their provision and financing arise which are not exclusively poverty issues. Many of them in the field of public services (e.g. education).

14. On the whole, it can probably be said with some confidence that the second category of programs—increasing economic opportunity and remuneration for work performed are, in a private enterprise, market economy, the most difficult with which to deal.

Farm Policy in Relation to the Poverty Problem

15. There are a great many farmers who receive well below acceptable levels of income, whether received in cash or in kind. There is no proposal known to us for an approach to agricultural policy, which is acceptable even to the majority of farmers, that offers the expectation of a really acceptable level of returns from agricultural production to the large majority of those persons now engaged in agriculture. First the market isn't there in sufficient amounts, and second, current technology in farming does not permit indefinite continuation of present farmer numbers, on a basis consistent with any accepted standards of economic efficiency in agriculture. At the same time a great many farmers experiencing very low levels of returns simply cannot be expected, realistically, to improve their position through change of occupation in their lifetime. In addition, in a more short-run sense, there are extensive areas of the country where unemployment is chronically high and alternative employment opportunities are very limited.

16. When we say this, we realize we are talking about a very complex process of change and adjustment in agriculture. We are also talking about people. You can't say with confidence to any *individual* farmer that there is no place in agriculture for him to make an adequate living. He will quite properly answer—why not? Even though one can with some confidence say that the number of farmers will continue to contract,

as it has in the past, this, as far as any individual is concerned, falls a lot short of deciding *his* fate. It is as well to keep in mind that if considering the individual farmer, whether small or large, part time or full time, the only rational starting assumption to make is that, from *his* point of view, each farmer is making the best economic job of it he can, taking into account all the circumstances.

17. In addition, when we say “the market is limited”, and there is not enough of it to go around on an efficient basis of production, the statement, while true, is not as simple and precise as it may sound. We are a country producing an export surplus of agricultural products. The world outside to which we must sell is not a simple world of open markets, but one in which importing countries have their own agricultural policies and other economic controls. They can and do artificially interfere with free price competition and access to markets of imported products. Major issues of domestic agricultural policy and international trade policy bear on this problem, and are under continuous development and review. We do not know how much pork, beef, poultry, or eggs we could even find export markets for at any price, and we do not know precisely, either, how low a price we would have to accept to get the market from others who are undoubtedly looking at the possibilities of agricultural expansion also. We can calculate the size of the domestic market in prospect, and it is limited in relation to our capacity to produce.

18. So we do know that opportunity is limited for expanded agricultural production for our farmers, but we do not know how limited. We accordingly do not know, even given say improved extension and management service, training programs and access to credit, what scale of opportunity exists for assisting present low income farmers to improve their position in their present occupations. We do not know, from a governmental point of view, what resources should be put into agricultural expansion, and in what products, and what degree of planning should be applied to the process.

19. In eggs, poultry and milk, producers are pretty well convinced that they must basically look to the domestic market, and operate on the basis of a planned, regulated system of production and marketing. Insofar as this takes place, and we are moving rapidly in that direction in both the dairy industry, and in the egg and poultry industries, there will be no argument about size of markets. Producers will be absolutely limited in their ability to expand production beyond definite limits, (although promotion and new product development will affect these) and numbers of producers will be definitely restricted, and will decline. This leaves pork, beef, grains and oilseeds. These are the products where the potential for export expansion is the critical question. However, for this very reason, it is clear that in a world of basic

over-capacity in agriculture in relation to commercial markets, the price outlook for export-oriented production should not be considered encouraging. Small units will not be able to make any money. Large investments will be required to make a go of it. Prices, without government support at least, will not likely improve much if any. Also, strong pressures for some form of allocating shares of markets in a planned way may also arise in the grains business, though this is not clear.

20. The point of all this for the poverty question is that the field of opportunity for the small farmer is contracting, and the farmers' legitimate need for security and price stability will likely lead to an increasing degree of planning. Such planning will leave little room for easy assumptions that the solution to the farmers' problems will be to produce in larger and larger quantity, and more and more efficiently.

21. It will be possible, and to a considerable extent is possible now, to *identify* those small, low income producers for whom there is little or no hope of successful expansion into remunerative commercial production. If we talk to them many will identify themselves without hesitation.

22. How can public policy help these producers? Their personal circumstances vary widely. Some—many—are in the later stages of their working life; others are in the early stages. Some have access to some alternative income; others do not. Some have made a very efficient adaptation to small farming (though with a still very limited income); some have not. Some would like to leave farming if they could; some do not wish to do so. Some for family reasons or others virtually cannot leave. Some are in debt; some are not. Some are in serious want; some are simply at unpleasantly low income levels. Some produce very little products for sale; some produce significant amounts. Some have only a small investment in the farm; others have a fairly substantial investment. Some have children who wish to farm; some do not. Some have adequate homes; many do not.

23. All are in an economic position that will steadily deteriorate unless they obtain additional non-farm income or successfully expand their scale of farming operations. How many should be classed as people living in poverty is a matter of judgement (including that of the poor themselves), but none are living in enviable economic circumstances.

24. To change the picture significantly for tens of thousands of small producers would involve the introduction of much more extensive farm product subsidization to farmers, some kinds of direct policies to supplement incomes either in cash or in kind (e.g. housing), or both. A very large proportion of such producers will be in the older age brackets. The government today views even the subsidy programs it has at present (notably the dairy industry program)

with evident (and we feel unseemly) lack of enthusiasm. If it contracts present programs or even leaves them where they are there is nothing in present national policy that holds out any hope of avoiding (however well we do at growth centred regional expansion, and retraining and mobility programs) a continuation of extensive below-standard incomes among farm and rural people. We either decide to do something about this or we don't. If we do there will be a bill to be paid, and very likely a much justified one. We are sure issues of essentially similar nature exist in the urban sector, although in *proportionately* lesser degree.

25. We wish to be clear. We believe in, and fully support and press for, greatly expanded and intensified attention to all adjustment and mobility opportunities that may be created for remunerative employment for farm people, including:

26. —intensive attention to retraining and re-establishment programs;

27. —development of new employment opportunities in rural areas, and;

28. —intensified and improved agricultural extension, management training, and credit programs to provide opportunity in agriculture for those wishing to intensify their efforts and improve their abilities in this area.

29. We support programs, too, in which the government, on the farmers' voluntary decision, is prepared to smooth the path of adjustment by acquiring the farmers' land on a fair basis as part of overall policy. We support improved educational programs in all respects. We support the improvement of social services to farm and rural people. These are all real and urgent needs.

30. A much more massive and systematic approach, on a co-ordinated Federal-Provincial basis, should be made aimed at expansion and improvement of programs in these areas.

31. What we are saying additionally, however, is that with all these programs, and all our best efforts in the field of marketing and production policy in agriculture, there will be a lot of people whose position will not be touched or improved, and who need and deserve a better deal. It is as well to face this fact. Hopefully, if other programs are well carried out, and standards of educational achievement rise, the dimensions of this problem will drastically decrease over time, but they will not disappear, and those presently in these circumstances will in any case not be helped—they will only try to live through it.

32. We should, in our policy thinking, and in our programs, be very careful that we do not irresponsibly induce people to move from the farm when in fact their circumstances are likely to be worsened, and their own lives made less satisfactory still (and

probably at greater cost to the taxpayer in urban welfare and other costs).

Can Farm Policy Deal with Farm Poverty?

33. The question is often raised, in and out of farm circles, whether the problems of poor farmers, as we have been discussing them, are really part of the problem of "farm policy" or not. It is a good question, deserving discussion. If what one is asking is whether the problem can be dealt with by a set of policies uniformly applicable to the whole industry, the answer, as we have indicated, is "no—the problem is not simply part of farm policy".

34. But this far from settles the question. In the first place, policies for improvement of farm prices and markets can be marginally helpful to the small farmer, and can be very important to him, though no "solution" to his problem. The small farmer does, after all, obtain part or all of his income from the production of farm products.

35. (It is a rather striking fact that of the total net farm income from farming in 1969, Dominion Bureau of Statistics estimates show that 1/3—\$1 out of \$3 represents income in kind. This is the value on the farm of farm produce consumed on the farm, wood products produced and consumed on the farm, and rent imputed to farm homes. In this technological age it remains true that for many tens of thousands of farmers the food, fuel and housing that the farm provides is a very significant proportion, often the whole, of their returns from farming).

36. In the second place, returns to farm production, through subsidization, provide one channel through which, on a planned basis, it is potentially possible to supplement the incomes of small farmers, by paying on a limited amount of product to any one individual. This alternative, though not at present significantly applied in Canada (it is an aspect, though not a declared objective, of some support policies) remains a policy option that is often discussed in Canada and may have real possibilities. It has the advantage of not requiring a welfare administration. Though it may be imprecise in its application in relation to need, it is nevertheless inexpensive to administer, and has some unexplored possibilities in more refined principles of application. There are disadvantages also. One is that the product, produced in small amounts, must be marketed, and this has implications for the efficiency of the market system, (which affects other farmers) and for quality, uniformity and control of supply. Also, it can be argued that to reserve a part of farm production as a welfare-oriented share of the market militates against "commercial" producers, for whom too the available market is very limited, the cost-price squeeze severe, and returns well below a fair level. Care and judgment would have to be exercised in administration of such a policy, but its possibilities

should not be altogether neglected, especially if no alternative means of meeting the problem are in sight.

37. The principal alternative that appears to be available, though not the only one, (for example early retirement programs for farmers, associated with land purchase policies, is a constructive possibility being given serious thought) is the adoption in Canada of a general minimum incomes policy. The Canadian Federation of Agriculture supports the adoption of such a policy in Canada. There are two main objections made to a minimum incomes policy:

38. 1. the country can't afford it, and

39. 2. it would create an incentive for people to avoid productive work—to subsidize laziness and irresponsibility.

40. On the first point, the major arguments against seem to be on the one hand, that people simply are not willing to make the necessary income transfer, and on the other, on a more sophisticated level, that added expenditures for consumption would excessively contract savings for investment, slowing the growth of the economy and making everyone worse off in the final analysis. We have no easy arguments against these objections. They involve in part economic analysis, and in part basic ethical and political judgments. We would point out, however, that faced with the triumphs of technology in this age, the case against such policy must be made much more convincingly than it now is, because the credibility gap between those who believe we can and should do it and those who believe we can't and shouldn't is going to grow rapidly. The issue urgently needs to be grappled with.

41. On the other side, there are potentially great, if difficult to calculate, economic benefits to be obtained from eliminating conditions of dire poverty, reducing excessive dependence on welfare administrations, and improving morale, attitudes and willing social participation in the whole community. This aspect of the matter should also be urgently assessed. The economic waste created by poverty is high.

42. On the second argument, that of encouraging laziness and irresponsibility, our view is that to oppose sound and progressive social policy, on grounds that if given half a chance large numbers of people are going to choose to lead unproductive and selfish lives, provides an unfortunate commentary on society. We doubt if it is true to a large degree, in any case. If the problem exists, and we do not say that it is altogether absent from the situation, the solution surely lies in improving attitudes and values in our society, not in aggravating the problem by avoiding the implementation of otherwise sound policy.

43. The Negative Income Tax method has many features which appear to cope with this objection. While it has not been widely tested, it does appear to hold our great potential. Particularly it does not

involve a means test or supervision, which are two of the less desirable features of most welfare programs.

44. Secondly, there is much less disincentive to improve the economic position of the individual and family by themselves than under present systems.

45. Thirdly, it would be relatively simple to administer through an extension of the present income tax system.

46. Such advantages cannot be ignored and we would urge a large scale test be undertaken in a rural and an urban area as soon as possible to assess the effectiveness of the technique in relieving poverty and in helping people to help themselves.

47. The point is, of course, as we have tried to make clear, looking at the farm context, that there are many cases of real need, which from a social point of view should undoubtedly be met, in which measures of direct assistance in some form are required and in which it is clear that a minimum incomes policy is the most direct, simple, inexpensive, equitable and socially dignified means of meeting the problem. It would not solve all problems of welfare requirements, but it would meet many of them. Many expensive, and often undignified, forms of welfare programs could be avoided. It is altogether likely that the real cost to the nation, taking into account savings in expenses and improvements in productivity over the years, would be much less than many imagine.

48. We have not, in this submission, gone in for the presentation of a great deal of data. The essential issues are in our view not changed in any case by trying to put exact numbers on them. Conditions change very rapidly, and in any case, we have no new figures to present. The analysis of the census data in the document entitled "Low Income Sector in Canadian Agriculture" prepared for the Canadian Agriculture Congress last Spring gives the statistical picture pretty well, and the analytical approach is, we think, a useful one. The Canadian Council on Rural Development, too, will be presenting evidence regarding standards of living of rural people.

Domestic Food Programs

49. Recently a major Conference was held in the United States in which the question of policy for meeting food deficiencies in the diet of the United States population was intensively explored, with recommendations coming out of it for major expansion of the school lunch and food stamp programs

in that country. Although a good study of the question is not available (and should be made) there is little doubt that even today there are many people in our society who do not get enough food, and of the right kind. This is a poverty problem, not a high food price problem.

50. We think it is absolutely ridiculous, in this day and age, with our capacity to produce food far exceeding our markets, that everyone should not, as an absolute minimum, be well fed. Programs such as school lunch programs, food stamp plans, school milk programs, or other should be immediately worked out and applied to ensure that a sufficiency of good, nutritious food can be and is purchased by all our people.

Going About the Job

51. In looking at the question of more systematically and thoroughly tackling the problem of poverty, either by welfare or developmental means, it is abundantly clear that most areas of jurisdiction involved lie with the provinces. Yet many of the economic policy problems, perhaps most, to which poverty is related must be considered and dealt with on a national basis. The need for reasonable equity and uniformity of treatment of Canadians across the country is another real and important consideration in our national life.

52. It is not our intention to give any easy prescriptions for dealing with Canada's constitutional issues. It is clear to us, however, that

53. (1) Canada requires to a significant degree to have a national philosophy and approach to these questions, and

54. (2) That an increasingly with degree of Federal-Provincial co-operative study, policy development and activity will be required.

55. These are matters to which the Committee should give particular attention. The need for co-operative approaches and co-ordination of effort exists in farm policy, it exists in welfare policy, it exists in housing policy, it exists in economic development policy, and it exists in the aspirations of Canadian people, in our opinion.

Respectfully submitted,

Canadian Federation of Agriculture
February 17, 1970.

APPENDIX B

Submission to the Special Senate Committee
on
Poverty by The Vanier Institute of the Family,
17 February 1970.

Mr. Chairman,
Honourable Senators,

The Vanier Institute of the Family wishes to thank you for this opportunity to present this submission, and to express to you our concern regarding the large number of Canadian families now living in poverty. We also wish to commend your chairman and the members of the Senate for their quick response to the suggestion of the Economic Council of Canada, in its Fifth Review, that the Senate "might consider the advisability of creating a committee to enquire into the problem of poverty in Canada". The evidence submitted to your Committee at its hearings in Ottawa and in other centres is not only increasing our knowledge regarding the causes and effects of poverty, but making Canadians much more aware of this national problem and strengthening the determination of Canadian leaders, and, we hope, Canadian citizens generally, to respond actively to the call of the Economic Council "for a national commitment to move towards the elimination of poverty."

The Vanier Institute of the Family

This Institute, incorporated in 1965, was established as the result of a resolution passed at the Canadian Conference on the Family in 1964, that a permanent institute should be established to carry out research and studies on family problems, and to develop, in co-operation with other organizations, a program "rooted in the realities and concerns of Canadian families".¹ The Institute's membership represents the various ethnic, social, religious, occupational, geographical and other elements of Canadian society. Policy of the Vanier Institute of the Family is established by the Board of Directors, four of whom are nominated by the Prime Minister of Canada and the remaining 21 elected from among the members. The Institute is financed basically by the income from an endowment fund to which the Parliament of Canada voted an initial capital grant of \$2,000,000. This has been supplemented by capital gifts from provincial governments, corporations, organizations, foundations and individuals, and by matching grants from the

Federal Government. The Institute is required to make an annual report to the Government of Canada.

The Institute is not a social service agency established to give counsel and guidance to particular individuals or families in trouble. Nor is it a social welfare agency. We are attaching to this brief, as Appendix 1, a pamphlet outlining the purpose of the Institute, and giving a brief description of its research projects and other activities.

For centuries, the institution of the family has been taken for granted, and research on the family has not been considered necessary. But recent scientific, technological and social developments have produced changes which affect all families, internally and externally, about which we need to know more. Not that changes in values are new. Throughout the ages social values have continually changed, but more gradually and at a rate to which adjustment was easier. What is new is the rapidity and pervasiveness of change which through improved communication affects us all. While this has provided new opportunities for the enrichment of family life, in many families it has produced uncertainty, disruption and deterioration of family relationships. These developments have pointed up the need for a better understanding of the family and how it functions. The contribution of the Vanier Institute to this better understanding is twofold. The Institute initiates and supports research designed to add to the available information about the family. Through conferences and publications research findings and information from other sources are disseminated to professional workers, policy makers and others.

The Vanier Institute is interested in the family in all its aspects. We consider it to be not only the basic social unit of our society but also important among producing and consuming units in our economy. The family as an institution has survived many social upheavals, and in our cybernetic, technological and rapidly changing society it remains and will probably continue to be the primary source of love, acceptance, security and sense of identity for all its members, and the primary agent in the growth and development of the child. The Vanier Institute aims to strengthen this unit so that it can adapt and change and become *more effective in enabling its members to cope constructively with the pressures and demands of our society.*

¹ The Canadian Conference on the Family—Proceedings—p. 158.

We are particularly concerned with those forces which give the family the quality to survive and adapt successfully to changing conditions, and with the influences of society which appear to be damaging to families. The poverty which affects so many Canadian families today is thus of special concern to the Institute.

The publication of the Fifth Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada in 1968, in which the Council pronounced the poverty in Canada a national disgrace and pointed out that one family in four was living in poverty, drew an immediate response from the Board of Directors of the Vanier Institute. One element in this response was a directive that an approach be made to the Economic Council with an offer to help with the further research which the Council had indicated was essential to build up the knowledge and understanding necessary for the elimination of poverty in Canada. As a result the Council and the Institute are jointly sponsoring a multi-disciplinary research project. This study, now in progress, is designed to add to our knowledge about early childhood in the hope that a better understanding of the effects of poverty on young children will lead to more effective preventive policies. One of the objects of this submission is to bring this inquiry, still at an early stage, to the attention of your Committee, and it will be referred to later in this submission.

Discrimination and Poverty

In preparing this brief, the Institute has accepted as a starting point and for analysis, the definition and poverty lines traced by the Economic Council and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. We realize that the latter will be refined as research and surveys are carried further enabling allowance to be made for such factors as geographical influences, the disposition of property, etc. We have in addition examined evidence submitted to your Committee, material published by the Economic Council of Canada, by the Ontario Economic Council and other studies. We have been interested in a particular theme which has appeared in a number of these studies—the influence of the institutions in our society on poverty—and we propose to pursue this theme today.

The Ontario Economic Council in its study, "Poverty and Institutional Reform" points out how organized and vocal groups in our society have been able to influence change in institutions to protect their own interests, whereas the unorganized poor, because of their isolation and dispersion, have not been active participants in society. In its Sixth Review, the Economic Council of Canada, in discussing the cost of poverty to the economy due to the frustrations preventing the potentially employable poor from participating in a productive way in our society asks and answers: "If the unutilized or undeveloped human resources in Canada are potentially highly productive, why has our economic system failed to seek out and

harness the potential of these resources? To some extent, this failure appears to be associated with institutional rigidities and attitudes... which have become embedded in policies and practices that tend to make the economy function in a way that is pervasively discriminatory against the poor". The Council then briefly refers to some aspects of discrimination—the labour market, transportation, education and some aspects of social welfare policies—which prevent the poor from developing their full income-earning potential and from pulling themselves out of poverty. There are, in addition, many other organizations and individuals who have, in their submissions to you or in other places, made reference to the biases against the poor which exist in various institutions.

The Institute is not in a position to provide new evidence on these statements, nor even to substantiate the evidence which has been presented by others. We have, however, been struck by the persistence of this theme of institutional and institutionalized discrimination. In this submission we draw together and re-examine briefly some of the evidence, and then suggest a hypothesis which, if fully substantiated, could help not only to explain poverty, but to indicate definite lines for policy and action for the eventual elimination of poverty in Canada. We have taken this approach because we believe that the process of formulating and testing such hypotheses is going to be essential to the further development of effective anti-poverty policies.

There are a number of theories about poverty in North America. They range from the simple (and easily refutable) "the poor are lazy", through "poverty is simply a lack of money" to more sophisticated theories about generational poverty, cultures of poverty and underdeveloped human capital. They are debated and debatable, and their validity depends, to some degree, upon the definition of poverty which is involved. To an even greater degree, however, their debatability is probably a product of the fact that the evidence available to substantiate them is fragmentary, never quite current, and always to some degree uncertain. It is our hope that the theory of poverty presented in this brief, in conjunction with the evidence, will be further examined and tested by the Committee and its staff, and that it will, like other theories of poverty, generate wide debate.

One of the themes which has recurrently appeared in testimony before your Committee and in the flood of literature on poverty which marked the 1960's has been the exclusion of the poor from the broader social and economic participation which is open to others. It is the exclusion of low-income people, when this exclusion is not voluntary on their part, which we define as being the essence of poverty. *Is it possible that this involuntary exclusion arises, not from the characteristics of the poor themselves, but from the fact that in our society there is pervasive discrimination against low-income people—discrimination which,*

consciously, or unconsciously, permeates the policies of most of our major institutions? Such a theory, if it accords with the evidence, might go a long way towards explaining how poverty is created and sustained in an affluent society. It might also help to explain some of the differences between the characteristics of the poor and the non-poor. If the risk of becoming poor through income-interruption is greater at low levels of income (which in itself is evidence of discrimination), and if the poor are functioning in an environment in other ways less receptive or more hostile than that of the non-poor (to a degree which cannot be explained simply by the lower relative incomes of the poor), then, given equal effort and skill on the part of both, a poor man can expect to achieve less success in any given endeavour. As an illustrative metaphor we might ask whether the poor do not in fact function on a *steeper* portion of the hill with *more icy patches!*

The experience of less success or more frequent failure will affect attitudes and expectations. It could affect school-leaving age. It could affect employability. A relatively harsher environment could further reinforce disadvantage and discrimination as the individual and the environment interact. Is there evidence to suggest that this indeed is happening in our society? Is there evidence that some of our citizens live in a Canada Minor where they are not merely poor but where the very fact of their poverty serves to keep them poor?

The social and economic environment, a product of the attitudes and activities of the whole society, is embodied in large measure in social institutions. We have families and communities and governments, we have churches and clubs in abundance, we have markets for labour and for products, we have school systems and political parties. A close examination of the policies of at least the major institutions would be necessary to test the hypothesis that there is pervasive institutional discrimination against the poor. We have not undertaken such a test, but we have drawn together some of the readily available evidence presented in testimony to your Committee or in the results of recent research in Canada. The cumulative effect of this evidence, to us at least, indicates that a full and searching examination and documentation of the way many institutions function is urgently needed. We turn now to a brief consideration of the operations of a few of our institutions in relation to the poor.

The Labour Market

The thesis that the poor generally lack the motivation for work is no longer usually accepted. Lack of skills, poor education, malnutrition and often poor health place them at a disadvantage in the labour market. Evidence indicates that in the labour market low-income workers experience substantially more difficulty and greater frustration than other workers.

These difficulties begin as they enter or re-enter the market. They lack information as to jobs available, and for the most part rely on friends, relatives and other workers for information about job vacancies. These contacts are likely to be limited, especially if workers have led a relatively isolated life during a period of unemployment. Many do not buy newspapers, so are unaware of advertised jobs; often jobs in their neighbourhood are not advertised.

Experiences during periods of unemployment sometimes lead to a hostile attitude towards bureaucracy, so that some workers hesitate to apply for work at government employment centres. Unfortunately those who do apply cannot always be referred to prospective employers as many job vacancies are not reported to these centres. The Department of Manpower and Immigration is working to secure better co-operation from employers in reporting vacancies and in specifying more accurately requirements as to qualifications for jobs, and also to "reach out" to workers and youths who otherwise would not use the services of manpower centres. But to overcome the difficulties of poor workers much still needs to be done in this regard.

Even after finding employment the low-income worker faces conditions which make it relatively more difficult for him to increase his limited earnings or to bring his family above the poverty line. Many factors contribute to poor earnings, but there can be little doubt that some of these factors discriminate against low-income workers. Many of these workers outside the ambit of organized labour, are likely to receive lower wages than unionized workers, and indeed are not likely to be recompensed in accord with what their skills and efforts are actually worth to the economy. Nor are they likely to be among those recompensed for expenses of employment. Many of these workers fill jobs in essential services, (such as store clerks, some cleaners, dishwashers, etc), which offer regular employment, but in some cases do not pay the worker enough money to support his family adequately. It is not unusual that workers with large families, willing and capable of filling such jobs, cannot afford to take them, since their earnings would be less than the income the family could receive through welfare payments. Competition for higher-paying unskilled jobs, such as some jobs in construction, is usually intense. For some workers, however, these jobs are not possible, either through lack of the physical stamina which these jobs demand, or in some cases through lack of transportation to the job site. Moreover the intermittent nature of these jobs often offsets the advantage of the higher wage paid. Experiences such as these, and there are many others, tend

to rob a worker of his motivation to work², of his self-confidence and self-esteem, and often lead to his family accepting a defeatist or more hostile attitude toward their environment.

Would better counselling and more-easily-available training have raised the earning capacity of some of these heads of family? A preliminary report on Employability and Public Welfare in 1968³, based on direct observations of the counselling by the former National Employment Service of 100 employables who had difficulty in sustaining a work pattern indicated that, after counselling, little was known of the client's work skills, family settings, social and psychological characteristics. The maximum amount of time spent in counselling clients was 9 minutes per month; and 25% of the clients were seen for counselling less than 1 minute per month. Such counselling could hardly have been helpful. The Department of Manpower and Immigration has opened over 350 Manpower Centres across Canada, whose function besides matching manpower demand with supply is to offer counselling, to disseminate information on jobs, and to provide other services to workers and immigrants. Good counselling is expensive, demanding trained personnel and time. If constitutional difficulties and lack of trained personnel should prevent the development and availability of good counselling services for workers across Canada, this will work particular hardship upon the poor. Manpower policies cannot be dissociated from the performance of the economy, and these policies must be oriented towards the upgrading of the labour force. It is particularly important that these programs be directed to disadvantaged workers who are not given the opportunity to participate in industry programs, and who are unable to finance further basic training on their own behalf. To date approximately 315,000 persons, more than half of whom are heads of families and many of whom have lived in poverty, have been taken into training under the Occupational Training for Adults Program. While both these and other measures indicate a lessening of some of the discrimination which many workers experience, they are piecemeal policies which do not lessen the form of discrimination which has the most serious effects, not only within the labour

market but within the whole institutional structure—the discrimination associated with unemployment. The unskilled marginal worker, the old worker and the very young worker, these are the people who suffer most from income interruption. Although least able to bear it, they are the first persons to feel the burden of unemployment when restrictive policies are necessary to maintain price stability. Can poverty be eliminated if steps are not taken to shield the poor from the full brunt of the burden of maintaining price stability?

The Consumer Market

The market place for goods and services, the consumer market, is difficult territory for any householder to negotiate these days, but the difficulties faced by poor families are not simply those of having less purchasing power. The very fact of having less purchasing power can alter the character of the market in which they bargain. Less information, more fraud, higher prices associated with smaller quantity purchases, lack of transportation for family shopping, and many other elements enter to reduce further the real income that their limited dollars represent. Since these difficulties have been documented before this Committee by witnesses of the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs it is not necessary to elaborate on them here. Consumer problems of poor families may be particularly serious because they can affect income-earning ability quite directly. Access to credit, to health services, to transportation, to education, and to various forms of public services are especially significant, and discrimination against the poor by such institutions as supply these goods and services could have grave consequences.

Consumer Credit

Among the most frequent purposes for which consumer loans are extended are the ordinary expenses of living, such as food and other expenditures, health care, and rent. Such access to credit in times of need has prevented many families from getting into deeper difficulties, and permitted them to sustain their economic equilibrium and their participation in the labour market. The poor, however, not only have much less access to this stabilizer than do others, but they often need help from this source more urgently, since few of them have privately contracted insurance policies or many other assets on which they can borrow. They also have less access to credit for the purpose of improving their earning capacity, such as paying tuition fees, meeting living expenses while retraining, or financing school-related expenditures for their children. The criteria for obtaining loans ("credit-worthiness"), rather than being based on the probable economic productivity of that credit, (which is appropriately the basis for extension of loans to business), tends to be based partly on the accumulated assets and current income but chiefly on the stability of the income of the applicant. The high risk of

² See the submission by Elliott Liebow for inclusion in the record of the U.S. Joint-Economic Committee on Manpower and Housing, May/June 1968, Chapter II, Men and Jobs, from Tally's Corner (Boston: Little Brown & Co.) 1967. This article refers to experiences and reactions of Negroes in the United States. Since many of these experiences are not dissimilar to those of some poor workers in Canada, the article provides a background for the better understanding of the effects of such experiences on workers.

³ Canadian Welfare Council, Research Branch: Employability and Public Welfare: an assessment (877) January 1968.

interruption of that income due to the high incidence of unemployment among the poor has already been noted. Due to this high risk and the fact that the poor tend to have both few assets and low incomes, loans, even for highly productive uses, may not be available to the poor. Thus, given an equal need for cash and similar intentions for its use, the poor man is still less likely than others to have access to credit.

About half of the applicants for consumer loans are regularly turned away. An analysis of the grounds for refusal of loans to poor borrowers would give some indication of the extent to which the poor experience discrimination due to the failure of society to devise a system for spreading the risk of income interruption. It is notable that studies of borrowers having difficulties with consumer debts indicate that a far higher proportion have difficulty because of income interruption arising from sickness, accident or interrupted employment than from irresponsible use of credit.

The lack of access to consumer credit also affects the way capital markets function, especially with respect to the creation of human capital. Education-related expenditures have an important place among the consumption expenditures of the non-poor⁴, even though the great bulk of funds for education in this country are derived from general tax revenues. The growing importance of the home environment to good school performance is gradually being recognized. So too is the need for private and public initiatives in retraining or maintaining skills in the face of changing technology. Both these developments point to the growing importance of the private investment process that goes on at the behest of individuals and within families. If there is a lack of access to consumer credit and to capital markets for the productive purposes of investment in human resources by the poor, then either the gap between the poor and the non-poor will widen or the poor must be given precedence in our publicly organized programs. The proposal by the Special Joint Committee on Consumer Credit for guaranteeing loans to the poor on grounds of equity is further strengthened by this argument. Economic efficiency and the public interest are not served by consumer credit being extended with no consideration as to its probable economic productivity. Thus the contention that "red convertibles" should not take precedence over loans to the poor for productive purposes is an argument supportable on grounds both of equity and efficiency. It is also an argument of particular importance at a time when restrictions on consumer credit are being considered. Reducing the availability of consumer credit irrespective of its proposed use would clearly be discriminatory against the poor as well as economically wasteful.

Education

With respect to the education system, the evidence to support an hypothesis of discrimination is very strong. It may be related to the several levels of education.

The effects of early childhood experiences on the development and learning capacity of the young child have been well documented by research in other countries. Results to date appear to indicate that the experiences of a very young child in a deprived environment may so affect its future development that it may never develop to its full potential. This is the area where the Economic Council of Canada and the Vanier Institute are jointly sponsoring further research. We are attaching to this submission a memorandum prepared by Dr. T. Ryan of Carleton University to inform the Committee more fully of this problem in relation to poverty and the attention being given to it through research and experiment in Canada and elsewhere. Unfortunately the understanding of the importance of early childhood experiences and the services available to help families to maintain or enrich these experiences are still very much confined in Canada to the non-poor.

The evidence on performance within the school system itself clearly suggests that the educational system takes a larger toll of children from low-income families.⁵ Their progress tends to be slower, their grades lower, and their drop-out rate higher than their class-mates' from non-poor homes. Those children from low-income families who persist in the school system are also much less likely to continue their education than are children from non-poor families.⁶ The basis on which higher education is provided in this country still requires some substantial commitment of personal resources, and in addition some evidence, for admission, of good past performance in the school system. Both may be particularly difficult for the poor to provide. Despite the fact that substantial public resources flow into higher education they do so in a way which is regressive with respect to the distribution of income: that is to say, these resources tend to be raised by taxation which bears most heavily upon the low and middle class income groups (e.g. municipal property taxes), but they tend to be expended on the children of the higher income groups, who are able to reap greater advantages from the public education system. It is also notable that, for those who drop out of school and who, subsequently, wish to obtain training, federal training allowances are only available

⁴ See Sixth Annual Review, Economic Council of Canada, p. 116. Also D.B.S. Patterns of Family Expenditures by Income 1964.

5. Profiles of Education in the Atlantic Provinces—John E. Cheal and Hubert W. Kitchen, for the Atlantic Development Board, 1968.

6. The Vertical Mosaic—Social Class and Educational Opportunity, Chapter VI—John Porter, University of Toronto Press.

after a three-year hiatus, except for trainees with dependents. Failure to overcome this constitutional problem which impinges more markedly upon low-income than on high-income persons is undoubtedly a discriminatory element in our educational institutions. What are the basic reasons for the discrimination to which the children of low-income families are subjected in the educational institution? Is it lack of public consensus as to the priority which should be given to education in the allocation of resources? Does this justify policies which make it difficult for students from poor families to secure financial resources (through student loans, etc) to continue their studies?

Health

In its booklet "Meeting Poverty", the Special Planning Secretariat pointed out that "low income groups receive less health care than higher income groups and their illnesses tend to be more severe". The introduction of medical care and hospital services since that report was written may have improved considerably the health care which low-income groups now receive. Whether or not all of these groups across Canada receive the same degree of care is another question, and one which we hope the Committee will examine.

To a certain extent poor health can result from the effects of other institutions, especially those of education, housing and government informational services. A contributing factor to ill-health is lack of proper nutrition. It is recognized that poor nutrition during pregnancy affects birth weight, which in turn affects infant mortality and morbidity. Many mothers of poor families having little or no knowledge of nutrition do not know how to spend their food dollars to secure the best nutritional value for their families. Nor do they always have knowledge of family planning and birth control methods so that the families with lowest incomes and education still have the largest number of children. (1967 Census). This means that "the economic pressure generated by a large family tends to be more severe among those who are least capable of coping with their family needs."⁷ To ensure better national health, and to remove the discrimination against the poor in these matters, close co-operation between Federal and Provincial authorities is necessary for a more effective policy. The National Survey on Nutrition announced by the Department of National Health and Welfare should point up the needs and the lines for action on the nutritional front. What will bring more action to provide more information on family planning? The way for action has been cleared by the amendment of the Criminal Code, and one Provincial Government has an active subsidized policy. Services in other Provinces appear to be less effective. It would be regrettable if the Federal Government should decide not to take any action to inaugurate a national information policy on family planning.

Housing

The damaging effects of inadequate housing on families cannot be too strongly stressed. Dilapidated houses, inadequate heat, insufficient basic plumbing facilities, overcrowding and lack of privacy cannot help but lead to family disruption and despair, ill-health and disease. It is only in recent years that there has been evidence of a serious public commitment in Canada to provide better homes and a better environment for poor citizens. For a number of years the national housing policy has assisted Canadians (through the insured loans provision of the National Housing Act) to acquire houses, but this policy has, for the most part, helped those who were able to help themselves. Statistics indicate that over the past decade the average income of borrowers under this section of the Act has been well above the average income of all families⁸ and "a decreasing proportion of low income families have been able to benefit from this provision of the Act".⁹ The recent change in the Act which increased the maximum value of a house for which a mortgage could be obtained (an amendment included in a package designated as assistance to low-income persons) could, unless deliberate efforts were made to confine its benefits, be absorbed by those best able to afford the more expensive dwelling, with the net result being fewer but more expensive homes financed.

The benefits which low-income families in urban areas used to receive from the construction of more expensive homes through the effect of the "trickle down" process or chain moves have now largely disappeared with the move "back to the city" and the high rate of new household formation.

In contrast to policies for home owners, the gross inadequacy of the provision of public housing units in the past, under other Sections of the Act, is a matter of record. Far too few units were built even to meet the minimum requirements of the poor, and too many families (including single aged surviving members) continue to exist in over-crowded, sub-standard, decrepit and depressing quarters.

Even where units have been built for poor families public housing laws and the policy regarding the administration of these housing units do not always ensure that there will be no discrimination against tenants who are poor. Three-quarters of all public housing tenants are poor working families who have large families and low income. Is the policy of tying the rents for these units rigidly to the income earnings of the family removing the incentive of the family to try and increase their earnings? Do contracts give the

7. Meeting Poverty—Family Size: Special Planning Secretariat 1965.

8. CMHC-Canadian Housing Statistics.

9. CMHC Brief to the Senate Committee on poverty, 10-27.

tenants all the rights commonly associated with tenancy and private housing? Do tenants of these units have privacy and stability of tenure? It is also highly doubtful whether enough consideration in designing public housing is always given to the needs for good family living. Are poor families being moved into box-like units which provide shelter, heat and plumbing, but few, if any, extra facilities, such as storage space, pay laundries, utility rooms, etc., and with inadequate space for study and for leisure activities of the family?

There is no simple solution to these problems, or to the basic problem of meeting the demand for decent housing for all our families. The experiments of some authorities to try and overcome problems of management, segregation, the removal of incentive, and, hopefully, the removal of the stigma attached to living in public housing in some areas, are encouraging. Even though it has been announced that, for the first time, housing for low-income families is now forming a really significant proportion of new housing construction, there is still no reason for complacency regarding the housing of families living in poverty.

The System of Justice

It would be difficult to defend the view that all Canadians feel equal before the law, and that there is not a bias in our legal system against the poor. It would also be difficult to maintain that the poor do not experience discrimination in the enforcement of the law and its daily application to their lives. But the poor also experience discrimination in obtaining equal effective status under the law, be it as tenants, debtors or borrowers. The Committee has already received testimony to this effect.¹⁰

As families, the poor experience discrimination in that, as the Minister of Justice has pointed out, "One may find two separate systems of family law—the family law of the rich created, developed and administered by the courts, and the family law of the poor, as public law administered largely through provincial and local non-judicial agencies, and sometimes more concerned with minimizing the cost of relief than maximizing the rights and interests of recipients".¹¹ The double standard also applies to the policy of government grants. For the poor, welfare grants are regarded as a charity—for the rich the receipt of subsidies and government aid is regarded as a right.

A further source of discrimination is the high cost of divorce proceedings especially since the adoption of the new federal legislation. Similarly the applica-

tion of reciprocal enforcement of maintenance orders under various provincial legislation, affecting deserted and separated spouses and their children work serious injustices on the poor. These two aspects should be studied carefully and some remedial measures introduced without delay.

As a result of experiences in which they are victimized and bewildered, the poor regard the law not as a protector of their rights but as something to be avoided. They do not understand their rights under the law, nor do they always have the resources to fight for those rights or to protect their interests. Until they have assistance in understanding the law and knowing their rights they will continue, not without reason, to regard the law not as a protector of their rights but as a source of injustice.

The Fiscal System

For many years there has been considerable debate regarding the need for the reform of our tax structure. In its Sixth Annual Review, the Economic Council of Canada in its chapter on Poverty, in discussing the effects of economic stabilization policies, pointed out that under the present tax system "the poor are relatively overtaxed". A study for the Carter Commission on the incidence of taxation concluded that "the schedule of effective tax incidence for the total tax structure is regressive up to an income level of at least \$3,000 and possibly \$5,000 and mildly progressive beyond." In other words, the poor with incomes up to \$3,000, and perhaps those with incomes up to \$5,000, are bearing a higher proportional burden of taxation than those with higher incomes. The principle of permitting exemptions from incomes rather than giving tax credits is a contributing factor to this overtaxation of the poor. Another factor in our present system which discriminates against the poor is the lack of provision permitting the deduction for expenses incurred by an employee in earning wages. Nor is a deduction permitted for child-care expenses when both or the only parent is working. In its White Paper on Taxation the Government proposes to make some rectification on both these accounts—not permitting the less regressive tax credit but limited deductions from the incomes of those incurring these expenses.

The poor experience further discrimination in the policies developed for institutions to reduce the risk of income interruption to individuals and the risk of accident and its attendant costs. The Canada Pension Plan¹² and unemployment insurance do not cover the entire population: those who are excluded are predominately the poor.

10. For example, testimony before the Committee in Charlottetown.

11. The Minister of Finance, November 1969.

12. J. L. Clare, "The Canada Pension Plan must be changed now": Canadian Business, October 1967.

Access to Information

Information systems constitute one of our social institutions. There are a myriad of such systems of communication, from the mass media to informal conversations over the back garden fence. Some of the information exchanged may be of great interest, but of no great economic or social significance; other pieces are vital to the efficient performance of individuals and families in labour markets, consumer markets or capital markets. Much of this vital information does not reach the poor. Many poor who are ill-educated are inexpert in the use of the language, and experience difficulty in both reading and writing. Many members of ethnic groups whose basic language is neither English or French, have similar disadvantages in the use of one of these languages. As a result, these groups tend not to read daily or weekly newspapers, or to read only newspapers in their native language which may not give much information regarding matters of concern to them in their daily living. Nor do these groups read pamphlets, brochures, etc, published by governments, industries, or voluntary agencies, which provide useful information on a variety of subjects. Lacking facility in reading, the poor are not aware of many occurrences or opportunities which could be helpful to them in their roles as workers, consumers, parents, etc. Since most poor families in Canada have TV and/or radio sets, most of their information comes from these media. Are we failing in our responsibility to the poor by not developing and using these media in a more creative and educational way? Is our tolerance of too much uninformative advertising on TV and radio more costly to the poor than to those of us who have had the education and experience which enables us to evaluate poor advertising? Technological developments in this field will undoubtedly make possible in the near future many new methods of distributing information. It is to be hoped that these systems will give special consideration to the needs of the poor in this regard.

Characteristics of the Poor

The hypothesis of institutional discrimination, if it were still sustained after a more systematic study of the evidence, might help to explain some of the observed characteristics of the poor. The exclusion, the non-participation, the interrupted income, the limited access to information important to them and inadequate consumption patterns may well account for some of the differences between the poor and the remainder of society.

The picture that emerges from the limited evidence above is one of two different Canadas, made different not by virtue of different institutions but by institutions which either operate or appear to operate differently for different users. Canada Major is a country of reasonable optimism and some expecta-

tion of security, of rising real standards of living, and of physical and social needs which are likely to be met. In Canada Minor the picture that emerges suggests insecurity, particularly the insecurity associated with unemployment and hence income interruption. There is also fear, and an expectation, of failure rather than success. Physical deprivation and social exclusion are often anticipated and experienced. Optimism in Canada Major and fear and alienation in Canada Minor constitute rational responses to the environment in each country. Citizens transported from one to the other find more than their income altered by the change. If the discrimination is as pervasive as a brief look at the evidence appears to indicate, policies which attempt to change the individuals in Canada Minor *without changing the environment in which they function* are bound to be expensive. They are, also unlikely to be attended with either substantial or permanent success. They may well impose great personal strain upon the recipients. Furthermore they could also be attempts to convert what is, under the circumstances, rational behaviour into irrational behaviour.

On the basis of limited but rather persuasive evidence, it appears that the current policies of our institutions may be maintaining poverty in Canada or at the very least delaying its elimination. It also appears that to the degree the poor have characteristics which differ from those of the non-poor, some part of this difference is likely to be attributable to the more unpleasant experiences they have accumulated in the environment in which they live. To ask them to change *in the absence of environmental change* is to ask for irrationality on their part.

Policy Implications

What can be concluded about pervasive discrimination against the poor? First of all, some part of it is undoubtedly inadvertent, and the apparent indifference of Canadians is a product of the fact that they are not aware such discrimination exists. We suspect, for example, that if the highly regressive nature of our tax system at low income levels was widely realized, and if the fact were known that the proposed increases in personal tax exemptions (supposedly on behalf of the poor) are in fact worth more to the rich than to the poor, this would lead to stronger support for a more equitable fiscal system.

Secondly, some part of it is simply short-sighted, a product of institutional policies which are never subjected to more than superficial examination and sometimes are not examined at all with respect to their effect on the poor. While the long-run costs of such short-run insensitivity may not be immediately apparent, they are nonetheless real and substantial.

Thirdly, the fact that discrimination is damaging both to the persons discriminating and to those who

are discriminated against does not appear to be well understood, but it is an important one. Both sides lose from discrimination, and would lose even more from complete segregation. Interchanges which should take place, because each has something to offer the other, do not take place. This is true whether the interchange is cultural or an economic one.¹³ The conclusion must be that the interests of the larger society as well as the interests of the poor would be served by the reduction or elimination of discrimination against the poor.¹⁴

Society would also be served in another way. The accelerating pace of social change makes it imperative that we give thought to the kind of society we wish to have in future. An important and perhaps central element in this decision is the degree to which we wish to have power dispersed, to have individuals and families free to make their own decisions about where and how they will live and work, what skills they want to acquire and what vocations and avocations they wish to pursue. This freedom is directly related to the number of alternatives and the range of choices which are available to any person or family at any one time. Some people who have studied social systems and social change believe that systems function more satisfactorily when the power to make decisions is widely diffused, when individuals are as free as possible to decide for themselves where their interests lie.¹⁵ Discrimination, by denying alternatives to the poor, increases their dependency on others.

The elimination of poverty would not, of course, eliminate personal problems, but it would change very drastically the way in which individuals who are now poor can handle their problems. The difficulties of their children at school, the transfer from a dead-end job to one that offers potential for personal development or service, the obtaining of needed information about consumer goods, and the obtaining of justice before the law, can all be handled differently by families having adequate resources.

The dependency of the poor, which is forced upon them by the absence of alternative opportunities, imposes an unnecessary burden of political and administrative decision-making on governments. This burden extends across a spectrum of social welfare and income maintenance policies and embraces as well decisions about taxation. It inevitably imposes

rigidities, making the whole social system less flexibly responsive to change. Needed adjustments are made only after a lapse of time, and when made, may be more abrupt or extreme than is desirable.

What does all this imply for anti-poverty policies?

- It implies that they have substantial benefits, benefits extending well beyond the benefits to the poor themselves. These benefits ultimately take the form of a better-functioning democratic social system, as well as a more productive economy.

- It implies that an essential component of anti-poverty policies is institutional change.

- It implies that important anti-poverty policies can be undertaken even at a time when the overall demands on the economy cannot be increased for fear of generating further inflation, because institutional change does not require additional resources so much as it requires the reallocation of existing efforts and the rethinking of existing priorities.

- It implies that job opportunities for the unemployed poor are particularly important, and that these should not be unduly delayed by the current need for restrictive policies. There is, after all, no real cost of employing unemployed resources. Furthermore, the unemployed are not being taken from any alternative which they would not gladly give up.

- The exclusion of the poor from the broader social and economic participation which is open to others is not voluntary on their part.

RECOMMENDATIONS

At this point it must be stressed that the most important factor for the elimination of poverty is the rate of growth of the economy and the provision of jobs through this growth. But the experience of recent years when our economy has grown and expanded indicates that growth alone will not solve the problem of poverty. The majority of Canadian families and individuals have benefited from the increasing affluence of our society, but many members have been left behind in poverty suffering from inadequate incomes and an inadequate standard of living.

We have submitted for debate the hypothesis that the essence of poverty is the exclusion of the poor from the broad social and economic participation in our society which is open to others. In other words because of the pervasive discrimination in the policies of our major institutions, the poor are unable to lift themselves and their families above the poverty line, and so remain in poverty.

1. Need for co-ordination

In recent years, and at the present time, governments at all levels have adopted policies to ease the burden of poverty stricken citizens. Unfortunately,

13. Economic Council of Canada, *Sixth Annual Review*, p. 108; also "Estimates of Lost Output Attributable to Poverty".

14. Gary Becker, *The Economics of Discrimination*, The University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1957.

15. See, "Redesigning Social Systems", by Robert A. Levine, Office of Economic Opportunity, Executive Office of The President, Washington, D.C.

there has not been sufficient co-ordination of these policies. Can there be an effective direction and co-ordination of policy without a central agency?

2. Need for institutional change

The policy of such an organization should be directed to a study in depth of the policies and structures of our institutions to ascertain the extent to which these institutions prevent the poor from pulling themselves out of poverty and developing their full income-earning potential.

3. The right to work

Accepting the thesis that the poor do not lack the motivation to work, we maintain that the most devastating discrimination is the lack of opportunity for regular employment which will provide sufficient earnings to keep a worker's family at an acceptable standard of living. *Those who wish to work should have the right to work.* This principle has particular importance at the present time when restrictive policies are aiming to secure price stability.¹⁶ The burden of unemployment is falling on those least able to bear it—the unskilled and marginal workers, the old worker and the very young worker. Statistics of unemployment should indicate the level of unemployment among these workers as compared with that of skilled workers.

Are we as citizens fully accepting our responsibilities for the social effects of our economic policies? When jobs disappear, incomes of the unemployed are partially maintained through unemployment insurance payments, or failing these through welfare payments. Are we willing as citizens to continue policies which, discriminate against the large proportion of our population, are costly to us as taxpayers and ignore the opportunity of increasing productivity in areas where we are demanding increased production—such as better services, better housing and other facilities? Is it more costly to society to use human resources productively than to maintain them on welfare payments? Are our welfare policies closely associated with those who could organize the production of services and better public facilities needed by society? Why is there an entrepreneurial gap between the worker and his productive employment? Do we lack the imagination, intelligence, courage and determination to guarantee jobs for all those who desire them? Are government and industry making available sufficient training facilities for workers, whether they need additional basic education or training in work skills, so they will be able to meet the requirements of jobs in productive employment?

4. Assistance for those who cannot earn

Those persons who cannot earn adequate incomes should be assured of security of income tied to fluctuations in the cost of living.

5. Social security policy

The policy on social security to be announced in the near future in a White Paper should be carefully examined to ensure that any recommended action should not continue discrimination of any institution against the poor.

6. Taxation policy

Similar assessment should also be made of future taxation policies especially to ensure the avoidance of any regressive measures burdensome to lower income groups.

The logical conclusion of our thesis is that future policies on poverty must be designed to remove the basic causes of poverty rather than merely to ameliorate the problems of the poor. The elimination of poverty can only be secured through the mobilization of the efforts of all sectors of the community—government and non-government.

Poverty and Young Children:

A Brief Submitted to

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty

Thomas J. Ryan, Ph.D.

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THE CONCEPT

It is necessary to recognize that poverty as a single concept does not exist. In the notes which follow, the concept of poverty is used not only to indicate that a child comes from a home of economically deprived circumstances, but also to indicate that he likely encounters a number of other factors known to be associated with economic deprivation. These factors include social alienation, geographical isolation, low education level of parents, and particular patterns of child rearing. It is to be understood that the data and arguments which are presented below may also be applicable to certain children from high income groups who have experienced particular patterns of child rearing. The main point is, however, that the data and arguments presented below have a greater probability of being applicable to children from lower as compared with those from higher income groups.

16. For discussion on this point, see *Stabilizing the Economy*, M. J. Ulmer, New Republic, January 31st, 1970.

CHARACTERISTICS OF DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Physical Growth

The consequences of poverty for children seem to be evident even before birth. The probability of a pregnancy ending in abortion or stillbirth is greater the lower the socio-economic status of the mother. The incidence of relatively low birth weight for full-term infants, as well as premature births, is more common amongst women in the low income bracket. Interpretations of these findings bring to focus the fact that "poverty" refers to a complex concept with many facets. For example, women in low as compared with higher income groups:

- (a) tend to have a greater number of children, which may be indicative of lack of information regarding family planning and/or lack of money for birth control procedures;
- (b) tend to be shorter in height, which may be a reflection of the mother's poor nutrition and/or other environmental factors during her own earlier life;
- (c) tend to report for medical care relatively late in pregnancy, which may increase the probability of prenatal complications.

To single out one causal factor for the low birth weight of infants from low socio-economic groups is indeed difficult although it is certain that socio-economic status is in some manner involved.

Nutrition bears special mention. Studies which have most clearly shown the relationship between nutrition during pregnancy and infant birth weight have been those conducted with animals. Of course there is always some uncertainty in generalizing findings from infra-humans to humans. However, cross-cultural studies with human subjects, which have compared infant birth weight between the more and less developed countries have provided supporting evidence for the relationship between nutrition and birth weight. It is known that low infant birth weight is related to infant mortality and morbidity. If it is the case, as the evidence suggests, that nutritional status during pregnancy is less adequate for low than for higher income mothers, the implications are obvious. The fact that the infant mortality rate among Eskimos is more than ten times the infant death rate for the population as a whole may reflect, at least in part, inadequate maternal nutrition. Infant mortality is also relatively high amongst the Indians, although not as severe as for the Eskimos.

Health and physical growth following birth have also been shown to be related to socio-economic status; the role of nutrition again is of major importance. Once more the animal literature provides the most substantive evidence relating physical size as well as longevity to nutritional factors. Simply increasing the number of rats to be suckled from one mother from

the first day of life until weaning, has resulted in a decreased growth rate of the infants and also slowed down the time of anatomical, physiological, and biological maturity. For humans, it has been shown that at maturity, the average difference in height between high and low socio-economic groups ranges around an average of 5 per cent of mature height. The shorter stature of children from lower social classes has long been known, whether due to diet or other environmental factors. It has also been established that the average life expectancy for Indians and Eskimos is well below that for the population in general. Unfortunately, similar evidence is not available for other less advantaged groups in Canada. Other studies have shown that an improved economic status of parents who had previously reared children under less favourable circumstances, had a favourable effect on the height of later children. Thus, even with similar hereditary characteristics, an improved economic status and its coincident environmental changes, resulted in a greater height for children.

An important message can be derived from studying the growth curves on the development of height in humans from birth to maturity. These curves portray a very rapid early development, followed by a period of a very slow but steady growth, followed by the adolescent spurt in height growth. The influence on environmental factors on height is most clearly demonstrated when extreme environments are studied and it appears to be the case with both animal and human populations that the effect of the environment is greatest in the period of most rapid normal development. Thus, the implication is that interventions designed to influence physical growth, as well as general physical well-being, in Canadian children should be focused upon early childhood if they are to have optimal effect.

Intellectual Development

It has been known since early in this century that lower socio-economic children perform more poorly than middle and upper economic level children on standard tests of intelligence. Actually, tests of infant development which are heavily loaded in terms of items assessing sensory and motor development, show a slight negative relationship between test scores and socio-economic status. Later, as the tests become more loaded with verbal content, the positive relationship between IQ socio-economic status becomes evident. Furthermore, the size of the discrepancy between the performance levels of children from higher and lower socio-economic conditions increases over the elementary school years. During infancy, especially in the first 12 to 18 months of life when tests are essentially assessments of sensori-motor behaviour, not only is the positive relationship not evident, but there is even a slight negative relationship between test scores and socio-economic status.

There is reason to believe that the environments experienced by disadvantaged children during the first year of life may facilitate sensori-motor development, relative to middle-class children. Consider the following example. In an overcrowded lower-class home (or room), a new infant may experience more varied visual and auditory stimulation simply because of the presence of many people passing by as compared with a middle-class infant conveniently located in his own room in a quiet area of the house. This activity level may well serve to arouse the infant's attention and activity and thereby advance his sensori-motor development. These same environmental conditions may subsequently become detrimental to intellectual development. The previous example may be continued. As the infants grow older, the one from the lower-class home may find that his attempts at locomotion leave him in the way of others, thereby arousing their ire, that his attempts at vocalization are too faint to overcome the high auditory level about him, that his attempts at vocalization are rarely reinforced, that in his one-parent family the mother is too busy to pay any particular attention to him other than what is essential, that the low education level of the parent(s) has not prepared him (them) to provide the adequate stimulation their new infant needs to promote his intellectual development. On the other hand, the middle-class infant is given particular attention at certain times, including a large dose of verbalization on the part of the parent and a considerable amount of reinforcement for his own attempts at vocalizing and engaging in locomotor behaviour. Whether or not his model of the early environments of low and upper-class children is a good one, the fact that children from low socio-economic conditions perform poorly on tests of intellectual development is indisputable.

It is often said that it is unfair to make IQ comparisons between children of upper and lower income groups, or from different ethnic backgrounds, because the items in such tests are culture loaded and thereby mask assessment of "true" intelligence. It is correct to say that the tests are culture loaded. However the illogical nature of the argument stems from the failure to realize the purpose for which intelligence tests were originally developed. These tests were developed in the beginning of the century to predict academic performance. In order to achieve this goal one must employ test items, the content of which is similar to school curriculum. It is a fact that IQ scores are positively related to academic achievement; the tests were constructed to do so. The strongest relationship between IQ and academic achievement occurs during the middle elementary school grades. It is also a fact that children from lower socio-economic conditions perform more poorly in school as compared with children from higher socio-economic levels. The poor performance of lower socio-economic class children on IQ tests as well as in scholastic achievement is a clear-cut state of affairs and the idea of fairness or

unfairness of the tests is in one sense irrelevant. Where the notion of culture fairness has some relevance stems from the interpretations and conclusions one makes on the basis of such findings. It is erroneous to conclude that one's intelligence is of a predetermined and/or fixed nature and that some measure of intelligence during the early elementary school grades set some final level of attainment for a child. Intelligence except in certain cases where neurological disorder is evident, is *not* constant and can be influenced to a great extent by enriched experiences of various sorts, some examples of which will be presented in a later section of this brief. As was the case with height, growth curves of intelligence bear an important message concerning early environmental experiences. In terms of intelligence measured at age 17, about 50 per cent of the development takes place between conception and age four, about 30 per cent between ages four and eight, and about 20 per cent between ages 8 and 17. Thus, a single early measure of intelligence cannot be the basis for a long-term decision about an individual. Furthermore, the changing rate at which intelligence develops is evident from the fact that as much of the development takes place during the first four years of life as in the next 13 years. The crucial fact that the most rapid period of growth in intelligence is during the first four years of life leads to the implication that changes in environmental conditions will produce greater changes in intelligence if introduced in the early years than will equally marked changes in the environment at later periods of development. Keeping in mind the supposed environmental deficiencies of disadvantaged children, it follows that if there are environmental experiences which are essential for intellectual development, their absence during the early years will lead to intellectual deficit.

Language Development

A certain portion of the difference between the IQs of children from various socio-economic conditions is reflected on those parts of the test which assess verbal skills. Beyond this however, are the results of a wide range of studies which have demonstrated unequivocally that children from disadvantaged families are deficient in their ability to use standard English or French to represent and interpret their feelings, their experiences, and the objects in their environment. One should hasten to add that this deficiency is in terms of the use of standard English or French and that disadvantaged children may very well not be deficient in terms of the use of symbols and/or non-standard English or French as a means of communication.

The particular types of language differences shown depend, of course, on the kind of measures employed by given investigators. In this regard, studies have shown that there are more children with retarded speech development among lower as com-

pared with upper economic groups. Tests of speech articulation also show relatively better performance for the higher socio-economic groups. Among young children preparing to enter school, children from lower socio-economic groups are easily a year behind in terms of maturity of speech articulation. They are even deficient in discriminating and mastering speech sounds.

As might be expected, tests of reading readiness given to first grade children show a strong relationship between social class and readiness scores. In fact, one study showed that dividing the children into high and low groups on the basis of reading readiness scores results in very nearly exactly the same two groups as when divided on the basis of social class. Thus, at the grade-one level children from poor socio-economic backgrounds begin school with a deficiency in reading skill, the most important single skill one must possess if he is to attain his potential as a human being.

Further studies indicate the extent to which general language usage is related to socio-economic status. For example, the number of words used per remark, maturity of sentence types, complexities of sentences, and the use of concepts in discussions have all been shown to be in favour of upper socio-economic children. The language of lower-class youths is restricted in form and confines thinking to a relatively low level. These differences in the use of language may have important implications for learning. As lower-class children grow older, they fall further and further behind the middle-class children on those language variables mentioned previously. This cumulative deficit becomes more acute as it affects concept formation and problem-solving abilities. Thus disadvantaged children experience difficulty in abstract thinking and categorizing. Delayed language acquisition may interfere with the transition from concrete to abstract modes of thought. The fact that reasoning in disadvantaged children appears to be dominated by inductive rather than deductive processes may limit the child's ability to make acute generalizations and to transfer knowledge through the utilization of previously learned concepts.

The most important external factors affecting verbal development appear to be certain features of the child's early environment. Reinforcing or rewarding a child's vocalizations has been shown to increase the rate of vocalizing in infants as young as three months of age (vocalization in this case merely refers to making sounds, a necessary forerunner to speech). It has been established that there is less reinforcement given to a child's early vocalizations in the lower-class home along with a lower level of verbal play and verbal interaction. Frequent verbalizing on the part of the mother functions not only to expose a child to new words but also to help shape the child's sounds through differential reinforcement so that speech maturity will be attained. The effect of

the lack of exposure to adult verbal stimulation during early life has been shown in studies of children reared in institutions where there were an insufficient number of adults to provide steady verbal stimulation. These studies indicate that institution-reared children vocalize less than children reared in their homes, a difference which shows up as early as six months of age.

A recent, interesting, and important area of research has been concerned with the differences in language styles across different socio-economic groups. The following exemplifies the point. If a child is to be quiet one might say on the one hand, "Shut up". On the other hand, one might say, "Would you please be quiet for a minute? I'd like to make a phone call. If you make a noise, I will not be able to hear very well." In these two approaches to the same problem, the second displays a greater quantity and quality of words, the introduction of a time dimension, and some reasoning. The first expression is merely a two-word imperative, and not a very kindly one at that. It has been shown that these are the kinds of stylistic differences which distinguish between lower and upper socio-economic groups. With this type of model to imitate, it is no wonder that the disadvantaged child arrives at grade one not only deficient in linguistic capabilities but also in terms of his general cognitive functioning.

As for intelligence, there is a need for children from disadvantaged backgrounds to be provided with language experiences during their early life. Although we cannot specify the optimal age for beginning language training with young children, studies have indicated the positive effects of language training for children as young as three months of age and on up through the preschool years. For example, it has been shown that giving verbal reinforcements when human infants make sounds will increase the rate of vocalizing in infants as young as three months of age. Another experiment was conducted with one-year-old infants from lower socio-economic conditions whose mothers typically do little reading to them. The mothers agreed to read to their children for a minimum of 10 minutes per day from the time the babies were about one year old. At 20 months of age the children's speech development was well above that typical for children of their age and socio-economic level. Other studies have shown that language level can be dramatically changed during the preschool years. For example, in one study 11 orphanage children ranging in age from three years seven months to six years ten months were well matched with a control group. The experimental group was given special speech and language training on weekends for a total of 92 hours over seven and a half months. The training consisted of giving help in understanding words and concepts, looking at and discussing pictures, and listening to poems and stories. The experimental group gained significantly relative to the control group in terms of scores on 10 and voca-

bulary tests. Thus language training of various sorts is effective if introduced in early childhood. Since speech and reading difficulties are so frequently encountered during elementary school by disadvantaged children, it is imperative that further research be conducted on methods of language training as well as on the discovery of the optimal age for language training.

Personality Development

The research findings concerning personality development in disadvantaged children are certainly less well-established as compared with findings concerning his physical, intellectual, and verbal-linguistic attributes. Thus special note is to be made of the urgent need for research in this area.

A child's capacity to engage in *fantasy*, whether in play or in imagery, is an important feature of normal development. An imaginative capacity seems to have both socially and personally adaptive implications. A developing child possesses a fundamental capacity for tactual, visual, and auditory exploration of novel environments and to assimilate newly found information into his cognitive structure. This results in opportunities for imagination and thought which are perhaps revealed in reverie, dreams and play which in turn, provide the exercise of certain verbal and imagery skills and the development of additional capacities for self-entertainment. A review of the conditions conducive to the development of imaginativeness indicates that such conditions are not advantageous for children from low socio-economic backgrounds. The evidence suggests that fantasy play and daydreaming are enhanced through extended and close contact with an adult who provides consistent attention, frequent verbal interaction, who reads and tells stories to the child, and even engages in imaginative play himself. An opportunity to engage in solitary play is important for the integration of imaginative materials. Firstborn and only children are more likely to have the time, the privacy, and the opportunity for greater contact with adults to permit full development of fantasy play. Large peer-group play structures often impede the development of imaginative play. Certain cultural factors facilitate the development of creative play. These include parental tolerance and encouragement of imaginative play. An opportunity to observe adult models engage in fantasy, and varied toys for the opportunity for complex sensory interaction with varied environments. The cultural milieu of poor persons with limited economic, educational, and general interaction opportunities probably restricts the possibilities of imaginative play amongst poor children. Although television no doubt increases the amount of material exposed to disadvantaged children and thereby arouses interests and desires the lack of privacy and opportunities for fantasy play are not conducive to the development of an imaginative capacity, which later in life can serve as a valuable alternative to impulsive action, poor plan-

ning, anti-social behaviour, and extreme motor restlessness. It is to be noted at this point that the suggestion that opportunities for the development of fantasy behaviour are less optimal for children from lower socio-economic groups is a matter in need of immediate research.

One of the key prerequisites to adequate personality development and social functioning is the development of normal *dependency* (seeking of help or emotional support from others) during infant and early childhood. Children must learn that the attention of others is meaningful to them if they are subsequently to become responsive to the efforts of parents and teachers. Conditions necessary to the development of early attachments include parental responsiveness in some regular manner to an infant's needs. Parental neglect in this regard is an antecedent of weak development of the affectional system in young children. During later childhood, unless affectional behaviour is extended to include age-mates, the chances of academic success and good emotional development are lessened. Parental rejection and its concomitant conditions of neglect and cruelty has been clearly shown to prolong dependence upon adults and to interfere with affectional development. Father absence prior to the age of about six years, prolongs dependence and interferes with adequate sex-typing in boys; for girls, father absence has been shown to lead to inappropriate interpersonal attitudes. Although it is the case that one-parent families are a more frequent occurrence among the economically deprived, the findings referred to above concerning dependency and the development of affectional behaviour have *not* been obtained from studies with disadvantaged children. Although the implication seems clear that dependency will be prolonged and affectional development will be delayed amongst children from deprived conditions, there is a major gap in this area of research.

Achievement motivation (the tendency to strive for success when one's performance is evaluated against a standard of excellence) has been found to be positively related to socio-economic status among children, as well as among adolescents and adults. In comparison to lower-class mothers, middle-class mothers have been observed to encourage and reward children for verbal efforts, to generally reinforce desirable behaviour more often, and to emphasize the early development of independence and mastery. Furthermore, in crowded lower-class homes, where both parents may be away for a good part of the day and where the parents lack the intellectual sophistication, the child's early efforts at verbal and cognitive mastery are less likely to be rewarded than in middle-class homes, resulting in lower expectations for reward for intellectual effort. When low expectation for reward is coupled with a high expectation for failure to meet adult demands, the development of school anxiety is likely to be a consequence. One further point to be

added is the fact that the main difference between the achievement orientations of the poor and the more affluent lies not in their choice of goals but in their expectations of attaining them. Teacher behaviour and expectations are also of importance with respect to this point. A large amount of the responsibility for the academic problems of poor children lies with the teachers and school administrators, because culturally disadvantaged children are not expected to learn. The fact that they do not learn as well as middle-class children is often used as an alibi for educational neglect.

Low self-esteem (an individual's evaluative attitude toward himself or a personal judgment of one's worthiness which reflects the extent to which successes approach expectations in personally valued areas) is also characteristic of disadvantaged children. A person who values academic competence, as appears to be the case for most disadvantaged youth, but who performs poorly is likely to suffer devaluation. For such a person to define himself as successful would require a diminution of the value of education, a lowered expectation of success, or an attack against the school system. Each of these characteristics has been found to occur among disadvantaged youth.

The evidence abounds that persons who live in conditions of family disorganization, financial instability, and social rejections are likely to be lower in self-esteem than their opposites. Nor does self-esteem exist apart from other characteristics. Persons with a low self-esteem tend also to be socially withdrawn and apprehensive, inclined to reject their own perceptions and judgments while accepting those of other persons, lacking the social skills and ease that make for friendships and social participations. They are likely to be self-conscious, with feelings of helplessness and hopelessness. They have high anxiety which is associated with poor performance on academic and vocational tasks. For children, low self-esteem is also associated with an expectation of failure which coincides with their teachers' negative perceptions of them.

One of the most striking findings regarding the families of disadvantaged children is the consistent absence of conditions associated with the formation of high self-esteem. These include acceptance of the child by his parents, clearly defined limits and values, and respect and latitude within the defined limits. For disadvantaged children, their often absent, apathetic, and rejecting parents do not provide good models of how to succeed.

The research summarized above presents a syndrome of personality consequences of disadvantage. The variety of personality consequences associated with disadvantaged backgrounds seem to be somewhat interchangeable in relation to the consequent behaviour and performance. As is the case with intellectual and linguistic development, the effects of

disadvantaged conditions upon personality development seem to be cumulative over time. Although sufficient longitudinal data on the development of personality characteristics are sadly lacking, there is a theoretical and an empirical rationale for suggesting that the major development of personality takes place during early childhood. The theoretical basis stems from the implications from psychoanalytic theory that the first five years of life are the most important for personality development. Empirical rationale is derived from longitudinal studies on the development of intellectual interests, dependency and aggression. These studies indicate that by about the age of two at least one-third of the variance, and that by the age of five one-half of the variance at adolescence, in terms of intellectual interests, dependencies and aggression is predictable. If future research corroborates these implications, it will be clear that the major portion of personality as well as intellectual and linguistic development occurs early in life and that any attempts to alter a child's environment would have greater benefits if introduced during those years.

ALTERNATIVES FOR DISADVANTAGED CHILDREN

Having described certain characteristics of disadvantaged children, some thought must be given to the question, "What can we do for them?" One answer to this question has been in the literature for several decades. This is the response that a large proportion (estimates range from 60 per cent to 80 per cent) of intelligence is inherited. The failure of compensatory education programs has recently been cited as evidence for the heritability of IQ. Since selective breeding is not a likely alternative to be chosen at this time, the hereditarians would argue that about all that one can do for disadvantaged children is to be cognizant of the existence of extensive individual differences and to prepare specific educational programs in accordance with the needs and characteristics of the children going to school. Irrespective of whether heritability and/or early experiences are the cause, it is important of course, to be aware of individual differences and not to expect all students to perform and behave comparably. The development of the ungraded and continuous learning program in Canadian schools, which allow an individual to progress at his own pace, has stemmed from such an awareness. Probably in no Canadian school, however, has the focus upon individualized programming been developed to the fullest extent, mostly because this would require the expense of a vastly increased number of teachers.

The estimates regarding heritability of intelligence have been attacked from many sides including:

- (a) the inappropriate statistical techniques employed in arriving at such estimates; and
- (b) the erroneous conclusion regarding the failure of compensatory education programs which,

having been introduced so recently, cannot and have not been fully evaluated.

Actually, whether the environment accounts for 20 per cent, 40 per cent, or 90 per cent of intellectual development is, in a sense, irrelevant. If one can specify the quantitative and qualitative features of environments that lead to changes in subsequent cognitive functioning, then the extent of the heritability of intelligence is not too important. What evidence is there, whether empirical or inferential, that alterations in the early environmental experiences of individuals are related to later cognitive functioning?

The largest body of evidence comes from the animal literature where the timing and types of manipulations of early experiences have been most rigorously controlled. Experiments with rats have been conducted in which the experimental animals were given many opportunities for spontaneous learning, as opposed to formal training, whereas control animals were reared in the normal barren laboratory cages. The "rich" environment of the experimental animals is typically larger in size and includes a wide variety of objects and playthings.

Subsequently, rats in the experimental groups perform much better than the controls in various learning and problem solving tasks. Similarly, rats which were given gentle handling (tactile stimulation) as opposed to no handling during their early life have been found to perform better than the control animals in learning tasks. Rats handled during the first 7 to 10 days of life have a reduced tendency to be fearful, as judged on the basis of urination and defecation in a strange situation, they learn avoidance behaviour more readily, and they survive longer when deprived of food or water. Differences due to early experiences are not exclusively related to behaviour. It has also been shown that rats reared in rich environments have a larger brain and a greater accumulation of the enzyme acetyl-cholinesterase in the cortex as compared with controls. The effect of stimulating environments is more pronounced if introduced within certain time periods, referred to as critical periods, early in the life of the rat.

Social behavioural patterns have also been shown to be related to early experiences in mice, monkeys, and dogs. The most prominently studied social behaviours investigated are aggression and sexual behaviour. Thus learning to fight in mice appears to be related to being reared in groups during the first 10 to 20 days of life; attacking behaviour in fox terriers is reduced if reared in isolation during an early period of development; monkeys reared with "dummy" mothers do not develop normal patterns of sexual behaviour. Normal sex behaviour in monkeys will develop if reared by a monkey mother and/or if allowed 20-minute play periods with other young monkeys during their early life. If monkeys are reared apart from other monkeys beyond the period when they spontaneously play with

their peers, then both sexual and maternal behaviour fail to develop normally.

The literature dealing with the effects of early experience upon the intellectual, physical and social development of infra-humans, only a fragment of which has been reviewed above, leaves no doubt as to the important role played by various types and timing of stimulation. Although it is tempting to reflect upon the implications of this research for human development, one is cautioned (a) not to generalize findings too freely from the infra-human to the human level, and (b) to realize that the existence of critical time periods for maximizing human development only has suggestive empirical support, although derivations from certain theories of child development imply the existence of such periods.

If low socio-economic status were taken as a rough index of environmental deprivation, then the poor learning performance of deprived animals can be said to be paralleled by the poor school performance of disadvantaged children. It should be stated at the outset of this particular argument that one of the greatest needs in assessing the effects of various environments upon the subsequent behaviour of humans has to do with the need for developing measures of the environment as has been done in the animal studies. The lack of such measures has partly been responsible for the under-emphasis on the effects of environments in behavioural science. Presently, measures of environments consist of such variables as social class status, socio-economic level, and occupational and educational level of parents. These very general concepts are likely to have only moderate relationships with the more specific environments that influence the development of physical characteristics, intelligence, personality, and general school achievement. The environmental measures needed are ones which can be clearly related to specific individual characteristics. These measures must include aspects of the environment which theory and empirical research suggest are most likely to have some effect on any particular characteristic. Research along these lines is vitally and urgently needed and until done, the point that follows must remain unquantified and therefore tentative.

For the moment, we can say that a low socio-economic status is akin to environmental deprivation realizing full well that this crude index will tend to overlook the tremendous individual variation that exists amongst the daily lives of poor people as well as paying no justice to the known correlates of socio-economic status. The famous Coleman Report which appeared in the United States in 1966, indicated that the deficit in school performance of children from lower income groups was evident by grade one and became worse throughout the elementary school years. Intellectual assessments of children attending Head Start sponsored preschools in the United States indicate that intellectual deficits among children from poor homes are clearly evident by three years of age.

A current longitudinal research program, also in the United States, should provide useful information regarding how early in a young child's life the effects of disadvantage environments can be detected in terms of scales assessing mental and motor development. At the moment, an educated guess is that between 18 to 36 months of age, differences in cognitive development and style begin to appear in favour of upper and middle-class children as compared with children of lower, socio-economic groups. Additional longitudinal research is needed to more clearly isolate a critical time period in this regard. However, the best conclusion on the basis of the available evidence is that attempts to alter the environmental experiences of disadvantaged children should begin by *at least* three years of age. The fact that experimental manipulations of the environments of infra-humans have their greatest effects when introduced early rather than late in life is in agreement with the above conclusion.

Theoretical analyses of child development also focus upon early life. Psychoanalytic theorists have long argued that the first five years of life are the most important in terms of personality development. This seems to be the most important tenet of psychoanalytic theory which has lasted throughout the decades, while the heavy emphasis upon psychosexual factors in early childhood has fallen by the wayside. A Swiss psychologist, Jean Piaget, has presented a theory of cognitive development which also stresses the importance of early childhood. It is during these years that the foundation is laid for subsequent intellectual functioning. Hunt's book on *Intelligence and Experience* has served to bring Piaget's notions on intellectual development to North America and to knock from the pedestal proponents of the philosophy that we should leave children alone while they grow and avoid excessive stimulation. In view of conceptual developments and evidence coming from animals learning to learn, from neuropsychology, and from the development of intelligence in children, the assumptions that intelligence is fixed and that its development is predetermined are no longer tenable. It now appears that the counsel from experts on child rearing which was commonly given during the 1930's and 1940's that we should let children be while they grow and to avoid excessive stimulation was highly unfortunate. The problem for managing child development is to determine how to govern the encounters that children have with their environments to foster both an optimally rapid rate of intellectual development and a satisfying life.

An additional and extremely important conceptual analysis of child development is presented in a book by Bloom, *Stability and Change in Human Characteristics*. This book presents growth curves for physical, intellectual, achievement, and personality characteristics based upon longitudinal studies. From these data approximate curves show the theoretical

development of each characteristic over time. These curves of development, although varying from one characteristic to another, lead to the generalization that growth and development are not in equal units per unit of time. For each stable characteristic there is usually a period of very rapid growth as well as periods of very slow growth. It is most likely that the period of rapid growth will be in the early years followed by periods of less and less rapid growth. This differential rate of growth with time is important to note because the importance of the influences which affect the growth of such characteristics is likely to be far greater in the periods of most rapid development of a characteristic than it is, at least quantitatively, in the periods of least rapid development.

INTERVENTION RESEARCH

In the light of the empirical data previously presented and theoretical implications, it is interesting to look at the results of several investigations which have attempted to assess the effects of environmental manipulations during early childhood. One of the most outstanding figures in this regard has been Maria Montessori who, early in this century, undertook to work with neglected and poverty stricken preschool-aged children from the slums of Rome. Among her novel teaching methods were the use of children's spontaneous interests in learning, that is "intrinsic motivation", training the perceptual processes, allowing children to work at whatever interested them for as long as they liked and the non-separation of the three-to-six-year-olds which gave the younger children a variety of novel models for imitation while supplying the older children with an opportunity to teach, a self-rewarding activity. The success of her methods was implied by the subsequent scholastic performance of her pupils. Unfortunately, comparisons with appropriate control groups matched on the basis of early experiences, were not conducted so that the evaluative information on the effects of this early training program remains in part subjective. In Canada the Montessori approach has recently blindly been adopted by our middle-class society, in the absence of evidence suggesting any subsequent benefits for the children. There has been no attempt to put into effect an updated Montessori program for disadvantaged Canadian children.

Until very recently, the most controversial and well-known studies assessing the effect of nursery school experience on intelligence have been the so-called "Iowa" studies of the 1940's. Predominantly middle-class children attending the State University of Iowa Laboratory Preschools were shown to gain moderately, but significantly, in IQ as compared with control groups not attending the preschool. Other studies conducted during the 1940's have not shown comparable gains in intelligence, even though

it is difficult to show any obvious differences between schools where gains occurred and schools where gains did not occur. Thus, conclusions concerning the effects of nursery school attendance upon the intellectual development of middle class children must remain somewhat tentative. Two tenable hypotheses to explain these findings are: (a) the kinds of intellectual stimulation provided by the preschools attended by the middle-class children did not differ to a large extent from their home environments; (b) the preschool programs were designed along the lines of developing social skills and creativity through free play rather than to develop intellectual skills.

The results of investigations which have manipulated the early environments of disadvantaged and retarded children present a different and exciting picture, the implications of which can no longer morally be ignored by governmental bodies. A unique investigation covering a span of 30 years was originated during the era of the belief in fixed and predetermined intelligence. The longitudinal results have recently presented some outstanding evidence supporting the important role of early experimental factors. In this study, 13 children all under three years of age, comprised an experimental group who were all mentally retarded at the beginning of the study. The children were living in an over-crowded and under-staffed orphanage. By present standards, diet, sanitation, general care, and basic philosophy of operation were censurable. The early intervention consisted of shifting these children from one institutional environment to another with the major difference between institutions being in the amount of developmental stimulation and the intensity of relationships between the children and mother surrogates. A control group of 12 children, initially higher in intelligence than the experimental group, were maintained in the relatively non-stimulating, orphanage over a prolonged period of time. Over a period of two years the children in the experimental group made an average *gain* of 28.5 IQ points; children in the control group showed an average *loss* of 26.2 IQ points. All of the children in this investigation were located in adulthood. All 13 children in the experimental group were self-supporting whereas in the control group of 12 children, one had died in adolescence following continued residence in a state institution for the mentally retarded, four were still wards of institutions, one is in a mental hospital, and the other three are in institutions for the mentally retarded. In education the children in the experimental group completed an average of twelfth grade education; the control group completed an average of less than the third grade. There were also marked differences in the occupational levels of the two groups. In the experimental group all were self-supporting or married and functioning as housewives. This was only true for one of the children from the control group. Eleven of the 13 children in the experimental group were married; nine of the 11 had a

total of 28 children, an average of three children per family. In the control group, only two of the subjects had married, one of which had one child and subsequently was divorced. The total cost to the state for subjects in the experimental group was approximately \$30,000. Some of this amount will of course be reduced by the income taxes being paid currently by these individuals. Cost to the state for the control group approximated \$138,000 and it is estimated that they will continue to cost approximately \$10,000 per year for the next 20 to 40 years. Finally, it is postulated that if the children in the control group had been given appropriate environmental stimulation during early childhood, most or all of them would have achieved within the normal range of development as was the case for the experimental subjects.

Another research program of importance, entitled the Early Training Project, was initiated at George Peabody College about four years in advance of the 1965 initiation of Project Head Start in the United States. A specially designed intervention program was prepared to head off the progressive retardation so frequently observed amongst deprived children. The purpose of the program was to develop attitudes conducive to school achievement and to enhance intellectual abilities. There were two experimental groups. One attended a 10-week preschool for three summers and were given weekly meetings with a home visitor when school was not in session over the three-year period; for the other experimental group, conditions were similar except that the preschool experience was only for two summers and the home visiting program only covered two years. There were two control groups, one consisting of children matched on the basis of socio-economic status and living in the same areas as the children from the experimental group, the other a control group in a similar city 60 miles away. The most recent results from this investigation are indeed encouraging. Children from both experimental groups are superior in standard tests of intelligence as compared with children from both control groups. On school achievement tests, children from the experimental groups are significantly above the controls and these gains have been sustained at least until the end of grade two. It should be noted that some of the gain in IQ which the children show throughout the program is eventually lost and that a portion of the difference in intelligence between the experimental and control groups is attributable to the declining IQ scores of the controls. Two conclusions are evident from this research. First, in order to offset the progressive retardation characteristic of disadvantaged children their home conditions must be altered radically in addition to (and possibly even instead of) the introduction of a preschool program. Second, in order to preserve those gains attained through intervention programs it is essential that the elementary schools be adapted to continue those special program features which were introduced in the early childhood programs. The

initial gains in intellectual performance shown by disadvantaged children who have been provided with a program of stimulation during early childhood, typically decrease during the early elementary school years. It is suggested that this loss is due to a combination of a relatively unstimulating home environment and a public school system which does not possess those special program features which would continue the type of cognitive stimulation needed by the disadvantaged child.

Without specifying individual programs, the point should be made that other programs designed to provide intellectual stimulation similar to that of the Early Training Project, are being conducted in many centres in North America. Stimulation programs are being put into effect with infants as young as 15 months of age ranging through to programs for preschool-aged children. The programs typically have some combination of home tutoring, and part or full-day attendance in a preschool setting. With the intention of being redundant, it is noted that the beneficial changes in the intellectual performance of these children should be sufficient to arouse the attention of Canadian governmental bodies.

The most publicized attempt at preschool intervention is Project Head Start. Head Start began in the United States in the summer of 1965 as part of the U.S. War on Poverty. This particular program was advocated by many child development specialists. A national program served a half million children during this initial phase. In the beginning, Head Start consisted mainly of a six to eight week summer program. Later, a number of full-year projects were initiated. Unfortunately, the advocates of Head Start offered few and often conflicting guidelines as to the detailed types of programs to be developed. The variety of sponsors, such as school systems, churches, and community action agencies, were given a large degree of local autonomy. A recent evaluation of the impact of Head Start did not present encouraging results. The summer programs appeared to be ineffective in producing any gains in cognitive and personality development that lasted into the early elementary grades. The full-year programs did not appear to be effective in producing any changes in tests of personality development; however, they were effective in producing gains in cognitive development that could be detected in grades one, two and three. Some specific programs were of greater effectiveness than others, an important point which will be returned to below. Finally, Head Start children were, on the average, considerably below national norms on standardized tests of language development and scholastic achievement, while performance on school readiness tests at grade one approached the national norm.

The rather weak support for the effect of Head Start must be reconciled with the case built earlier

regarding the important role played by earlier experiences. First, the investigators did not give sufficient attention to the variation within the 104 Head Start centres included in the Study. This is crucial because there are vast differences in the structuring of preschool programs for disadvantaged children. On the one hand, there are programs designed to develop social skills and to stimulate creativity through free play. This is the type of program which is most commonly found amongst the nursery schools run for middle-class children. It is highly likely that with the sense of urgency which accompanied the initiation of Project Head Start, the rapid recruitment of teachers precluded either a specific training program for new teachers as well as a re-training program for experienced teachers. It seems likely that the focus of these preschool programs may have been in terms of socialization rather than in terms of intellectual stimulation. On the other hand, preschool programs may be highly structured in terms of language training and concept training. Of those programs oriented towards the development of cognitive abilities, we have been unable to detect any which have not produced significant changes as assessed by tests of cognitive development.

A second factor concerning the Head Start study and its weak support for the effects of such a program concerns what the study ignored. The Head Start program includes attempts at assessing and aiding the health and nutritional status of the young children. The program is also concerned with the development of community objectives. None of these were evaluated in the study undertaken. Third, the study assessed the children after they had left the Head Start program. These results in terms of intellectual development and academic achievement show not necessarily that the benefits of the program were minimal, but that they would fade out unless some continuing attempt to work with the children was made as they went through elementary school. In the United States, Project Follow Through has recently been initiated to perform in this capacity. A fourth point to be emphasized has been mentioned previously. Unless the parents of disadvantaged children are trained to become more effective teachers of their children, the preschool programs designed to stimulate cognitive development will fall far short of their goal. The fifth and perhaps most important point is to emphasize the need for research on the type and timing of early stimulation programs. We have a long way to go before detailed recommendations can be given with confidence as to when to initiate and what features to include in preschool stimulation programs for individuals from various subcultures. Whether or not similar programming features are desirable for disadvantaged Indian, Eskimo, East Coast Negro, rural Newfoundlanders, or inner-city immigrant children, must remain an empirical question.

CANADIAN INTERVENTION PROGRAMS

Except for a few notable exceptions, research on the effects of altering the early experiences of young children is virtually non-existent in Canada. An extensive program with infants has been developed by Dr. William Fowler of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. The primary concern is to develop a comprehensive and optimal day-care environment designed to foster cognitive development. To date this program has consisted largely of infants of middle-class working mothers with only a few infants from disadvantaged families. Furthermore, assessment of infant development as a function of having been in the program has yet to be completed. However, this approach is a commendable example of the type of research needed which will lead to specifications of environmental features which facilitate intellectual development.

In another ambitious program, Dr. Carl Bereiter of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education has undertaken to teach language-deprived children basic skills and concepts before they reach grade one. In order to do this grade-one teachers' guides and work books were studied to assess the kinds of language children would be expected to use in grade one. The preschool instructional program was designed to systematically prepare the child for the kind of verbalism he would encounter in grade one. Independent assessments of the effects of this program have demonstrated its efficiency rather conclusively.

The Brunswick-Cornwallis Preschool is a program for disadvantaged white and Negro children being run by Dr. Barbara Clark of Dalhousie University. In addition to providing planned experiences to prevent the academic retardation of culturally disadvantaged children, this program provides interracial experiences which hopefully will prevent the development of prejudice. On the one hand, the program has not been successful in increasing the performance of disadvantaged children on tests of reading readiness. In fact it is estimated that about one half of the Halifax area children from lower socio-economic groups will face special difficulties and failure in reading. On the other hand, children with preschool experience showed a gain in 10 after a year in the primary grade, whereas children without the preschool experience showed the characteristic loss or levelling-off of 10. The improvement in intelligence did not attain the level of middle-class children of the same age, perhaps indicating again the need of continuing to work with disadvantaged children beyond the actual time spent in preschool.

The Research Department of the City of Toronto, Board of Education, has provided some interesting data on the effects of having introduced a Junior Kindergarten (preschool or prekindergarten). In terms of school achievement, the Junior Kindergarten benefited certain types of children more than others.

These included children of English-speaking parents who had attended but did not graduate from high school and whose fathers held skilled labour jobs. The beneficial effects of having attended the Junior Kindergarten were no longer evident after three or four years. The fact that not all children were helped by the program and that the effects of the program were only temporary underlines the previously stated need for continued research on the development of early enrichment programs.

Another exemplary project is entitled Early Ventures in Learning, at the School Readiness Centre in Edmonton. This project has assessed and will continue with follow-up research on children who have attended a specially designed Readiness Centre as compared with children who have attended a preschool run by the city of Edmonton and another group whose preschool years were spent at home. The program at the Readiness Centre has tended to focus upon developing children's speaking, thinking, discovering, inquiring and large muscle skills. The data available have not indicated any particular advantages in terms of physical characteristics, and intelligence and language development for the children who had attended the Readiness Centre. Two suggestions in the data, however, will be given further study. One, it seemed that the mothers behaved differently towards their children as a result of involvement in the Readiness program and possibly this alteration of mother-child interactions will be related to subsequent academic performance. Secondly, at the time of the report the children were in the middle of their first year in school and teacher ratings suggested that the pupils were performing generally at an above-average grade one level. Follow-up research will assess the strength of these suggestions.

In Montreal some significant work is being conducted at the Montreal Diet Dispensary where regulation of the protein-calorie intake during pregnancy is shown to be related to birth weight of the infant. The relationship between birth weight and infant mortality and possibly subsequent intellectual development has been presented earlier in this Report.

Numerous additional preschool and day-care programs for disadvantaged children are found throughout the country. These range from the isolated church-basement variety such as the corner nursery school, community projects such as project FRENCH in Hamilton, and nationally organized preschool programs such as those under the direction of the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development and such as those initiated by the National Council of Jewish Women. Although the development of these programs is to be encouraged, they are lacking in several respects. Many have begun without ready access to professional advice on the designing of programs for children with particular needs. The National Council of Jewish Women has mentioned the

lack of availability of highly trained staff as a problem which they have encountered in initiating preschool programs. The National Council of Jewish Women has performed a valuable service in organizing programs for disadvantaged children. Following initiation of these programs, their goal is to persuade local agencies such as school boards, to take over responsibility for continued operation. The good feature of this approach is attested to by the presence of many extra facilities for disadvantaged children; the bad feature is that there has not been any scientific evaluation of the consequences of having been in such programs (one possible exception pertains to an investigation being conducted in Montreal by the Mental Hygiene Institute, a report of which is due sometime later in the year). We strongly feel that given our incomplete state of knowledge, no early stimulation project of any magnitude should be initiated without a rigorous plan for longitudinal evaluation of its effect. The presence of a central body to organize evaluation procedures is needed. Insufficient funds has had the effect of limiting the number of subjects involved in various studies (for example, Project FRENDO) or to effectively follow up the consequences of some short-range social action programs. Other programs, such as the Beechville Preschool Program in Halifax County and the Preschool and Prekindergarten Summer Program for Indian Children on Vancouver Island, are in too early a stage of development to have collected evaluation data.

This brief survey of research-oriented service programs for disadvantaged children, as well as non-research-oriented programs, reveals the fact that financial support is being provided from a variety of sources with no attempt on any part of co-ordinating such an important undertaking. Each research program stands on its own when without too much effort an integrated program of research, making better use of present resources, could relatively quickly garner a valuable body of research information. Integrating the sources of financial support would facilitate the development of a research policy as well as promote the development of urgently needed longitudinal research projects. We can no longer allow the provision of early childhood experiences and the evaluation of their effects to proceed in a haphazard manner.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Although it is easy to present a long series of recommendations for plans of action, I intend to present recommendations which I believe (a) would not be difficult to implement, and (b) would have the greatest likelihood of payoff.

First, it is considered essential that the Federal Government become heavily involved in matters pertaining to child development. This should be conceived in a broader basis than the more limited type of federal office suggested by the Economic

Council in the last Annual Review to provide information and to co-ordinate research on poverty. The functions of such an office would be heavily concentrated on poverty problems especially as they affect children. Many government programs exist as aids to individuals and communities in dealing with poverty and community problems. The tendency is for existing services to be largely focused upon the physical needs of children and it is urged that there be developed a greater concern with influences affecting the psychological development of children.

The concern of the Federal Government would be with functions of the following types:

(a) It would be a clearing-house for information on matters pertaining to child development. The need for this service is readily evident as judged by the number of agencies, teachers' groups, and parents' groups currently planning to start early training programs for disadvantaged children but not having adequate access to the necessary and available information. Information would also be provided to those programs already in existence.

(b) It would also serve as an advisory bureau in several capacities. For example, research programs could be initiated in those centres where research has not yet been undertaken. In some cases, providing advice on research procedures would be sufficient, whereas in others it would be perhaps necessary to actually carry out the entire research function. This Office would undertake to assess current research programs in terms of their scientific rigour and to provide advice on research strategy where indicated. Assessment of on-going preschool programs for disadvantaged children would be made and advice would be given on altering programs in terms of latest research findings. It is easy to visualize how the concerns of the Federal Government would expand beyond matters pertaining solely to the provision of early experience programs for disadvantaged children, but the initial primary function should be in this regard. Another important function would be to assess the services currently provided by various agencies such as Visiting Homemakers and Public Health Nursing. It seems advisable that the functions of such existing organizations should be expanded to include home tutoring in terms of those child rearing procedures known to promote cognitive and personality development. To date we have focused too much concern on physical development and none on psychological development of young children.

(c) The development of research policy would also be a major function. This role could be fulfilled by making money available for specified research projects having to do with disadvantaged children. Thus, the additional information still needed on the effects of poor nutrition upon

physical and intellectual growth, on other factors pertaining to the development of intelligence, language, and personality in disadvantaged children, and on the assessment of programs designed to help disadvantaged children could be given proper emphasis. The encouragement of badly needed longitudinal research amongst disadvantaged populations would also be given prime emphasis. In addition, money for research concerning disadvantaged children would also be made available with no particular specifications as to the content of the research. The research problem would be developed in a grant proposal and this procedure would hopefully allow for the development of new ideas beyond those stimulated by the research policy of the Federal Government.

Secondly, the establishment of a key university-based Child Development Centre is advocated. This centre, staffed with highly trained research personnel would experiment with new programs for disadvantaged children and thus become the basic research centre for the development of new techniques. This centre would in effect, become a research and service centre assessing such problems as the effects of home tutoring as opposed to actual attendance in preschools, the effects of beginning intervention programs at different ages, and the effects of different types of programs. It is highly likely that this centre could take over responsibility for much of the research function currently not being performed in the isolated church-basement preschools, which are actually untapped but certainly accessible and useful laboratories.

Another important result of establishing a Child Development Centre would be to stimulate the development of urgently needed specialized graduate training in child development if only because graduate students would be needed for the necessary field work and aid in collection of research data. Institutes of Child Behaviour and Development abound in the United States but for some reason this is not the case in Canada. For the most part, the best a Canadian graduate student can hope for is the opportunity to conduct his Ph.D. dissertation with children as subjects with perhaps one or two courses in child development thrown in the "complete" his training. Early childhood training centres, school boards, hospitals, and out-patient clinics, and universities need persons with advanced training in child development beyond the numbers available and this need will continue to rise unless training programs are established.

The scope of a Child Development Centre could also easily expand beyond a concern for children from disadvantaged socio-economic backgrounds. And so it should, but again the initial primary concern would be with our current poverty products.

Third, municipal governments, in collaboration with provincial governments, should be encouraged

to aid in providing more half-day and full-day preschool programs for infants as well as for the more typical preschools for two-to-five-year-olds. It is urged that the need for facilities *not* be ascertained by undertaking costly and time-consuming studies to assess such factors as the number of working women, the number and age of their children, the amount of square footage already available, etc. The money directed to these endeavours would be more wisely spent in setting up exploratory programs of various types. The kinds of programs to be set up might include the following:

(a) Half-day and full-day preschool centres are needed for children ranging in age from two months to five years. The term "day care" is purposely avoided in favour of the term "preschool" or "nursery" because of the welfare stigma attached to the day care terminology. It is still the case however, that subsidies would be needed in certain cases but the centres should be set up so as to avoid separation of welfare and non-welfare recipients as much as possible.

(b) We should explore the need for and the feasibility of establishing some "corner nurseries". The corner nursery is one which would have a very small number of children (six to eight) and would serve the people within a few city blocks. This is based on the fact that the extra time needed, the problem of transporting children to one area of the city and then traveling to a job in another locale, is just too burdensome and in some cases the cost of transporting children to nursery centres is just too great to allow maximum use of existing centres. The costs of training the home operator and effecting minor renovations to the homes would be minimal.

(c) Large industries should be encouraged to conduct a cost-benefit analysis on the setting up of half-day, full-day and possibly full-night nursery centres. If female staff can be retained on a more long-term basis, the costs of staff turnover may well be reduced if adequate facilities for young children are made available within the industry.

(d) Municipalities should initiate programs of home tutoring, perhaps in conjunction with and as an extension to, those agencies which currently visit homes. This program would be designed to bring the stimulating features of preschool programs into homes where parents have no access to or are not willing or not able to make use of existing facilities.

(e) Rural municipalities should put into operation, on an exploratory basis, some mobile nursery schools. These would be intended to serve those areas where preschool children are few in number and/or travelling distances to preschool

centres would not make permanent centres a feasible undertaking. Thus a program of early

childhood stimulation could be brought to rural children on a part-time but regular basis.

February 17, 1970

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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 22

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 19, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation: Mrs. J. M. Priddle, Vice-President (ex officio), and President of the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations.

The Royal Commission on the Status of Women (In Camera): Mrs. John Bird (Anne Francis), Chairman; Mrs. L. M. Lange, Miss Jeanne Lapointe, Commissioner; Miss E. G. MacGill, P.Eng., Commissioner; Mrs. Robert Ogilvie, Commissioner; Dr. Jacques Henripin, Commissioner; Dr. J. P. Humphrey, Commissioner.

APPENDIX:

"A"—A brief submitted on behalf of The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , Deputy Chairman)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, February 19, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Connolly (*Halifax North*), Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson and Quart—(10).

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witness, representing *The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation*, was heard:

Mrs. J. M. Priddle, Vice-President (*ex officio*), and President of the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witness immediately follow these Minutes.)

At 10.30 a.m. the Committee adjourned until 11.00 a.m.

At 11.00 a.m. the Committee met with *The Royal Commission on the Status of Women* (in camera).

The Members of the Royal Commission present were:

Mrs. John Bird (Anne Francis), Chairman;

Mrs. L. M. Lange, Commissioner;

Miss Jeanne Lapointe, Commissioner;

Miss E. G. MacGill, P.Eng., Commissioner;

Mrs. Robert Ogilvie, Commissioner;

Dr. Jacques Henripin, Commissioner;

Dr. J. P. Humphrey, Commissioner.

The brief of The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation was ordered to be printed as appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 12.30 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Tuesday, February 24, 1970.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mrs. J. M. Priddle, Vice-President, (ex officio) of The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation and President of the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations, will be presenting the Brief to The Special Senate Committee on Poverty from The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation.

Biography: Mrs. Joseph M. Priddle, President, The Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations, Vice-President (ex officio) and Ottawa Liaison Officer of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation.

Education: Public and Secondary Education in London, Ontario. Graduate in Arts of the University of Western Ontario.

Activities: University Women's Club of Ottawa. Active member since 1948, participating in study and interest groups relating to foreign affairs, child study, and school volunteer services. Active participant in School Volunteer Services, working with emotionally disturbed children in Ottawa Public Schools on a voluntary basis, 1963-67 and in an administrative capacity since that time. Canadian Federation of University Women; member of the Provincial Education Committee for three years. Ottawa Women's Canadian Club; member for ten years. Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations; have held a variety of elected and appointed offices within every unit of the organization—Association, Council, Area Board, and Provincial Federation. Executive Vice-President of the Federation, 1967-69. Provincial President, 1969-70. Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation; member, Board of Directors—three years, member, Board of Trustees—2 years, member, Executive and Board of Directors, 1969-70 (Vice-President, ex officio).

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, February 19, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators today we have a brief from the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation. We will hear from Mrs. J. M. Priddle, Vice-President of that association, and President of the Ontario Federation of Home and School Associations. She will present the brief. You have the curriculum vitae with her brief, so you know who she is. She has a statement to make to the committee.

Mrs. J. M. Priddle, Vice-President, The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Association: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, may I begin by saying that it is a very pleasant duty and privilege to appear before this Special Committee of the Senate on Poverty, to examine the very complex problems of poverty in Canada. As requested, 50 copies of our submission were forwarded to this committee in advance, and 10 copies were provided for distribution to the press.

My organization is very grateful to be here this morning to commend to the attention of this committee the recommendations submitted, and to speak briefly to them. Our major concern, you will have noted, relates to the persistent and debilitating effects of poverty on children, its attendant deprivation for the growing child and the deficiencies and inadequacies that often remain with him throughout his life, resulting in a perpetuation of the poverty cycle. Early childhood environment and experience have a profound and sometimes irreversible effect on the child's future life, and although it is possible that these effects can be overcome in later years in some instances, they do have very serious consequences and contribute to the perpetuation of poverty. We therefore urge that efforts be exerted to alleviate the effects of poverty on children, particularly, at

an early age. Indeed, it is on behalf of the children of Canada that this brief is presented.

Our brief stresses three main areas in which poverty creates hardship and lasting effect on children: health, education and self-concept. We have stressed these three areas, not because we believe they are all-inclusive, but primarily because they relate to and emphasize three objectives of our organization: the promotion of the welfare of children, the promotion and attainment of adequate legislation for their protection and care, and the ensuring of every child's right to fulfilment of the physical, mental, social and spiritual needs. We think these are the human rights of a child. The effect of early childhood and nutrition on health, of course, has been well established over the years. However, it should be noted that recent studies reveal a greater prevalence of malnutrition in Canada than previously was suspected. This condition is not absolutely coincident with poverty, but it is more common in the homes of the poor.

A summary of the section on education might be to state that statistics have indicated early termination of formal education is much more probable with children of poor families than for their more affluent neighbours. We have stressed this aspect because education, although it must be a long-term goal, would seem to be the key. No matter what else we do it must certainly be the key to long-term success in this field.

Poverty not only hampers the pursuit of formal education, but research indicates that intellectual deprivation in the early years produces effects which are almost impossible to eradicate, and that lack of stimulation and mental sluggishness go hand in hand. Indeed, many psychologists suggest that the fulfillment of adult potential depends on rich appropriate early intellectual stimulation, and that mental development can be impeded very often and also impaired before a child even begins his school life.

Even if some of the results of early deprivation can be counteracted, the seeds of the

continuing poverty cycle, a treadmill of inadequate school facilities and staffs which can vary from community to community, students leaving before graduation, early marriage and child-bearing, restricted occupational opportunities, low income, large families and family instability, all become entangled in a pattern leading to the sustenance of the conditions of poverty, not only during the life of a particular family unit, but projecting itself into the next generation.

The poverty cycle is perpetuated, in our view, not only by physical limitations, but also by attitudes and concepts. We would suggest that this is perhaps the most insidious effect of all. Occasionally the child of a poor family will overcome the obstacles imposed by poverty and we could all cite examples of this, but you would also agree that this demands a great encouragement, determination and certainly vision far beyond his years. He must first overcome the sense of futility, insecurity and worthlessness which is the constant companion of the poor. Respect for learning and a desire for it is in proportion to the motivation provided, and parental influence plays a major role in this regard as supportive assistance to the school's efforts. Again, I would suggest that this is true in any family, but it applies equally to the poor and sometimes their parents are less equipped to give this support.

Children living in poverty are often thwarted in the development of initiative. If his plans and goals are treated with contempt, he may carry them out in fantasy rather than risk ridicule in the real world of his home and also in his school. If his parents cannot convey to a child a sense of his own worth and an expectation of success he often concludes he cannot succeed and has no worthwhile contribution to offer to his world, and his initiative will be weakened and stifled.

Ladies and gentlemen, our recommendations are general in nature, dealing, as I said before, with attitudes and concepts rather than with specific recommendations and they recognize that poverty is a very complex problem, requiring extensive and co-ordinated consideration. In the final analysis, the attack on poverty may possibly become a mammoth project conducted on a very grand scale, but such action could well benefit from experience gained through smaller projects of a pilot nature in a variety of localities across Canada under carefully controlled conditions and followed by very frank and open evaluation. Therefore, I submit to you our three recommendations:

First, educational opportunities must be truly equalized throughout our country and this particular recommendation stems from resolutions which have been supported for many years by our organization. The possibility of a child's developing to the full extent of his intellectual potential must not be governed by his place of residence, the wealth of his province or municipality and neither should this be determined by the income, social status or ethnic origin of his parents. We suggest five possible measures which might contribute to the accomplishment of this goal, such as federal sharing in educational cost. This stems from a resolution which we have supported for some time with respect to the establishment of a federal office of education and free university tuition. This, too, stems from a resolution which has been supported by all provincial federations: the provision of adequate vocational guidance and counselling services. This is included, not because these do not exist anywhere, but rather they are often unknown to children whose families are not in good economic circumstances or they consider perhaps that they are not available to them and do not apply. Here again, self-concept is such that they do not even look into this. More ready access to scholarships and bursaries, income tax allowances for parents' contributions to post-secondary education. This would perhaps have the greatest effect on the families who are not in the poverty cycle, but who are on the fringe.

Our second recommendation is income replacement and supplement programs must be so constructed and administered as to counteract the self-perpetuation nature of poverty and particularly the effect of poverty on children. Admittedly, this is a generalized concept and one difficult of implementation, but a number of specific measures could be suggested. The dispensing of money should be integrated with an educational program designed to optimize the spending of that money, particularly for such items as food, clothing and shelter. Because of education, surely these other things must go along with it. The conditions for payment of income or placement of supplements should be such as to encourage individual initiative rather than to stifle it, and finally, allowing for a high degree of administrative flexibility with regard to the balance between earnings and income supplement until a family has become reasonably self-sufficient. It is redundant to add that this latter point will require a great deal of public support and it includes a good

many grey areas. A great deal of judgment would be required on an individual basis. Generalized regulations would surely not apply equitably to all families.

Income replacement programs for persons seeking educational or occupational upgrading should be sufficiently generous and accessible to encourage self-improvement. Flexibility in administrative decisions should replace rigid, nationally-applicable limitations. The dangers implicit in these suggestions are obvious and the integrity and good judgment of those administering such programs must be of high calibre.

Third, anti-poverty measures must avoid the patronizing, de-humanizing effects which have traditionally been associated with poor relief and more recently with welfare. How children can be protected from the debilitating effects of being on relief is difficult to conceive. The solution lies first of all in the attitudes and practices of those who administer the programs at first and the actual contact with these families. Secondly, in the nature of the programs themselves and finally, but perhaps most important of all, in the hearts and minds of the Canadian people. Surely this cannot succeed unless the public is willing for it to happen.

Our federation is well aware of the strictures imposed on the federal and provincial governments by the British North America Act. However, although poverty in Canada—approximately 30 per cent of the population—is rapidly approaching a state of national emergency, our federation expresses the hope that federal and provincial governments can reach agreement through consultation on ways and means to combat, rather than through the medium of a formal declaration of national emergency which implies imposition of national regulations to deal with a situation which should be readily recognized by all.

Ladies and gentlemen, this submission is based on the policies of the federation as set forth in resolutions adopted at its annual meetings, and on resolutions adopted at annual meetings of its affiliated provincial federations and in briefs related to this subject prepared by the federation in the past. Extensive poverty in the midst of plenty is a dilemma of our age. However, we are confident that despite this very complex problem this committee's deliberations and reflections will be governed by wisdom and moderation and will lead to positive and practical action which will alleviate this very grave and

urgent problem, and we express our appreciation to you for the time and thought and effort which you are bringing to bear on this entire problem. Thank you.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, this very interesting brief opens many doors for consideration and possible questions. Much has been said about public support for various causes, and I should like to deal with one aspect only. First, would you agree that university tuition should be entirely free?

Mrs. Priddle: The brief does not speak to that subject, but my own view would be that at the moment Canada is not in a position to give across-the-board free university tuition. Perhaps at some time in the future it might be. However, if we are dealing with poverty, surely we would deal with only those who are in need and who cannot do things for themselves. Across-the-board measures would not perhaps alleviate that condition.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I see your point, and I agree with you. Within the last two or three days we have been discussing in the Senate matters concerning loans to students and so forth and the question of free university tuition was raised. Apparently many people are in favour of it. I doubt whether such a course would have public support, owing to the way students seem to be behaving these days. Personally, I am ready to support students who want to go to school to learn, but I am not ready to support them to go there and become revolutionaries, who will not accept authority but simply expect universities to feed their needs and demands. Surely it should be a question of ability and not a question of making student life easy.

Mrs. Priddle: Do you not feel that this would be governed in the terms of reference established for such support because of certain requirements that would be built in?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): These groups will not listen to any recommendations. They just want it their own way. They are just looking for trouble. They will not follow rules, even if you write them in gold leaf. My concern is that if we have across-the-board free university tuition, then a lot of the university boys who are being held down today, because their parents have to pay and have to make sacrifices to keep their children in university, would thus

be set free and could just jump on the bandwagon and become revolutionaries too. That is why I say we must be very careful.

Another aspect that I am concerned with is our public support for welfare programs. The people across Canada are getting a little bit nervous about the abuses of the welfare programs which have become almost uncontrollable. I have never at any time objected to giving welfare support to needy people. But the question is who are the needy? That is the problem. There are a lot of persons today living on welfare who are experts at doing so and in finding ways and means of getting welfare support although they are quite capable of holding down jobs. They take welfare because they make a better living that way. There are people who have ability and have trades—and I can go so far as to name railroad trainmen and brakemen, and those are very good jobs—but they find ways and means of keeping away from their jobs because they can do just as well on welfare. That is only one example. Where are we going with these people?

Mrs. Priddle: It is a difficult problem and we are almost entirely dependent on the people administering locally, are we not, as to how this problem is handled? Our research facilities are not such that I could give you a definitive conclusion, and it would be just talking off the top of my head if I were to try to do so. I know your point is well taken and that all of these things must be looked into very carefully because of injustices which create havoc for those who can little afford it. I am thinking of those who pay for the welfare programs. Sometimes they are hard pressed to pay for them.

On the other hand, I am not prepared at this stage to say that if you do thus and so such will happen, because I just don't know. Because of our lack of research facilities and access to research facilities we have confined our recommendations to the concept aspect of how we see it. It is not that we know the mechanics of how it is done or would presume to tell you.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We appreciate that, because we do not believe you do have the answers. We have asked the same questions of other people and have been told they don't know. Nobody has the answers at this moment. We have to keep this point in mind, however, because some day, sooner or later, we will have to face the problem very seriously, and it is going to be a most difficult one.

Senator Pearson: I have just two or three questions. In your recommendation No. 28 you say that educational opportunities must be truly equalized throughout the country. Can you explain that a little further?

Mrs. Priddle: Very often, when we consider equal educational opportunities we see that a municipality within a given provincial Department of Education is not as well able to provide facilities as another one. For example, I can specify the difference between someone in an isolated section of Manitoba and someone in the city of Winnipeg. We hear of cases in which different kinds of systems exist within a large city, and that, because the parents of a certain section of the city know what is available and know the value of it and demand it, they have it; whereas in other sections of the city, parents do not know of this, or do not realize they could inquire and have a right to have the same educational opportunities, they do not get them. So that, even within a given board of education, there can be differences. We are not concerned in this instance with anything quite that local, but rather to ensure that no matter where a child lives in Canada he will have an opportunity to achieve his own intellectual potential, whatever that may be. That does not mean he would have the same educational system. It might not be suitable in northern Alberta to have the same kind of thing as would be necessary in Scarborough.

Senator Pearson: I agree with you there. When you mention Manitoba it brings to mind a trade school that was there at one time run by a chap named Musker. He was the principal of the school. You may not have heard of Mr. Musker, but he said that in many cases the pupils who came to his vocational school from the country areas did better than those who came from the city. The chaps from the country areas did not know all the fine points of education, and thus were more amenable and more able to learn quickly than those who went to schools in Winnipeg, where they had manual training and a little bit of shops and such like, because those fellows thought they knew everything and when they came down to the vocational school that is the attitude they adopted. These pupils thought they knew everything when they came to the vocational school; they said, "Pooh-pooh, we know this. We know how to weld and how to solder" and such like. They felt they knew it all. He therefore figured that our educational system was brushing

over the surface instead of getting down to the facts, getting the pupil down to where he thinks for himself.

There was one other question I wanted to ask. In paragraph 30, recommendation number 2, what do you mean by "income replacement"?

Mrs. Priddle: Income replacement refers to someone taking additional training. These are income replacement and supplement programs that permit people to take compensating retraining, job retraining, in order to make themselves marketable when their jobs go out of existence and new jobs occur. In the mean time they have to live. As you know, some of these are going on now. This brief suggests that this replacement be done in such a way that it will indeed contribute to getting poor families out of the cycle.

Senator Pearson: Do you anticipate an outright grant or a loan?

Mrs. Priddle: I would not presume to suggest. As has been mentioned this morning, human beings being what they are, very careful thought has to be given to the mechanics of administration, because there are those who will attempt to get something for nothing and often deprive those who really need help and should have it. Again I would say that we have surely come to the stage at which we cannot give things across the board. We must seek out those who really need help and be sure they are adequately provided for rather than giving to those who really do not need it. We have attempted to give welfare to everybody, whether they need it or not, but then no one gets very much, and certainly those who really need it get very little.

Senator Pearson: I agree with you there. As you say in your brief, poor children who are not very bright in school feel inferior to the others, and they have this inferiority built into them throughout their lives. Would it not be possible to evolve an approach by which those children could achieve something that the others cannot, whether it be athletics, mechanical work or anything else; when they are young, could they not be built up educationally in some direction in which they could be better than the others, even better than the bright students, so that they could become more confident?

Mrs. Priddle: I agree, certainly nothing succeeds like success. If something in which they excelled could be found and of which they

could be proud, this would spur them on to do other things. It was interesting to me to have the privilege of working with emotionally disturbed children in a training school on a voluntary basis. Granted, emotional disturbance is not confined to poor families, but it does appear there very often. One of the first steps was to find something that the child did well, about which he could be praised, even how well he cleaned the blackboard and telling him what a big help it was, in order to bolster his self-confidence. However, it became evident that, whether the child came from a poor family or a well-to-do family, there is very little that can be done to break the cycle completely unless one also works with the parents. This is why I mentioned pilot projects.

The brief does not speak to this, but I would like to make this suggestion. Perhaps a few young families with parents of not much over 30, having young children at perhaps pre-school and elementary school level, could be taken through every aspect of living, the father being given additional training, and the mother also given additional training, because she might have to earn a living; also give the mother the basics of nutrition and hygiene, how to keep house, how to shop, marketing and consumer information; give some information on child care at the stages the children are going through, what they do at a given time. If we worked with them on that control basis for a year or two, perhaps one of the most outstanding members of the group could be put out into the community to see how they fared.

I am not suggesting that this is something that should be imposed, that they should be taken away from their community; they should remain within the community, being given not elaborate but adequate housing. If that were done with a small group for a couple of years, I am wondering whether it would point the way to something that could be done on a larger scale. I am not sure it would, but it seems to me that there are so many ifs, ands and buts that in some way or other we have to try something along these lines in a small way before we could begin to suggest any large-scale operation.

In my view, certainly the parents have a great bearing on how these children react. Some of these children can be most unattractive, and it takes a lot to love them. I recall speaking to one teacher, who was busy with very many little children, and had a lot of problems. One little boy in particular she was

troubled over; he was particularly dirty—he was everything he shouldn't be. After talking with the boy, I was able to tell the teacher, "It is little wonder he is dirty. When he came to school yesterday he said, 'Guess what. Mummy had another burner fixed on the stove. Now we've got two burners she can cook dinner and heat water too.'" It is no wonder he was dirty if she had to heat all the water and cook on one burner. The old wood stoves years ago certainly had it over these modern stoves. These things create problems which we must understand. What are these parents coping with? The mother of that boy was conscientious; she was poor, but she was trying.

Senator Carter: I see from the dossier attached to the brief that you have had a lot of experience with parent-teacher clubs and groups of various kinds. Have you ever been a teacher?

Mrs. Priddle: Only on the basis of working with emotionally disturbed children. I have never taught in a regular classroom.

Senator Carter: In the home and school associations or parent-teacher associations with which you have been associated, have poor parents taken part, been members?

Mrs. Priddle: This is a problem. It depends a lot on the officers and members of the association whether or not these poor people will feel welcome. They will come once, and if they are not made welcome they will, like any other human being, not come again. I remember attending a Christmas meeting in Toronto, in an area containing a great many new Canadians. They were not particularly poor families, but they were people who sometimes feel a little inadequate because of language difficulties at first. I do not know when I have attended a more enthusiastic meeting. The principal, the teachers and the parents had a marvellous rapport with one another. The atmosphere depends first of all on the principal of the school and on those operating the organization. At this meeting, whole families came with their babies. They did not have anywhere to leave them—it was marvellous. The principal and the teachers had an opportunity to get to know the whole family.

Senator Carter: I take it that this is an exception.

Mrs. Priddle: It depends so much on people, human beings and what they are. I really felt

that I should not have gone into some of the other associations. I went into one and the atmosphere was cold and dead. At an appointed hour the executive marched in from the teachers room. I wondered if they really wanted us to come. This is hospitality and warmth of individuals. Some people have it and some do not.

Senator Carter: Your brief parallels very closely the one that we had on Tuesday from the Vanier Institute.

Mrs. Priddle: I am pleased to hear that.

Senator Carter: They stressed two main points. One was the effect of poverty on the child, the child and the family to become imprisoned, and the other was the importance of attitudes. I believe you stressed the same points. You did the same as they, not only in regard to attitudes of people in the community or officials of the institutions, but the attitudes of Canadians as a whole. They maintained that unless we can change these attitudes we could not expect to make much impact on the problem of poverty. Is that your conclusion as well?

Mrs. Priddle: I believe that surely anything that is going to happen on a large-scale basis in any democratic country has to be accepted by the people or it just will not come off.

Senator Carter: Being accepted by people is quite a different thing than having the right attitudes. A person may accept something but his attitude towards that particular person or that particular group may still be negative. Have you thought this thing through? Do you see any way in which we can make an impact on the attitude of the public at large?

Mrs. Priddle: I feel, from what I have seen on television and the mass media, that it is possible to sell anything. I think this can be sold too if it is handled well and if it becomes the in thing to do. That is a dreadful way of putting it. We now see anything sold and some pretty weird ideas too.

Senator Carter: With respect to your parent-teacher home school programs are they geared mainly to the child, mainly to the school facilities or to the school system? You have mentioned the school systems.

Mrs. Priddle: First of all, our efforts are primarily to attempt to make parents aware of what the school is doing, what it is trying to do and how it is trying to do it in order to provide acceptance and support at home.

Number two, our programs attempt to provide parents with background knowledge on the development of children, how they grow and develop and how they aspire—this sort of thing. This is done through study discussion courses. Ontario has three of them, one for the pre-school age and one for the adolescent group. These are the main areas: the school, how the home relates to the school and how the home must support the school and also an expression of opinion as to how parents feel about what the school is trying to do. We insist that they do not attempt at a local level to change the curriculum, because the curriculum is not established there. That is why we have resolutions coming forward to the provincial federation, which are subsequently discussed with the department. It does not preclude parents voicing their objection to the given program but it does impose restrictions on how they are going to do it. They cannot do it to the principal of the school who has a curriculum to administer and must do so. He is not the one to talk to.

Senator Carter: I am not quite clear on that. You say you try to explain to the parents what the school is trying to do.

Mrs. Priddle: We feel that parent and teacher interviews are necessary for their own purpose, but we do not feel that the teacher is the one to explain on this subject. If we are going to discuss the teaching of the new math, to give an example, we would hope that the association would have someone from the supervisory level who is an expert in that field come and discuss this. I know two or three gentlemen in this city who have done this on a continuing basis and some of them have conducted courses for parents in the new math so that they have a better understanding of it.

Senator Carter: These are outside specialists?

Mrs. Priddle: Yes, they are educators, they are working in the administrative end of the Board of Education.

Senator Carter: You have indicated in your brief that the school systems leave a great deal to be desired.

Mrs. Priddle: Where did I say that?

Senator Carter: People lack opportunity, you said.

Mrs. Priddle: Yes, due to economic factors. Very often, the municipality does not have

the funds. I think you will agree that in Ontario this is changing, with our larger school units.

Senator Carter: But you go outside Ontario in your recommendation No. 1, that "educational opportunities must be truly equalized throughout our country"—unless the country is Ontario?

Mrs. Priddle: I am sorry, sir, I did not intend that at all. The country is Canada. I happen to live in Ontario and where I give examples it is so because they are more familiar to me.

Senator Carter: Then you agree that there are many unequal opportunities.

Mrs. Priddle: Yes, I believe so.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Senator Carter, how is the free university education working out in Newfoundland?

Senator Carter: It died, I think. I do not think it lived too long.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): It almost ruined the province.

Mrs. Priddle: Was it that it was too expensive?

Senator Carter: I am not competent to give an opinion as I do not know all the details, but I have a general impression that it was a little too much for the provincial budget to carry and so it was restricted to certain groups, it was not on a total basis as it started out to be. I think it was restricted to certain year groups, fourth year, third year, but at the beginning the idea was that everybody would get it free. Not only that—it was intended they would get not only free education but that they would get paid for going.

The Chairman: You have indicated that the situation at the moment in Memorial University.

Senator Carter: Dr. Ryan of the Vanier Institute was before us on Tuesday. He is an expert in child education. I said I had read that a child learns as much in his first nine years of life as in all the rest of his life. I asked if he would confirm that and he replied that he would not only confirm that but that the scientific fact is that the child has his greatest capacity for learning before the age of five. He went on to tell how these children were handicapped because of their environ-

ment. You refer to that here in regard to stimulating the working class home by books and so on. The environment sometimes is a tremendous handicap to the child. Has your organization given any consideration to what society can do to get into the homes or get into the environment to offset that?

Mrs. Priddle: This is why I suggested this pilot project, where we would work with families and parents. My experience has been that unless you work with the parents as well as with the children you do not get very far, because anything you can do during the day is undone at night through lethargy, apathy or reversal.

Senator Fergusson: The Vanier Institute of the Family had some suggestions on this point and I wondered if your organization had anything like this in mind, such as nursery schools. They even suggested mobile nursery schools.

Mrs. Priddle: We have not the facilities to promote it. We have suggested that preparatory work be done before the children come to school, to introduce them to materials and so on. Many schools try to get this done from kindergarten up, by taking them, for example, to a railway yard, to give them an enrichment of the world around them. Our preschool study course tries to point out this to parents. We find this course cannot be given in the evenings because many parents are on shift work. Sometimes it is given in the morning where we get half a dozen people to sit down and talk it over.

Senator Fergusson: You will find half a dozen willing to do this?

Mrs. Priddle: Yes. In a given locality you must find workers to meet these people and invite them to their homes for coffee and a talk. Sometimes one thing leads to another. If you structure it and formalize it for a course at a special time, they do not like to turn up, but if it sounds like something that is going to benefit them and they find it interesting they will be willing. They become interested when they find that their children will benefit from it.

Senator Fergusson: I gather from what you said that the home life discourages children in the lower poverty stratum to continue in high school. I know there are many reasons for that. How could we combat that and provide an incentive to those children?

Another thing I should like to ask in connection with that is whether, in your experience, you find that nowadays many children in the high school age group drop out of school before they finish, in order to help provide some financial assistance for the family?

Mrs. Priddle: I honestly think this is often said or given as the reason when in fact it is not the real reason. I question that it is the real reason because you will recall that many people kept children in school during the thirties when they certainly did not have adequate means. There could have been a lot of factors involved; for instance, they might not have dropped out simply because there were no jobs available to them, but there is no question that people who did not have adequate means nevertheless kept their children in school. So I question that the real reason that students drop out is that they want to help support the family. I think sometimes it is to escape from a family situation which they find intolerable. If they become self-sufficient they can get away from that situation.

Senator Fergusson: How do you think an incentive can be provided for those children who don't naturally receive encouragement at home?

Mrs. Priddle: It is a long-term process. It is necessary to work with the families, because the school can only do so much in providing opportunities and opening doors. If the student goes home to an attitude of ridicule for even suggesting that he might rise above his circumstances, what are we to expect? And this happens. There is often the immediate reaction that, "He is getting too big for his britches. This won't do. We'll have to put him down." This happens. We have all heard it. Therefore, surely, it is necessary to work with these parents in order to help them see that they have young people who do have potential. Some will have more potential than others, but whatever that potential is it should be developed and the students should be permitted to try to rise above their circumstances.

Senator Fergusson: It must be heartbreaking for the child who has become interested.

Mrs. Priddle: Except for the very few who have tremendous inner drive, and there are not many of them.

Senator Fergusson: We were discussing free education a while ago. I agree with you that

Canada probably cannot afford to give free university education, but do you not think the principle of providing free university tuition is sound? What is the difference between providing free education for elementary and high schools and doing so for universities? I know that, practically, we cannot afford it today; and personally I think that is the reason there was trouble in Newfoundland. Newfoundland tried to do something it could not afford at the time. But do you not agree with the principle?

I don't agree with Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche) who says the only thing revolutionaries is that their parents have to raise the money to send them to college. I don't think our young people are like that. I don't think that is the only thing that holds them back at all. I think there are thousands of young people who would not behave badly at all irrespective of free education.

Mrs. Priddle: I feel that way too. But I would take a position somewhere between the two of you, because it seems to me that although the principle of free university tuition is in order, nevertheless, it is going to depend on whether you say to the student that he *may* have free university education or he *shall* have it. It seems to me that we have to make it a privilege, even though it is free, and that therefore there are certain regulations and if the student adheres to those regulations, which suit and accommodate the majority of people going there, then he can stay. Many of the kind of person Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche) mentioned are denying the mass of students the opportunity to go to school, which surely is not a very democratic approach. I have two sons myself, one is a teenager and the other is a young man in his early twenties. One day when they were talking to some boys in my home I overheard them discussing their concern with the situation at Ottawa University, which had a bit of a problem, and they were hoping that it would not go on too long because they were worried about what would happen to their school year. They were there to get an education.

Senator Fergusson: I did not suggest at all that you "shall" have to take university.

Mrs. Priddle: It shall even be available to you. It is available to you under certain conditions.

Senator Fergusson: I think that is reasonable.

Mrs. Priddle: Perhaps the fault lies in our lack of enforcement of regulations. We have to be firm enough to take a stand.

The Chairman: There are no regulations in the universities, except as to loans. All students qualify for loans in the same way. That is the only regulation there is. If the student cannot pay his way to university, but has the capacity and passes the examination and obtains the loan, then he enters to university.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think there should be a regulation saying that somebody who gets a loan, for instance, and joins a picket line or does something like that should lose his loan?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You have to have something to control them.

Mrs. Priddle: I don't think you can generalize on this. I think you have to set up regulations. You may say that there is to be no disruption of classes; that the classes are going to go on. You may say that the students know what the regulations are when they come to the university and they accept them in order to get into the university, and after having got into the university that is not the time for them to start throwing the regulations out the window. They knew when they came in what the regulations were. If they did not like them why didn't they go to another university. That is just common sense, isn't it?

The Chairman: Isn't this a matter really for discipline at the university level? Each university applies its own discipline in its own way to fit the students. It seems to be working out. Although we had some problems, I don't see any insurmountable ones in the country at the present time in any of the universities.

Senator Inman: Just dealing with the younger child for a moment. Mrs. Priddle, on page 2 of your brief, in paragraph 3, you mention about a child not having clothes to go to school and being ashamed of what he has to wear. I know from personal experience in my own home-town that this sort of thing happens in any case. What would your opinion be of having uniforms for children supplied by schools so that all students would be dressed alike? I know that in this age of affluence children have more than they used to, but do you think school uniforms would be a good idea?

Mrs. Priddle: Whether schools could supply uniforms would depend on the budget of the school board, I presume. I do not think anyone would really object to the uniform.

Senator Inman: It would be a good idea, wouldn't it?

Mrs. Priddle: It would certainly cut out a lot of hurt feelings.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Would you use mini skirts or maxi skirts?

Senator Inman: At the present time I would go for maxis.

Another aspect of poverty that I wish to mention is that the children of the poor are very often suspect. I know that to be true. Is that the fault of the probation officers or the officers of the law? The fact that children of poor families are suspect makes them self-conscious.

Mrs. Priddle: It also makes them turn against those people in society who should be their closest allies.

Senator Inman: Yes, that is true. What can be done about that situation? I know from experience that policemen do go around to the houses of the poor and ask where their children were the previous night and that sort of thing, and the fact that they are suspect makes them self-conscious.

Mrs. Priddle: There is going to have to be a broad-scale educational program reaching everyone who works with children. It must not reach just the parents and the teachers but it must reach everyone who has anything to do with children. Anyone working in a public office, be it municipal, provincial or federal, is going to have to take this into very careful consideration. It must be an educational program. Frankly, I don't know why they do it.

Senator Inman: It certainly has a bad effect on young children, on young juvenile delinquents.

Mrs. Priddle: So much of it is a question of attitude. I recall working with one little boy. When I arrived at the school the principal told me that this little boy lied and lied and did not know what the truth was. After a few weeks—and it takes quite a time to find things out, because these things come out only little by little—I discovered that two or three of his little friends in his classroom had

been speaking of their summer cottages. He had a picture of a lovely suburban bungalow, with a nice car in front, father and mother there and it was a picture of his mother and father. To the teacher it was another of his lies, but it was only wishful thinking, and really heartbreaking. Instead of saying to him, "You know, that is not true and you must not do this sort of thing anymore", I got him a notebook and told him it was a wonderful story, that wonderful stories, although they were not true, could be written down, that these stories should be written into a notebook; that we got true things, factual things, out of arithmetic books and history books, but that a story that was a fun thing should be written down. This he could understand.

Senator Inman: In paragraph 22 you speak about inadequate pre-natal care for children living in poverty. Of course, we have medicare. Would compulsory pre-natal care education help? I know that some doctors like women to come to them for advice at different stages of pregnancy. Is there some way in which these women could be reached for that sort of education?

Senator McGrand: Most of these women do get pre-natal care now.

Mrs. Priddle: There are baby health centres to which women can go, but these are not for pre-natal care. We must ensure that these people know that such courses exist.

Senator Inman: This is what I mean. Is there some way to get to these people?

Mrs. Priddle: It might be done through the public health service. It is difficult to reach these people, and it would be difficult to enforce. The most that could be done would be to let them know of the availability of such things. Whether they could be forced to come in is another matter.

Senator Inman: Could it be done through the schools?

Mrs. Priddle: You could reach some of them in that way, I should think.

Senator Inman: Perhaps in most cases the school could inform the Public Health Service.

Mrs. Priddle: Some school boards are now appointing social workers as staff members, one per board, through such social workers these people might be persuaded to come in

for classes; the neighbourhood school would be the ideal spot.

Senator McGrand: In paragraph 7 on page 3 you cite the quotation, "A family's inability to invest in itself". I think that expression "invest in itself," is very important. This has often been mentioned to the committee, very recently by The Vanier Institute. Different people assess it in different ways. Would you give me your interpretation of "the inability to invest in themselves"? Go as far as you want to, in depth.

Mrs. Priddle: Let me just think for a moment. I am sure you do not mean money only. That is only aspect.

Senator McGrand: No, the family investing in itself, psychologically as well as materially.

Mrs. Priddle: Perhaps we could begin with a good home. A good home is a good place for children. One in which the parents understand the various needs of children and the development stages through which they pass; one in which the parents get on reasonably well together and are grown up enough to attempt to satisfy the children's needs. Some parents are not grown up enough to be able to do that. If they are to invest in themselves, it means that every member of the family has to contribute emotionally, spiritually and physically. They will be a bulwark for one another, so that the home becomes a haven, not so much in the sense that they are protected from the outside world when things get rough, but in which when they go home other members of the family may see their faults but still let them feel they are part of that family and accepted no matter what happens.

Senator McGrand: This is something that must be discussed by every group. It is discussed all the time. Do you find that those who discuss this, sociologists and psychologists, really have a very clear picture of what they want? In this concept of the family investing in itself, one thing that should be stressed is personal thrift. There is a tendency to talk about welfare and giving these people more money. Welfare is often a give-away scheme in order to get people through an emergency situation, but it becomes permanent. Do you not agree with me?

Mrs. Priddle: It is a stop-gap.

Senator McGrand: But it is no longer a stop-gap; it is something that is permanent. If this sort of thing is to be corrected we must

have more and more ways of getting a family to invest in itself. Is that not right?

Mrs. Priddle: I think so.

Senator McGrand: You agree with me?

Mrs. Priddle: I do.

Senator McGrand: I would like to have this investigated in depth as a project, because I think part of the answer lies there. Senator Fergusson asked about children leaving school in order to support the family, and we have heard that quite often. I know that used to be so, but I was under the impression that very few drop out of school to help their families today. Do you agree with that?

Mrs. Priddle: I kind of think it is used as an excuse now.

Senator McGrand: This has been discussed here. It goes back to the freer education, free university courses. In my opinion, most people care little or nothing about something they get for nothing. I am sure those at the Sir George Williams University who destroyed the computer were not paying very much for their education. Is that not right?

Senator Fergusson: That is true.

The Chairman: We must not misunderstand one another. I think it is clear that this morning we are talking about free tuition, are we not?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

The Chairman: Free tuition is quite another matter. The discussion was on free tuition at universities. Is that not correct?

Senator McGrand: Yes.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): I assume free tuition means for those who are entitled to university training?

The Chairman: Yes, those who qualify.

Senator Connolly (Halifax North): Who prove their entitlement?

The Chairman: Yes. That is a term of reference.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): There is something that I would like to clarify. The other day Dr. Ryan mentioned in committee, and Senator Carter referred to it yesterday in his long speech in the Senate and it was mentioned again this morning, that

the first child learns more in the first nine years than he does during the rest of his life. I just cannot accept that. No doubt the child is learning a lot, perhaps even two languages. He has learned the ways and means to travel around, but I find it difficult to accept the statement made by the expert Dr. Ryan that a child learns more in his first nine years. I cannot understand this. I would like an explanation of this. Possibly you could clarify it. Some people go to school most of their lives. I would agree that the ability to learn...

The Chairman: That is what he said.

Senator Carter: That is what I said.

The Chairman: That is what Dr. Ryan said.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): He said "the ability to learn"?

The Chairman: That is what he said and that is what I understood Senator Carter to say.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I agree with that.

The Chairman: That was a very important point. Is there anyone else who would like to ask a question? Am I to believe—I do not think it is overly important—that in this day and age boys and girls from ten to sixteen years of age would accept the wearing of school uniforms?

Senator Fergusson: At what age?

The Chairman: Well, starting at eight, nine or 10. I have grandchildren of that age, and I see how they dress. That was my question.

Mrs. Priddle: I think eight- and nine-year olds could be talked into it, and if they started they probably would continue throughout the 15- and 16-year old level. You might have difficulty if you started with 15- or 16-year olds.

The Chairman: You mean you could get 15- or 16-year old girls to wear a uniform?

Mrs. Priddle: In some schools they do wear uniforms.

The Chairman: In private schools, yes.

Mrs. Priddle: They do not object. I do not think you would solve the cost of dressing them by giving them a school uniform, but it would solve their feeling of inadequacy while in school.

Senator Inman: I recall a case of a youngster going to Sunday School in a frayed coat and the teacher asked him in front of the other children, "Have you nothing better than that to wear?" The youngster was so embarrassed he never returned. I am just giving that as an example. I do know of cases where children have been supplied with clothes, because they would not go to school in rags.

Senator Fergusson: I am sure that in other countries school children do not object to wearing school uniforms. I saw this in Japan, and just recently in Antigua. I noticed that the girls, particularly, no matter what school they went to, wore the same uniform. They might be of different colours, because they were for different schools. The children were perfectly happy about it, and I am sure some of them were quite poor. I am also sure that the children got along better when there was no difference between the clothing they were wearing. I don't know why it would not work in Canada.

Senator McGrand: I know that in some communities the children wear uniforms in the home ec classes. It is part of their training in dressmaking to make their own uniform, and it saves costs. I wonder if they do that in Antigua or Japan.

Senator Fergusson: I did not ask if they made them, but I saw them wearing them.

The Chairman: Both boys and girls wear uniforms in Japan, do they not?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Senator Carter: I would like to ask the witness if she, or her organization, has become aware of a survey that was carried out in the United States in the last three or four years which more or less contradicts the theory about the handicap of economic poverty. I am speaking from memory, and I may not have all the details correct. This survey, as I recall it, studied low income groups and people who were around what you would call the poverty level. They studied different groups, such as the Jewish community, ethnic groups coming to the United States. They studied the white group of the same income bracket and also the Negroes. They found that despite the economic handicaps the children from the Jewish families were very successful. They had a tremendous record of getting ahead and obtaining an education, although economically they were no better off than the others.

The next best group was made up of orientals—the Japanese and the Chinese. The third group was the whites and the fourth group, the lowest on the scale, was the Negro. There was a direct correlation between the type of homes and the values stressed in the homes of these groups. That was the important factor. The Jewish group had the highest concentration of values in the home and these went into the character of the child before it went to school and it carried on and more or less offset the handicap of economic poverty. The same was true, although not to such a great extent, of orientals. The survey found that the family atmosphere in the white group was totally different. There was a corresponding drop in the educational attainment. The Negro situation was worst of all because there was a lot of desertion and broken homes among them, and family ties were lost. Have you ever come across this report?

Mrs. Priddle: I have not seen that particular study, but certainly it is our view and this is the reason for this paragraph which is the family's ability to invest in itself in depth. You see, the parents instill these values and open doors and provide aspirations. This is why I have been saying that you have got to work with the families who have not got these inner resources. It has not anything to do with money, which helps the next generation to get out of that poverty cycle. Unless the parents are doing this—or, indeed, if they are doing the direct opposite and ridiculing and pulling down the attempt the child makes—he just goes on.

Senator Carter: The report says the white people get it and they are not doing it in the United States. I suppose it is the same in Canada. The problem is how to get it in Canada.

Mrs. Priddle: This is going to be a long-term educational project.

Senator McGrand: I understand that the most densely populated area in the United States is Chinatown in New York, and that it has practically the lowest incidence of crime. It is not being crowded together that brings out crime and violence and delinquency, it is something else. If you go back to the Negro being the lowest, that is probably true, because the home life of the Negro did not exist on this continent in the days of slavery. Homes were broken up at any time, and that pattern has been followed. So the cure is not just a case of handing out more money.

Mrs. Priddle: Not necessarily. It is attitudes and concepts, and this is what we have stressed. I do not believe it will be achieved by imposing regulations and telling people, "Do this and you will be all right." It will take the churches, the schools and everybody working on this.

The Chairman: You have been connected with this for many years and are very knowledgeable and convincing. You say we have to get the churches and schools and well-meaning people together. Where have all the people in these organizations been all this time? You say there are so many below the poverty line now. Where have you been all this time?

Mrs. Priddle: I wonder if it is possible for something to exist within society and it has to get to a certain degree before people suddenly wake up and realize they have a problem.

The Chairman: We have been in political life and we have been part of the face of Canada. We knew that there was a problem. In our own way, we have attempted at various stages to try to help the poor people. We have done that within our confines. What have people like you and others been doing, churches and organizations. We do not recall hearing from them in the sense that we are hearing from them. I do not recall hearing from your organization. This is no reflection. I have known your organization for years and years. I do not recall hearing from it or from similar organizations. Do you mean to tell me they could have been unaware of the problem, of poverty particularly at the home-school level?

Mrs. Priddle: I do not think so at all. People were trying to deal with this problem locally and some of it on a local basis for individual people. Everyone sitting around this table has been faced with families in trouble, doing what they can to help individually, sometimes through the school or the church. It has not worked out and has got out of hand. Now they feel it is something beyond their facilities and their resources. When you attempt to get things done on a voluntary basis you are in trouble nowadays and it is becoming increasingly difficult to find voluntary workers. At the same time it is amazing how much they can do and they are doing now, but it is not doing it quickly enough. I think this is the answer. Private organizations have not the facilities to do it, even with people giving money to them.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, we lived with poverty and now we are taking a different look at it. We lived with pollution and now we are taking a different look at pollution. We are becoming aware of the danger in pollution and also becoming aware of poverty. Is that not it? The churches are becoming very much aware of it and are talking about the renewal of the churches, because they have to grapple with these problems. I think we are doing fairly well.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We are in line with the rest of the world.

Senator Fergusson: We always accepted the idea that there had to be a certain amount of poverty and now we have a new concept, that there does not have to be this poverty.

Senator McGrand: The poor are always with us.

Senator Fergusson: Yes, "the poor we will always have with us".

Senator Inman: The poor people themselves accepted this in the past but now they do not accept it so well.

The Chairman: That is all right, so long as we understand each other, because that is the purpose of the inquiry. Are there any other questions? Mrs. Priddle, this has been a very useful and informative morning for us. You are most knowledgeable on the subject and have been of great help to us. This is a matter which is of vital concern and when you speak of education you put your finger on one of the most important aspects, next to income. On behalf of the committee I wish to express our thanks to you for coming this morning.

Mrs. Priddle: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, it has been a pleasure to be here.

Whereupon the committee went into Camera.

APPENDIX "A"

THE CANADIAN HOME AND SCHOOL
AND

PARENT-TEACHER FEDERATION

presents this brief to

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON POVERTY

in behalf of

The Children of Canada

February 19, 1970

SUMMARY

With respect to this brief, the major concern of the Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation is about the persistent and debilitating effects that poverty has on children. Evidence is submitted to demonstrate that poverty and its attendant deprivations can produce, in the growing child, deficiencies and inadequacies that remain with him throughout life and frequently result in the perpetration of the poverty cycle.

The recommendations are general in nature in keeping with the conviction that poverty is a complex problem requiring extensive and coordinated consideration. In the efforts to reduce and eliminate poverty, it is recommended (1) that educational opportunity in Canada be truly equalized, (2) that anti-poverty programs be devised in such a way as to interrupt the poverty cycle and reduce the impact of poverty on children, and (3) that the need to maintain human dignity and self-respect be constantly recognized.

The Canadian Home and School and Parent-Teacher Federation

1. The Canadian Home & School and Parent-Teacher Federation is pleased to be able to present this brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty on behalf of the children of Canada. Our organization exists to promote the welfare of children and youth and it is on behalf of those Canadian children who are suffering the effects of poverty that we make this submission.

2. There are Home & School and Parent-Teacher Associations in every province of Canada, in the Yukon and in the Northwest Territories. Among the objects of our organization, those which relate particularly to the

subject in hand are (1) to promote the welfare of children and youth, (2) to promote and secure adequate legislation for the care and protection of children and youth, and (3) to obtain the best for each child according to his physical, mental, social and spiritual needs.

A Child's View of Poverty

3. It is our conviction that poverty encompasses a great deal more than simply inadequate income. From a child's point of view, poverty means being self-conscious and sometimes ashamed of the clothes he has to wear to school; it means having to stand back and watch his friend play with toys that he cannot have; it means not being able to go to the party or the dance because he will look too conspicuous.

4. To the child, poverty means that he probably won't be able to go very far in school; it means that if the local store has been broken into, the police will be around to ask him where he was last night; it probably means that both his father, if he has one, and his mother are out working and he has to get his own meals; it means that he will grow up with a feeling of inadequacy about himself and may, consequently, never realize his full potential.

Poverty's Impact on Children

5. It is about these matters—the devastating effects of poverty upon children—that we, as representatives of the parents and teachers of Canada, are most vitally concerned. If the continuing cycle of poverty is to be broken at any point, it is most important that it be broken during the formative years of a person's life. Studies of the early development of children indicate that some 50% to 80% of the behaviour characteristic of late adolescence already is structured between the ages

of 5 and 8. "Damage and deprivation experienced before school entrance are difficult to overcome, even under the most intensely positive school conditions". (Goodlad, 1969)

6. "Extreme environments that are sustained long enough are likely to have powerful effects on all individuals in them. The effect of these extreme environments is especially dramatic on young children since such children are unable to effect any physical or psychological escape from these over-powering environments". (Bloom, 1964)

7. "A family's inability to invest in itself is likely to have particularly serious consequences on young children whose potential abilities are largely shaped in the years of early childhood". (Baetz, 1969)

8. What is clear from these statements is that early childhood environment and experiences have a profound and sometimes irreversible effect on the child's future life. It is probably extreme to say that the effects of poverty in childhood cannot be overcome in later years, but is certainly obvious that these effects have serious consequences and contribute in a great measure to the perpetuation of poverty. The conclusion is also obvious that if poverty is to be reduced or eliminated, careful attention must be given to ameliorating the effects of poverty on children at as early an age as possible.

Three Major Areas of Concern

9. While these effects of poverty are operative in every aspect of a child's life, it is on three areas in particular that we wish to concentrate. These are: (1) health, (2) education and (3) self-concept. We choose these three areas, not because they are all-inclusive, nor because they are necessarily the most significant, but primarily because they are illustrative of the major emphasis we wish to make.

Health in Relation to Poverty

10. The relationship between early childhood nutrition and health in later years is too well established to require repetition here. Canadian government have revealed a much wider prevalence of malnutrition among Canadian children than heretofore suspected. While this condition is not completely coincident with poverty, it is more common in the homes of the poor.

11. This malnutrition is not related only to inadequate income. Poor budgetary and home management practices, inadequate attention,

and a sense of futility in poverty-stricken homes, all contribute to unbalanced diets and consequent conditions of malnutrition.

12. There is accumulating evidence to suggest that children of low income families in Canada are most unlikely to have adequate access to needed resources in their early years. Even the possibility of significant child nutrition problems, seemingly so improbable in this country, must be taken seriously.

13. "It is now well established that malnutrition in the early months of life, will not only impair physical growth, but also may damage mental development". (Baetz, 1969)

14. "Evidence is cumulative and impressive that severe undernutrition during the first two years of life when brain growth is most active, results in a permanent reduction of brain size and a restricted intellectual development". (Stoch and Smythe, 1968)

Education as Affected by Poverty

15. There is no evidence that intelligence is less uniformly distributed among the poor than among the middle-class, but it is confirmed by statistics from many sources that early termination of formal education is much more probable for children of poor families than for their more well-to-do neighbours.

16. "Poverty prevails in two out of three families whose head completed less than nine years of formal schooling; a child growing up in a family of \$12,000 income as contrasted with one in a family of \$3,000 income has four times the chances of attending college—In the last decade, jobs for high school graduates rose by 40% while jobs for those who failed to complete high school dropped by 10%". (Goodlad, 1969)

17. Not only does poverty alter the chances of pursuing education, but research indicates that intellectual deprivation in the early years produces effects which are difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate.

18. "It is becoming increasingly clear that human awareness comes earlier in life than we once believed; that lack of stimulation and mental sluggishness go hand in hand; that mental development often is impeded and impaired long before the child embarks on the school road. Most psychologists in the cognitive field believe that attainment of a full adult potential depends on rich appropriate early intellectual stimulation". (Goodlad, 1969)

19. "Deprivation of any kind carries the possibility of serious damage. The earlier it is removed or compensated for, the less danger of lasting ill-effects. How optimistic we can be beyond this assumption, it is hard to say". (Law, 1966)

Poverty as Self-Perpetuating

20. Even if some of the results of early deprivation can be counteracted, the seeds of the continuing poverty cycle have already been sown and are difficult to uproot. "An examination of the cycle of poverty in which the poor are caught may clarify the connections between social institutions and the life of the poor. Inadequate school facilities and staffs, school leaving before graduation, early marriage and child-bearing, restricted occupational opportunities, low income, large family size and family instability become entangled in the pattern which both leads to and sustains the conditions of poverty. This pattern—the cycle of poverty—is self-sustaining during the life of a family unit—and is perpetuated in the next generation". (Glazer and Creedon, 1969)

Personal Effects of Poverty

21. It is probable that this continuing cycle of poverty is perpetuated as much by attitudes and concepts as it is by physical limitations. Occasionally, the child of a poor family will, through courage, determination, or vision overcome the obstacles placed in his path by the burden of poverty. But such a child has first to overcome the sense of worthlessness, powerlessness, and futility that is the constant companion of the poor.

22. "The disadvantage child begins to experience the cycle of poverty even before birth. He may experience inadequate prenatal care and after birth be exposed to material and often emotional deprivations which generate a feeling of powerlessness". (Glazer and Creedon, 1969)

23. "Children living in poverty especially may experience relationships which block the development of initiative. If the child's plans and goals are treated with contempt, the child may carry them out in fantasy, rather than risk attempting them in a real world. If later he finds the classroom frustrating, he may retreat into fantasy rather than engage in problem solving. If parents are unable to convey to the child a sense of his own worth and the expectation that he will succeed, he may believe that there is no place for him in the world and his initiative will be weakened". (Glazer and Creedon, 1969)

24. "Prolonged delays in gratification and meager supplies of food, warmth, comfort, and love lead to basic distrust". (Glazer and Creedon, 1969)

Conclusion and Recommendations

25. Using examples and comment from the three areas of *health, education, and self-concept*, we have endeavoured to illustrate how serious and long lasting are the effects of poverty on children. It is our hope that we have established that anti-poverty programs, to be effective, must be so constructed and administered as to relieve children of these debilitating influences.

26. In expressing this hope we are well aware of the administrative difficulties associated with the division of authority and responsibility between the Federal government and Provincial governments. Provincially operated programs in child welfare and education must be coordinated with federally funded poverty and training programs. The child must not be caught between the upper and nether millstones of the British North America Act.

27. It will be clear from our presentation thus far that we view poverty as a complex problem that will not be corrected by unitary measures. The architects of the plan to reduce poverty must adopt a systems approach and a global viewpoint. It is because of our certainty that the attack on poverty must be made on a grand scale that our recommendations are more in the nature of attitudes or concepts than as specific remedies.

28. Recommendation No. 1—Educational opportunities must be truly equalized throughout our country. The possibility of a child's developing to the full extent of his intellectual potential must not be controlled by his place of residence or wealth of the province or municipality in which he lives. Neither should this be determined by the income, social status, or ethnic origin of his parents.

29. Among measures which could contribute to this ideal are: (1) federal sharing in educational cost, (2) free university tuition, (3) the provision of adequate vocational guidance and counselling services, (4) more ready access to scholarships and bursaries, and (5) income tax allowance for parents' contributions to post-secondary education.

30. Recommendation No. 2—Income replacement and supplement programs must be so constructed and administered as to counteract the self-perpetuation nature of poverty

and particularly the effect of poverty on children. This, admittedly, is a generalized concept and one difficult of implementation, but a number of specific measures could be suggested.

31. The dispensing of money should be integrated with an educational program designed to optimize the spending of that money, particularly, for such items as food, clothing and shelter.

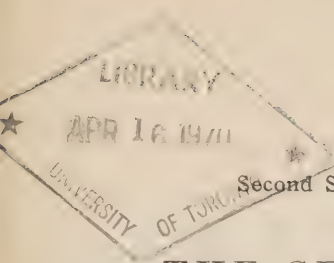
32. The conditions for payment of income replacement or supplement should be such as to encourage individual initiative rather than to stifle it. There should be allowance for a high degree of administrative flexibility with regard to the balance between earnings and income supplement until a family has become reasonably self-sufficient.

33. Income replacement programs for persons seeking educational or occupational upgrading should be sufficiently generous and accessible as to encourage self-improvement.

Flexibility in administrative decisions should replace rigid, nationally-applicable limitations.

34. Recommendation No. 3—Anti-poverty measures must avoid the patronizing, de-humanizing effects which have traditionally been associated with "poor relief" and more recently with "welfare". How children can be portected from the debilitating effects of being "on relief" is difficult to conceive. The solution lies first of all in the attitudes and practices of those who administer the programs, secondly in the nature of the programs themselves; and, finally, in the hearts and minds of the Canadian people.

35. In conclusion, we wish to thank the Committee for granting us time in their busy schedule to express our views. We hope our ideas will be of some assistance in achieving the objectives of the Committee and we proffer the assistance and co-operation of our members from coast to coast if we can, at any time, be helpful.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 23

TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 24, 1970

and

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 26, 1970

WITNESSES:

Department of National Health and Welfare: Dr. Joseph W. Willard, Deputy Minister; Dr. J. H. Wiebe, Director General, Medical Services Branch; Mr. N. F. Cragg, Director, Canada Assistance Plan; Dr. L. B. Pett, Deputy Director General, Health Services Branch; Dr. R. A. Armstrong, Acting Director General, Health Insurance and Resources Branch.

APPENDIX:

“A”—A brief presented by the Department of National Health and Welfare.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Everett	Lefrançois
Carter	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Connolly (<i>Halifax</i> <i>North</i>)	Fournier (<i>Madawaska- Restigouche, Deputy</i> <i>Chairman</i>)	McGrand
Cook		Pearson
Croll	Hastings	Quart
Eudes	Inman	Roebuck
		Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, February 24, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honorable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Eudes, Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*) and McGrand. (6)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witness was heard:

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE:

Dr. Joseph W. Willard, Deputy Minister.

At 12.50 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Thursday, February 26, 1970, at 9.30 a.m.

THURSDAY, February 26, 1970.

At 9.30 a.m. the Committee resumed its hearings.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Eudes, Fergusson, Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*) and Quart. (7)

The following witnesses were heard:

Dr. Joseph W. Willard, Deputy Minister;

Dr. J. H. Wiebe, Director General, Medical Services Branch;

Mr. N. F. Cragg, Director, Canada Assistance Plan;

Dr. L. B. Pett, Deputy Director General, Health Services Branch;

Dr. R. A. Armstrong, Acting Director General, Health Insurance and Resources Branch.

The brief prepared and presented by the Department of National Health and Welfare, together with relevant documents, have been ordered to be printed as appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 12.35 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, March 3, 1970, at 9.00 a.m.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Ontario, February 24, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: This morning we have a brief from the Department of National Health and Welfare. You have a biographical sketch of all these gentlemen whose names I will mention. Sitting to my right is Dr. Joseph Willard, Deputy Minister of National Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare, and next to him are departmental officials: Mr. John Osborne, Director of Research and Statistics, Mr. J. Albert Blais, Director General of Income Security, Mr. Norman Cragg, Director of the Canada Assistance Plan, and Mr. Brian Iverson, Director of the National Welfare Grants program. The deputy minister will start the meeting.

Dr. Joseph W. Willard, Deputy Minister of National Welfare, Department of National Health and Welfare: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, it is a pleasure to be here. The topic you have had under consideration over the last several months, relating to poverty, is a special concern to the Department of National Health and Welfare. The minister, the Honourable John Munro, endorsed the document which we have placed before you. In this document we have endeavoured to discuss the various programs in the Department of National Health and Welfare which have a bearing on poverty. Mr. Chairman, I understand that if it is agreeable, we will deal with matters relating to welfare and income security today and that next Thursday morning we can complete any outstanding questions in these areas, together with any aspect affecting the health branch of the department. As I mentioned, the departmental brief has been developed in relation to the departmental programs, in the field of income security, health and welfare services. The brief does not contain any proposals with respect to new programs or approaches, or to the improvement of existing programs because such matters relate to Gov-

ernment policy. It should be noted, however, that the Government did indicate in the Speech from the Throne that it proposed to issue a White Paper on Social Security.

Your chairman has asked me to make a few introductory remarks. In the development of income security in Canada every technique that has been used or discussed in various countries of the world has been tried in Canada. In the early period of the development of social security the social insurance technique and the social assistance technique were the ones that were predominantly used as a means of providing income support for persons who, through one reason or another, had their income flow stopped or discontinued. The development of social insurance, starting back with Bismarck in Germany in the 1880s, was picked up and advocated by the International Labour Organization in the 1920s, 1930s and 1940s; it has been one of the main approaches used by modern industrial nations in efforts to provide adequate income support. The social insurance technique has been applied in many different ways. In Canada we have applied it through unemployment insurance and the Canada Pension Plan. Allied with it is another type of program that relates to compensation; in Canada the provincial Workmen's Compensation programs and the federal War Pension programs are examples. Under the social assistance technique Canada has had the history of the Poor Law in England and of private and church charity throughout the years. The approaches that were in vogue in France and Britain were transferred to the New World in the early colonies and in the early period of Confederation. Local assistance or relief gradually developed.

It was not until 1927 that a definite attempt to deal with assistance on a different basis was attempted in Canada through the old age pension legislation. So, under the social assistance technique the introduction of a means test was the new development.

Canada being a federal state, the use of the conditional grant or grant in aid was the

method adopted for federal participation. Actually, the means test old age pension had been developed in Denmark as early as 1892, in New Zealand in 1898, in the United Kingdom and Australia in 1908. So, when Canada came along in 1927 it was, as you can see, quite some decades later and the approach was not new.

The means test approach was extended to blind persons allowances in 1937 and to disabled persons allowances in 1954. The technique here, of course, involved a ceiling and a certain amount of an allowable income with a ceiling on it. So there was no provision to meet the actual need of the individual recipient. The original benefit started at \$20 a month, it was increased in time and in the postwar period it was moved up to \$40 a month; and in due course it was raised as high as \$75 a month.

This means that if the assistance recipient needed \$125 a month to get along on, that program would yield only \$75 a month. The means test, in other words, provided a ceiling and one that was applied right across the whole of Canada.

The first attempt on the national scale to move away from the means test approach under the assistance technique was in 1956 with the implementation of unemployment assistance. Under that program a needs test approach was introduced along with in some instances a means test. But with the implementation of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966 the needs test became the dominant approach accepted by federal-provincial governments across Canada as a more adequate method of compensating people in need than the means test approach. The method being used generally under the needs test is for individuals to indicate the resources that they have on the one hand, and their budgetary expenditures on the other, and the gap between these two, that is required to meet normal budgetary expenditures, makes up the assistance payment. This is called a "budgetary deficit method".

Over the years a pattern in the development of the social assistance technique has been followed which has gone from total dependence on local relief, provided either by municipalities or voluntary agencies, to intervention of government at federal-provincial level on a means test basis, and then finally intervention of federal-provincial government through a system on the needs test basis.

The big step ahead in the introduction of the Canada Assistance Plan, looking at it from the point of view of the federal Government, was that for the first time the federal Government agreed to share the cost of services for people in need. Up to that point, under the means test, the federal Government was only sharing on the cost of an assistance payment. Thus, built into the Canada Assistance Plan costs today you have the cost of services.

Under that provision a complete range of health services has been provided for. Hospital care was of course covered under the hospital insurance program. Medical care at that stage was not covered under the new Medicare program, so that the Assistance Plan included medical care. It included drugs, prosthetic appliances, eye glasses, dentures, everything that a person on assistance might need in terms of health services. The Plan includes these services in the sense that the federal Government shares the cost of any of these items. It also includes the range of welfare services for people in need.

Under the legislation another new feature was very important. Under the old means test program, the federal Government did not share the cost of administration. One of the great difficulties in the development of assistance programs in Canada was the inadequacy in the staffing of assistance programs. So, it was provided that any extension of cost arising from the strengthening of administration would be shared.

Through the addition of health and welfare services to assistance payments it is possible to provide a complete rehabilitation program for a person on assistance, if the province or the municipality decides to approach its assistance program in this way.

Another new element under this legislation was the provision of sharing for work activity projects. There was need for some kind of program that would fit in between the services that are provided by manpower services under the normal situation where an individual requires, perhaps, some retraining and placement services and perhaps a mobility grant and the services that are required by a person who may have been out of the labour market for a long time and who needs pre-employment training and needs motivational stimulation. This person often needs some special kind of work situation in order

to make it possible to return to the labour market.

Another feature of the Canada Assistance Plan which has been quite important is one that was carried over from the Unemployment Assistance Act. So far as the federal Government is concerned, there is no limit on the rates of benefit that the federal Government will share on. Under the means test program there was an arbitrary ceiling set. If the federal Government raised the benefit by, say, \$10 and the pension maximum was \$75 a month, that was all that the federal Government would share on; so that, if the province wanted to go over and above that rate of benefit, there was no federal sharing. Therefore, under the Canada Assistance Plan the federal Government has been prepared to do two things; one is to have no ceiling on the amount of assistance payment so far as its shareable arrangements are concerned; and, secondly, if a person is on a program such as old age security and needs supplementation over and above old age security and the guaranteed supplement, the federal Government will share on any further supplementation provided by the province.

Thus, if a person is on, shall we say, unemployment insurance and the benefit is inadequate, then the Canada Assistance Plan will, if the province wishes to use it for that purpose, supplement the benefit.

The Plan may also be used for federal sharing in the case of persons in need of supplementation to remain off assistance. The situation envisaged here is where an individual might be getting a fairly low wage, either on a part-time basis or even on a full-time basis, and where if the individual continues in that situation then he or she will be unable to adequately maintain himself, herself, or his or her family. In other words, where the income is insufficient and the situation is unstable, then in that situation it might be worthwhile for the province or the municipality, depending on whom the assistance is administered by in the particular province, to provide some assistance payment to supplement the actual income from wages, and, in these instances, thereby prevent the assistance recipient from dropping down into a situation of complete unemployment where no earnings are coming into the household.

Those are a few of the more important features of the Canada Assistance Plan which accompanied this shift from the means test to the needs test. The program is, of course, only

as good and as effective as the provinces make it within their own jurisdictions.

Throughout the development of social security in Canada, social assistance has always been under the administration of the provinces, with the exception of war veterans' allowances provided by the Department of Veterans Affairs and social assistance provided to Indians by the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. As a result, the different provincial jurisdictions have approached assistance generally on the same basis but with variations in rates and other details of application. At the time the question of the Canada Assistance Plan was under consideration, there was a great deal of discussion, on the part of the provinces in particular, about the need for a federal instrument to provide flexibility. It should take into account the special circumstances within each province, owing to the fact that the problems faced by a highly industrial province, such as Ontario, shall we say, might not be completely the same as those problems faced by a province such as Newfoundland or Prince Edward Island. So that an effort was made to have a minimum of federal restrictions on the operation of the legislation within the provinces.

This developed partly as a heritage of annoyances and concern about the means test programs that went before, in that they had been inflexible and had required very extensive federal regulations; the provinces could do very little on their own initiative because they had to operate within these regulations that applied to the country as a whole. Consequently, in this stage of development Canada ended up, so far as its national instrument or its federal legislation was concerned, with much more flexible legislation than had applied under the means test approach.

Canada has pioneered in some areas in the use of other social security techniques. It was one of the first countries and one of the few countries to try out the demogrant or universal benefit. This started with family allowances back in 1944, when the legislation was passed. A joint committee of the Senate and House of Commons in 1950—of which Senator Croll, as I recall, was a member—recommended the universal demogrant for old age security. At that time everybody 70 years of age and over would receive a pension of \$40 a month. Only two countries in the world had tried that approach at that time. Those countries were Sweden and New Zealand.

The new pattern in the case of old age security was widely accepted on the basis of the testimony, briefs and evidence put before that committee. As time went on and it was realized that there were many other priorities within our country, including things such as health care and education, to mention only a few, the pressure on the possibilities of expansion or, let us say, increasing the basic rates of benefit under those universal programs was considerable. So many people were covered that an increase of even a modest amount in the rate of benefit would raise the cost tremendously.

Therefore, in recent years, when all governments in Canada have been very pressed in terms of expenditures and have pushed up taxes in response to those needs, the search has gone on for other approaches that might be less expensive than the demogrant yet might be more selective in terms of the people that would be helped.

The Senate Committee on Aging, as you all know, proposed a type of income tested payment which would provide a guaranteed income up to a specified level. A few years back, following that report, the federal Government took action in this field. In addition to the recommendation from the Senate Committee on Aging, there was also the recommendation from the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons dealing with the Canada Pension Plan. That committee was among other things concerned specifically with the people who were 65 years of age and over and who would receive nothing under the Canada Pension Plan, and with the group from 55 to 65 years of age who would only receive partial payments under the Canada Pension Plan. So one of the recommendations of that committee was that something should be done to try to assist this particular group. Of course, the alternatives posed were to continue with the basic approach of the demogrant recommended by the joint parliamentary committee in 1950 or to try a selective approach such as ultimately did emerge in the government legislation for the guaranteed income supplement.

In the development of this legislation, Canada has been out front. There have been some other efforts in this area but in a modest way. Our program in Canada has provided the kind of experience that shows what can be done with the application of an income test when it is applied to a group of people who are by and large out of the labour

market. It does not face under these circumstances, of course, some of the difficulties that the guaranteed annual income approach faces when you are dealing with people in the working age group and the questions that some people raise concerning incentives to work.

So, we have then, in the field of income security in Canada over the years, tried out the whole range of techniques, and we are fortunate in that we have been able to learn from the application of these techniques the advantages and disadvantages of each one.

The Canadian development has been a little different from that of the United States. The situation there is quite often brought up and comparisons are made. The United States went into old-age survivors and disability insurance in 1935 and Canada waited until 1966. The United States did not go in for the demogrant approach. It has not adopted family allowances. It has not adopted a universal, flat-rate old-age pension. The United States has not tried a guaranteed income approach such as we have adopted for the aged.

Canada has the edge in the health field as far as people in poverty in Canada are concerned. We have a universal hospital program while in the United States the program is limited to those of 65 years of age and older who are in hospital. The implementation of medical care across the board in Canada will, of course, be of tremendous help to people in poverty. Many of the people in need require a disproportionate share of health services. Thus in many cases the developments in Canada and the United States have not been paralleled. Canada has allocated a higher proportion of expenditures to income maintenance, health and welfare services in relation to Gross National Product than has the United States. The Canadian ratio has consistently been at a much higher level.

In the field of assistance which was of special concern to those in poverty, the Canada Assistance Plan shares the cost for assistance for all people in need. The federal legislation in the United States does not cover the unemployed; in other words, the unemployment assistance is entirely a State matter. As a result the pattern of protection in the United States is much less satisfactory than the kind of protection Canada has provided. The fact that we have been able to develop at the federal level under the federal legislation a

comprehensive approach to assistance has in fact meant a much more satisfactory level of assistance in relation to our capacity and a much greater integration of the provision of assistance and services, I believe, than has occurred in the United States. The fact that we have family allowances in Canada has been particularly important to the families with low incomes and with a large number of children. This has been very important as well in low-income areas in the country in terms of a redistribution of income in their favour.

The development in Canada in the last few years has of course been affected by the general concern that social security as such has not been reaching the poverty problem in the way that many people had expected and hoped for. This of course has resulted in very considerable discussion and consideration both within this country, the United States, the United Kingdom and a number of other countries as to how improvements can be achieved and as to identification of the weak points of the system as it is. What programs should be restructured? Is there a sufficient allocation of resources? Do we have the right kind of redistribution techniques? Have we the right balance in the social security system? Have we gone too far with demogants and not enough with income tested benefits and so forth? These are some of the basic questions before us today with regard to our social security system.

In addition, the whole question of participation on the part of assistance recipients has been a matter that has, within our department, certainly received a great deal of attention. The National Council on Welfare has been restructured. Formerly it included the ten provincial deputy ministers of welfare and was chaired by the Federal Deputy Minister. It also had ten people from outside of government to represent professional and lay leaders drawn from the welfare system. The new council is quite different. It has no representative from government. But it has persons from disadvantaged groups such as black, Indian, Metis and others; it has recipients of social assistance represented, as well as those who are professionals in the social service and social work education systems. This type of representation is very helpful in bringing directly to the attention of the minister the day-to-day problems of the poor and the inadequacies which may exist in our response to these problems.

The departmental branch responsible for Indian health services working with the Indian Brotherhood has formed a committee with which the department can consult on health services. It started its second meeting yesterday in Ottawa, and is meeting again today. This arrangement enables the minister to have representatives of the Indian community from across the country meet with our Indian Health officials to discuss health services, their inadequacies and how they can be improved and to have views of Indian leaders first hand. Communication between consumers and providers of service is provided through this mechanism. This has already proven to be very fruitful indeed.

Another approach to communication and involvement has been to provide funds to Indian groups in various provinces in order that they can employ Indian liaison personnel. They report on a regular basis to the Minister with respect to Indian public health services, nursing services and hospital and medical care and how these services are responding to community health needs.

Another dimension that is worth mentioning relates to the national welfare grants. Part of the grant program has been set up as a demonstration type of grant, whereby on a flexible basis the Department can deal with demonstration projects which involve community development and various disadvantaged groups. This encourages efforts of these groups to respond to social problems and their ability to identify specific problems. These are discussed with the various agencies in the field of housing, manpower, welfare and health services to see what improvements can be achieved.

In many cases in the past the individual assistance recipients have faced only the immediate public servants with whom they deal. When things were unsatisfactory to these and other disadvantaged groups there was no way of bringing about a change in order to make the provision of service more responsive.

These projects have reached down into the inner core of metropolitan cities. Grants are provided with a minimum number of strings, much less than those required when we have been dealing with more usual type of social agency. Part of this arises out of a general distrust of our efforts to work with these people. We seek to discover what some of the basic problems are when looked at from their

point of view rather than from that of the administrators in the social security system.

One of the great difficulties when working at federal and provincial levels of government is to keep in mind that individuals and people are involved. In a program where the case load may be one million six hundred thousand people, such as in the case of Old Age Security recipients, it must be constantly kept in mind that each individual applicant wants to be sure that the benefit is provided promptly and in the right amount. They must be dealt with as human beings. The fact that we have to deal with so many people should not result in the administration becoming bureaucratic.

We have tried by various ways and means to ensure that the people covered by our income security programs and in our discussions with the provinces in terms of the people with whom they are dealing under cost-sharing programs do not get alienated by the system. This is a very important aspect of the whole problem of poverty. Under assistance programs, not only in Canada but in most countries, the inclination has been to develop procedures that are quite complicated and sometimes require much more information than is absolutely necessary. In the United States they have been experimenting with simplified declaration forms. In co-operation with the provinces we have established a task force on the developmental approach to social assistance. These procedures are being examined to see if they can be simplified. The screening out of long term cases from short term cases so as to determine whether the procedures for the former can be simplified and be subject to fewer periodic reviews. Many of these developments are part of the normal process of improvement which has been taking place in the last several years consequent upon objections to the nature of some procedures. The department has been very active in studying this whole question through a task force in co-operation with the provinces. This group was initiated by a Federal-Provincial Conference of Ministers. The deputy ministers meet twice a year and the ministers once a year for further consideration and discussion of the task Force reports.

Through the same federal-provincial mechanism two other task forces have been established. One is on the question of alienation in the social assistance system. We have been very concerned within the department about alienation generally as a social phenomenon.

We have been interested both through projects under the welfare grants and through the joint discussions with the provinces in endeavouring to understand the phenomenon better and in taking action to minimize it in the social assistance program. We hope that we will have a number of studies under way very soon which will give us greater insights as to where the social assistance system is weak, where it can be improved and what are the causes of alienation that exist.

The third task force that was set up is related to cost. The Department has been concerned about the rapid rise of expenditures under shared cost programs. This has been especially true in the field of hospital insurance, but there has been concern also about medicare that is now coming in as well as about social assistance costs. The nature of our concern in the case of assistance is not in regard to the levels or rates of benefits, but rather the efficiency of the system. Because costs have been increasing, there has been of course considerable criticism. We have left that we should, through the task force mechanism that involves provincial governments and the federal Government, try to have a better understanding of the delivery system, as a whole, of where the costs are rising due to improvement of benefits for people to inefficiency, to inflation or to other factors. Allied with this of course, is the general question of social assistance statistics. We have not been as successful as I would have hoped, in getting a picture of the social assistance caseload in Canada from many points of view so that it would be more helpful to us, not only in policy development, but also in being able to demonstrate to those that are critical of the level of expenditure how or why the certain increases in cost have taken place.

Of course, one of the purposes of the Canada Assistance Plan was to increase costs. The fact that benefit rates were not as satisfactory as they might have been was of concern to the people working in the assistance field who could see the dire poverty in the case of families and individuals. When the act was brought into effect we expected that costs would rise. In fact, they did because in the three-year period the costs increased by about 44 per cent. That would be the period from 1965-66 to 1968-69. One of the objectives was to extend coverage to many people that were poor and who were unable to get assistance. Another was to improve the rates of benefit and I think, in a very considerable measure, this has been achieved.

Mr. Chairman, I didn't make any notes, as I did not expect to say anything as an introduction, but I have and now feel that the officials, along with myself, would be ready to answer any questions you might have in regard to the brief.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I should like to compliment Dr. Willard on this very comprehensive brief and again on his presentation this morning. He has given us a thumbnail sketch of the historical development of social assistance from private and church charities up through social insurance and then on to social assistance in two stages, one stage with the means test and a second stage with a more modern concept, the needs test. I wonder if he could look into the future and tell us what he considers to be the next progressive step.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, this is perhaps a difficult question, but I might approach it in this way. In my opinion, in order to meet the basic objectives of a modern industrial society, we will probably need to employ all the techniques that we have used to date in order to provide income support and health and welfare services. For instance, universality in the case of hospital care and medical care is not only of interest to the poverty group, but it is also of interest to everybody in the country. In the case of Old Age Security, the demogrant technique has been adopted. The question which comes up in the case of Old Age Security and Family Allowances is to whether or not we continue with a demogrant; is it an important part of the system. You could come out with different answers in case of Family Allowances than in the case of Old Age Security. For example, in the case of Old Age Security most, or a large number of, Canadians have developed their saving plans for their provision for their old age on the basis that that flat rate grant would be there. Private pension plans have been developed with it as part of their total package. Therefore this is a consideration. Secondly, the approach to Old Age Security in Canada has really followed a two-deck system, the lower part being the flat rate demogrant and the upper part being the graduated or earnings-related portion provided by the Canada-Quebec Plan. These programs help low income groups but in addition for many of the people who are in the middle income higher groups and who will be fortunate enough not to drop down into the poverty net, this kind of protection is also very important. You have a place in the system for demogrant and earn-

ings-related benefit which is a basic objective of the old social insurance approach.

I would think that when you come to the guaranteed income supplement approach it is a technique which could certainly be applied on a broader basis than at the present time. There are many technical problems and many difficulties, in the guaranteed income approach, but I think this program has demonstrated that certainly within the context that it has been applied to date it will work. So that I think, looking to the future, that is a technique that we undoubtedly are going to use and that it will receive more attention than the demogrant.

I think that the social assistance technique will be with us in the future. One of the reasons it will be with us is that, whether you had a demogrant in the form of a universal payment to everybody, or whether you have a guaranteed annual income or guaranteed income supplement, under these approaches, it is necessary to draw lines or maximum levels of benefit. And in a country such as Canada, when you draw a line somebody does not get enough and somebody may get too much. As long as you have that, you are going to have some mechanism to taper income support off, and the mechanism to taper it off for those who do not get enough will be the needs test. It will ascertain what is the short-fall between budgetary requirements and available resources. Therefore, the social assistance technique using the needs test will be with us in the future as well. Whether it is improved and becomes a technique that is relied upon in conjunction with social insurance and the demogrant, or whether it is the technique that is relied upon along with the guaranteed annual income it will be there in any case.

Looking to the future, you are really into a question of what will be the change in the balance, in the use of those different techniques.

Senator Carter: I am rather surprised to hear you say that, Dr. Willard. I would grant that we have medicare and we have hospital services and welfare services—dentures, eye glasses, prosthetics, things like that—but I had thought that, taking these for granted, when you come just to purely income maintenance with a guaranteed annual income, that is at a certain level, what we consider above the poverty level, tied to inflation or cost of living or whatever way you would put it,

would eliminate the necessity for these other social assistance programs.

Dr. Willard: Let us take unemployment insurance. Really the question you pose is whether, with the introduction of guaranteed annual income, would unemployment insurance disappear entirely or would there be integration.

The decision that you have to face then relates to the kind of compensation that you give—remember that the objective of unemployment insurance is to look after short-term unemployment—and remember that the kind of people that you are dealing with in the present society in many cases carry a great deal of current debt. When they become unemployed for six weeks or so that loss of income is very critical in terms of their overall budgeting, basic maintenance, and whole family situation. You could have many people who become unemployed for six weeks or six months who might not fall down into the poverty net in the sense that they would qualify for a guaranteed annual income payment but who would still feel that they very much need this short-term protection.

Senator Carter: We have different concepts, have we not?

Dr. Willard: This is where the question comes up, do you integrate with social insurance or do you eliminate it? If you bring the guaranteed annual income in as a floor, underneath, so that anybody who has an inadequate or no unemployment benefit is brought up to a minimum level, then you continue to carry on with the social insurance technique. I think these are the decisions that would have to be made.

Senator Carter: I suppose that if you just look at the income from the aggregate for a year, then you can say that this fellow is out of work a short time and he is going to make it up by and by. But that is only a method of applying the principle. I was thinking more in terms of the principle.

If a person, being out of work, short-term unemployed, in nine cases out of ten he is out employment, he is out of a job, because the Government put him out of that job because of Government policy, a cut-back here and a cut-back there. So the Government has a duty and an obligation, I would say, to compensate that man, so that his income for that month or that week or the six weeks or the six months is not impaired regardless of what he

earns in the balance of the year. I was thinking more in terms of the general principle rather than how it could be applied.

I was most interested in what you said about the Canada Assistance Plan. I remember when that was introduced into the house we thought it was the answer to our prayers and the answer to all our problems. It has not turned out that way. As a matter of fact, as far as I am concerned I can only speak for the way it has been applied in my own province—I have really been very disappointed in it. And from our hearings here, it has not been too satisfactory in other provinces as well, even in Ontario.

One of the reasons—not all of the reasons, but one of them—is that although we talk about the needs test we left it up to the province to decide what the needs test would be and in most cases they defined it in terms of a means test by another name. Actually, we have not changed the means test, we have not got away from the means test at all.

You spoke about that in your argument against this annual income. Unless you have a guaranteed annual income, how are you going to get over this interpretation or this definition of the means test which remains under provincial jurisdiction?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, I think part of the problem Senator Carter is raising really gets back to a jurisdictional or constitutional question. While the federal Government has taken the lead in many areas in relation to income security, and old age security is certainly one example and unemployment insurance is another, in both cases where constitutional amendments were concerned—in the field of social assistance and services it has been generally accepted that the provinces are responsible for the kind of assistance and services that are provided.

Now, if they are inadequate, then I suppose it is a matter that can and in some ways should be worked out in the provincial legislatures. There are some instances, however, where it could be said that the amount of money available or the funds available to provincial governments make it very difficult for them to implement the Canada Assistance Plan the way they themselves would like to do it. Of course, this is especially true in the case of some of the Atlantic provinces. The question, therefore, that the Atlantic provinces have raised is whether the federal shar-

ing of 50-50 in the case of a very low-income province is satisfactory. But when you come to other provinces that have fairly high levels of income and financially are able to raise their rates to a more adequate level then, really, the responsibility does rest with them. I believe that is about the way it stands.

Part of the difficulty in some cases is that, for the able-bodied unemployed who are on assistance, there is the problem that the assistance payments, particularly if there are a large number of children in the family, are higher than what an unskilled worker would receive; or are higher, say, than the minimum wage. This is the conflict that arises in many cases particularly in high-income provinces. Sometimes in cities where there are very high costs the inclination, therefore, if you are trying adequately to meet the needs of recipients of assistance, is to push the rates up so that they can have sufficient food and clothing and shelter and the other needs that a family or an individual should have.

Senator Carter: When we brought in the Canada Assistance Plan, one implication of it, if I recall correctly, was that if a person was receiving an old age pension of \$75 a month and it was not enough for his needs, he would be eligible under the Canada Assistance Plan for a supplementary payment of which the federal Government would pay half the cost. Yet, somehow, we discarded that because we found it was not working and we found it necessary to pay a supplement to the old age pension of \$30 a month, which normally, as I understood it, would have been taken care of out of the Canada Assistance Plan. Now, perhaps that is an admission of failure of the Canada Assistance Plan, but I certainly don't know the theory behind it.

The Chairman: When was the Canada Assistance Plan brought in?

Dr. Willard: The Canada Assistance Plan was brought in in 1966 and a little later that year the guaranteed income supplement was brought in.

Just a few days ago one province announced increases in its rates of assistance. As I understand the increase as it applies in the case of an old age pensioner who would, say, be getting the maximum under the guaranteed income supplement, or about \$111 under the combined old age security and guaranteed income supplement, the province will supplement up to \$150 a month. In other words, the province is raising the maximum

benefit available from \$111 to \$150. The supplement is on needs test basis, and the federal Government will be sharing half the cost.

Senator Carter: In addition to this \$111 you are still getting from the Canada Assistance Plan another payment?

Dr. Willard: Yes.

Senator Carter: How many provinces are doing that?

The Chairman: Just one. Incidentally, according to information I have, welfare allowances for one to four children are all below what we consider at the moment to be the economic poverty level and are all below the minimum wage that they will draw in many provinces. Even the Dominion of Canada minimum wage is \$1.50.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, we can check those figures for you, if you like. On page A31, at the bottom of the page, is the following statement:

In any case, it is clear that the minimum wage provides less for most families than is considered adequate by provincial budget standards for welfare recipients. It must be borne in mind, however, that the budget standards set by the provinces for welfare recipients often do not correspond to the actual amounts paid, which may be subject to a specified ceiling or limited to amounts considered reasonable in the community.

The assistance rates for the different provinces have been set out in the Appendix.

The Chairman: But the point is: are our welfare allowances not geared to something below the minimum wage, or is it just a coincidence?

Dr. Willard: The suggestion here is that in general the minimum wage is less for most families. Of course, you would expect that to be the case because minimum wages have not been geared to the number of children.

Senator McGrand: Dr. Willard, you have had one or two years to study the Canada Assistance Plan. You must have some idea what it can do for people therefore. To what extent can this plan meet the needs of the poor, of those below the poverty level, and, when it has done all it can do, how big will the gap be between that and what the poor should get?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, there is no doubt in my mind that the Canada Assistance Plan can meet the needs of the poor. I suppose the question is as to whether it will meet them adequately.

Senator McGrand: How wide is the gap?

Dr. Willard: We have about 1.2 million people covered under the Canada Assistance Plan. It is the program of last resort for the whole social security structure and therefore we have to depend on it and improve it unless something else takes its place. The steps we have taken in terms of these task forces have been designed to try to improve the welfare delivery system. As to the adequacy of benefits, this is a matter that rests entirely with the provincial legislatures and governments. If the feeling is that the benefits are not sufficient, then the recourse is of course in each province to the provincial legislature and government. The approach to the application of the needs test is to many people unsatisfactory. For those who are concerned that the income should fit the particular circumstances it is difficult with social insurance to determine whether the benefit is inadequate. With the means test approach or with a guaranteed income approach the question is as to whether it can fit the need of individual persons or families as is done through the budget deficit system when the needs test technique is used. If the social stigma grows around the Canada Assistance Plan the way it developed around the means test, perhaps as a major piece of legislation in the social assistance field, it may be supplanted, but at the present time it is the bulwark, as it were, for those who cannot get sufficient income support through the social insurance, the demogrants and the other sources. I would think, as I mentioned before, that no matter what other techniques are used, whether it is the social insurance, the demogrant, or the guaranteed income approach, you will have to have social assistance as a program of last resort.

Senator McGrand: Tell me this—if Canada were to adopt the guaranteed annual income, or any income adequate to meet the needs of the poor, and I know you have given this a great deal of thought, have you any idea how much money it would take to give a guaranteed annual income to those who live below the poverty line? Different estimates have been given to me ranging from \$200 million to \$2 billion.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, this is the difficulty. The reason we have had so many estimates is partly because unless you work out an entire system to determine how much integration there will be with existing programs and whether you will wipe out this or that program and unless you make a whole series of value judgments, you really cannot get down to an adequate figure or net cost; so that you would have to work out a specific system. The added difficulty is a technical one and that is that we have not had satisfactory income information about the lower income sector of our community, which is, of course, vital, when you come to make estimates of a technique such as a guaranteed annual income. It is to be hoped that as we go along this type of social data with regard to income and expenditure of these people will be improved, and we will be in a better position to make meaningful estimates.

Senator McGrand: Of course the problem varies according to regions. Is there any region in Canada where the Canada Assistance Plan would be adequate to meet the needs of those below the poverty level? Is there any one region where what we now have is adequate to meet their needs?

Dr. Willard: Well, Mr. Chairman, I think that is difficult for me to answer because it does raise the subjective question of what is adequacy and this, of course, is what this whole debate is all about. Some people in our society complain that people on assistance get too much, and other people on assistance complain they are not getting enough. Provincial authorities try to design their various budgets as to the needs for short-term and long-term cases; they are striving for something that is reasonably acceptable, having regard of course to the financial resources they have. I think it depends very much on a value judgment as to what is adequate within the context of the Canadian society.

The Chairman: In your brief you have given us a study of Toronto and Montreal. In the light of Senator McGrand's question, what is the purpose in giving us that particular study? Was it for the purpose of telling us that it was applicable, could be applied, or was inadequate. It is on pages A17 and A18.

Dr. Willard: The purpose, Mr. Chairman, was to show the process through which the family budgets are developed, and in so doing I think it illustrates the point I am making about the value judgments that are needed.

Here are two different groups in different communities approaching the same problem and with different value judgments. On page A 17 you will see the comparison. They have come up with different budgets; The Toronto budget coming up with \$359.39—leaving out some items here for the moment—and the other shows \$274.81 on the same items. The Toronto plan adds in certain other items; and you can see that if those items were included what would be the total monthly cost of providing this kind of income for a family of four with two children, a boy aged 4 and a girl aged 5. I think it shows you the great difficulty of developing budgets and the kind of value judgments that have to be made. There are some technical problems involved, for instance how to approach the question of rent and decide what amount should be put in for that item. In one case you have rent at \$150 a month in Toronto and in the other at \$101 in Montreal. This not only reflects the difference of rental levels in the two cities, but also the difference in the techniques or approach. It was hoped that this would give you an insight into the approach which can be taken by various provincial governments and municipalities in the determination of levels of assistance. Depending upon your point of view it may lead you to the opinion that certain assistance levels in some provinces are adequate and in others are not.

Senator Carter: Is this a composite budget of the average of a number of cases? Was it compiled from the budgets of two actual families?

The Chairman: No, they are composite, but prepared by careful people and well worked out.

Senator Carter: Are they geared to income? Either the same accommodation is available in Montreal for \$100 per month as is available in Toronto for \$150, or else the person is living there not by choice, but because some other factors force him to do so.

The Chairman: The amount indicated on page A-17 is approximately \$1,800 more than would be received in the province of Ontario for a family of four. Multiplying the \$360 by 12 results in an annual figure of about \$1,200 less, without the inclusion of the additional amount of \$45.

Senator McGrand: It may be unfair to ask you this question, but I would like to have some information. We have a fairly accurate idea of the percentage of people who are

below the poverty line and those above it. It seems that there are a good number of people in the middle class who are reaching the upper middle class in income. Those in the upper middle class are reaching the upper class. The gap between them is narrowing as salaries increase. In order to provide a guaranteed income to those below the poverty line, the money has to be provided from some other group. In the growth of those emerging into the more affluent class adequate to provide those below the poverty line with sufficient income to bring them above it? That question has to be answered some day by someone.

Dr. Willard: We do need more income distribution studies.

The Chairman: The answer to that question lies in the middle of page 31 of your brief. It is an important question and the answer appears in the middle of the fourth paragraph on page 31:

The gross national product was \$11.9 billion in 1946 and \$71.5 billion in 1968.

Just turn that over in your mind.

When the program was in full operation in 1946, the average weekly industrial wage in Canada was approximately \$32.50 per week; it is now \$120 per week. The cost of living has risen by 111 per cent since 1946. By contrast, the average monthly family allowance payment per family between March, 1947, and March, 1969, has increased by 15 per cent; the average payment per child went up 12 per cent.

You ask whether we are capable of meeting the need. These figures indicate that we have been capable of meeting a great number of needs and have not done so.

Senator McGrand: You can increase the national product solely by inflation. If inflation can be used to increase the national product it is the same thing that makes the poor poorer, so that is not the answer. I know it is a tough question.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, this is a very big brief, so I have only read parts of it. Dr. Willard, I must say that what I have read is very impressive.

The first paragraph of page 7 appears to imply that all that is required to solve our problem of poverty is a massive input of services, which you suggest means more money and more people for the same purpose. Can

you be sure that this approach will succeed when we are still faced with a severe operating problem? I have been connected with the social assistance program long enough to know its strengths and weaknesses, yet it is still with us. We seem to have failed to do much about poverty.

Dr. Willard: The purpose of this discussion is to emphasize that when discussing income support we must not forget that in the society which exists and in that which we can look forward to in the future there is a greater need for services. While we certainly consider income maintenance to be basic, we have tended quite often to think that it solves everything.

There are many community development projects that we need in large metropolitan cities, in particular in their inner cores. We need services such as day care centres, counselling and community health services. More attention must be paid to the questions of involvement and the problems of social change. The services of people are required in all these matters. This is an indication that the provision of adequate income security will not brush away many of the social problems that are growing very quickly, such as alienation, drug abuse, and so on. The increasing number of women in the labour force creates a need for community services and day care centres. We need day care centres with the increasing number of women in the labour force and so forth. This is a part of our society that we must remember is very real and must be thought of in terms of the social development. By paying people cash benefits we don't get it into the streams that develop these services.

Senator Inman: It seems to me that sometimes there is an overlapping of services.

Dr. Willard: I would think that is true. It has occurred in Canada, and in most countries where there has been voluntary and public services trying to develop in the same field and where there has been no general planning. Over the years with the development of the United Appeal and public welfare planning bodies in various cities, this has been a force which has tended to co-ordinate and cut down in overlapping. I agree that still some occurs and that there is always room for improvement in this area.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, there is another question I have put perhaps this is not the place to bring it up. I have heard

people comment about Family Allowances. We have been speaking of means or needs tests here today. What is your thinking of having a needs or means test for Family Allowances? I have heard some people suggest that perhaps families whose income is below a certain level should get the Family Allowance but not if they are above a certain income.

Dr. Willard: There has been some discussion in the press and elsewhere that Family Allowances should have an income test. In this case it might be similar to the guaranteed income supplement, but as with most major policy matters of this type, there are arguments for and against. The question is to examine the basic objectives of the program as to what they were when the program was introduced and they are still the objectives that are important now. Some people react very strongly to the idea of the imposition of any test and think that the Family Allowances should be paid, as they are now, and that all children should be treated alike. Other people take the point of view and say that above a certain level of income the Family Allowance payment is an extra; that any money given to people who are above that level of income might better be redistributed and given to those at lower income levels. We have a very divided opinion on this question and of course it is a policy matter that governments will have to face.

Senator Inman: I believe it was our province, Prince Edward Island, where that was first used as a pilot project.

Dr. Willard: That is correct. When Family Allowances were introduced they tried them out first in Prince Edward Island.

The Chairman: As I recall, in Family Allowance, there were two reasons which were given publicly. One of the reasons was to try to increase consumer spending immediately after the war. The second one was to attempt to equalize between two people doing the same job, one having one child and the other one having four children. Does Family Allowance do that trick today? Does it answer that purpose?

Dr. Willard: It is a matter of degree. It does not do it nearly as much as it did when it was introduced. As I mentioned earlier, in the case of a large family with a low income you can see that it can make a tremendous difference in terms of their total income. This is the place where the program is mainly effective.

The effectiveness has receded over the years and I think the brief brings this point out.

The Chairman: Like the rest of you, I have read the brief with a great deal of interest. I am going to take a little time to look over these notes. In the meantime, you may break in any time you wish. I think you started out by saying that there were approximately four million of what we call poorly stricken. You broke them up into the Canada Assistance Plan and in the Old Age Security, which had about two million and the working poor had about two million persons. Do your statistics indicate where those four million people are, in what provinces they are living by numbers or percentage?

Dr. Willard: Senator Croll, I think we can try to get these data on a provincial basis, but I do not have them with me now. Miss J. R. Podoluk's study from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on *Income Distribution, Poverty in Canada, 1967*, which was put out in October of last year does give some very useful data on a regional basis. If you accept the poverty line or low income cut-out line that has been used in this study, which as you know is \$1,740 for an unattached individual, \$2,900 for a family with two, and so on, you then get some results like this: for the families in the Atlantic Provinces 33.7 per cent were below the poverty line; for the unattached individuals, it was 52.5 per cent. On the other hand, if you take a province such as Ontario, you get a situation like this: the percentage below the poverty line in case of families was 12.4 per cent, and in the case of unattached individuals, it was 32.5 per cent. These figures are available and I think they are very useful because they bring out the regional income distribution and the disparities that are present in terms of the percentage below poverty lines in each region. The percentages are very high in the Atlantic Provinces and relatively low in Ontario. For families in Quebec it was 20.3 per cent, the Prairie Provinces, 23 per cent and British Columbia, 16.2 per cent. The pattern for unattached individuals is a little different. The percentages of those below the poverty line who are unattached individuals is affected tremendously by the aged and by the growing number of unattached young people. A new pattern is developing in the case of young people.

The Chairman: I was raising the point to give some indication that poverty exists in every province in considerable percentage and considerable number.

Dr. Willard: That is right.

The Chairman: This business of looking to the Atlantic Provinces and saying that the problem people are only there is entirely wrong.

Dr. Willard: You have a higher percentage in relation to their total number of families, and to their total number of unattached persons residing, say, in the Atlantic Provinces. But when you come to a province such as Ontario the really serious problem is in the large metropolitan areas, the very large cities. This is where one needs to pay attention.

The Chairman: My figures—they may be wrong, they are some of the statistics that our staff study reached—indicate that if you took Metropolitan Toronto and include Hamilton and Oshawa, outside limits, you would find as many people below the poverty line there as you would in the Maritime Provinces.

Senator Carter: You mean, in number?

The Chairman: Yes, I said "people".

Dr. Willard: This is a very important consideration; you have the large concentrations of people particularly in large metropolitan cities. As we know, from all the projections and estimates of future population trends, these very large cities are going to keep getting proportionately larger. This is going to be one of the most serious problem areas.

The Chairman: I as—I am saying as of now. It is well to get that across the country because there are many of the matters that they do not understand about poverty and this is one of them.

Senator Carter: Does not that cloud the whole issue, that we think of it in terms of regions, instead of numbers, that we think of poverty and really not of say Indians, Metis, seasonal workers, in the Maritimes. When you think of numbers of people, it is just as acute in Ontario as it is in Newfoundland.

The Chairman: Senator Carter, that is exactly the point I am trying to get across to the public somehow. Let me deal with something. On page 4 of your brief you say:

The social security system is blamed for its "failure" to eliminate poverty, when in fact it is the private sector of the economy that has been unable to perform in accordance with public expectations.

This is no reflection on you, because if there is anybody entitled to blame for the social security measures, members of the Senate are entitled to blame—and the chairman, particularly, he has been longer at it than you have.

In my view and in the view of a great number of other people there is a lack of confidence in the welfare system. There is a credibility gap, there is an alienation. The gap seems to be growing wider all the time. We have to admit, whether we want to or not, that in the eyes of the public it is a failure. Let us admit that for a moment. On the other hand, we also say that what we would have expected from the public sector, has been a failure. Where does a man go? Where does he turn to?

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, let me ask you a question. Who do you mean? I tried to write it down. Who do you mean when you say there is a public feeling that the welfare system is a failure? Whom do you mean by public?

The Chairman: I mean by people.

Senator McGrand: What class of people?

The Chairman: The recipients and the people who pay for it—they all feel it is not working out well at all. Where does a man turn to, in just that sort of a situation?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, first of all I would like to add a word about the quote, for fear that the paragraphs in the document might have been misunderstood.

The Chairman: If I have not quoted it all, go ahead.

Dr. Willard: That is all right. I think one of the difficulties we face is that the industrial system does not respond easily to social objectives. This does not necessarily mean there is a reflection on the private sector. But even when government and everybody else tries to create the right climate and public policies are developed so that there will be a maximum growth in the economic field, and thereby, we hope generate a high level of employment, even with all this, we find a situation whereby the private sector is still not providing sufficient jobs, and this backs up into the whole system.

As a result of there being insufficient jobs, people complain about Manpower Services, that they are not placing people, that they are not training people. Sometimes there are not

enough jobs for Manpower to train them for, so the question comes up whether it is economic in terms of the training program.

The social security system is considered inadequate under these circumstances, firstly by the people who get into it who want jobs rather than being on social assistance. Generally speaking, individuals and the people as a whole tend to criticize the social security system for part of the ills because there is a back-up in terms of insufficient jobs being created. That was the only point of this paragraph. For instance, in regions of slow economic growth we have very high levels of people on social assistance. A large percentage of those people do not want to be on social assistance. They are not particularly very happy with it and they naturally blame the social security system.

In areas where you have, say, a high level of economic growth, I think your point is that the people are still unhappy with the social security system. All we can do under these circumstances is see what are the techniques through which one can provide income support and various types of ancillary services, health and welfare services, rehabilitation services, preventive efforts, and so forth and where the system falls down. Have we enough of involvement of the people concerned in certain systems? Are we responding enough to the basic needs of people? At what point should economic development, as it were, receive a higher priority in terms of social development?

You get back to these very basic questions—(a) the allocation of resources to social development and social security programs; and (b) within the social security system, are we using the proper techniques.

There are no others now being used; no others in France, Britain, the United States; there are no others that we have not tried. We know community development techniques in this country. We have community development projects. We have tried a guaranteed income approach. We have tried all the different income security methods. Whether we have the will to pursue them, and whether we are prepared to put in sufficient resources to pursue them effectively, is perhaps the basic question.

The Chairman: What we are doing now—and we have to discuss this—what we have been doing is patching and band aiding here

and there to try and keep the welfare system going.

A few minutes ago Senator Carter asked you a question concerning the future. What of the future? Where do we go from here?

In my view, one of the most troublesome programs we have had in this country was the old age security from 1927 to 1966, and yet today it is one of the most successful programs and least troublesome. The greatest type of complaint seems to be why a cheque is \$78.51 instead of \$79. But the cheque comes in and there it is. Since 1966 old age security has had a good effect upon older people the like of which we hardly anticipated. That is an innovation. Despite the fact that you give us the credit for it, it is your department that has really made it work by adding the supplement to it, which was an intelligent approach and one that worked very well. In doing that you broke new ground, and my question is, don't we learn anything at all from these experiences and can't we take an example from something that works?

Dr. Willard: I am sure we do.

Senator Carter: There were two points that you made, Mr. Chairman. Dr. Willard concentrated on one of them, namely, that even in Toronto, with its economic growth, people were still not satisfied—neither the security recipients nor those who pay. But the other point that you emphasized was that this backup which has occurred in Toronto has occurred in an area of economic growth, so that economic growth by itself is not the answer. And economic growth is our new philosophy now.

The Chairman: No, no, Senator Carter. I think in the course of the brief Dr. Willard covers himself there a bit.

Senator Carter: I am not too sure about that. I want to make sure that he does.

The Chairman: I will tell you why. Dr. Willard starts talking about the redistributive effect later on his brief, saying, in effect, that it has not taken place in this country since 1952.

Senator Carter: That is only part of it. The point is that we are still going to have poverty, even if we have economic growth. Poverty is as much a phenomenon of the future as it is of the present and past so that we may as well accept it as a fact of life and see how we are going to deal with it. The ways in which

we have been dealing with it up to now have not been too effective. We must break new ground somewhere. We must not work on the premise that somehow or other we are going to have economic growth some day somewhere and that poverty is going to disappear. It is just not going to happen that way. We have to look for the answer. That is the point.

Dr. Willard: That is a very good point, Mr. Chairman, because we all know that technological advances are tending to make it more difficult for many people to have continuous employment within our society. As you know, there is a great argument raging among those who write about cybernetics, and who talk about the computer and the automated machine, as to whether, together, they are going to result in massive amounts of unemployment. There is the argument that we will have to re-arrange our approach to work in terms of the length of the work week and in terms of how we will employ people and, finally, in terms of how we will support them. In the future, if this comes to pass, we may have to be prepared to give income maintenance to people who, under present circumstances, we would say should be working, but where, in the future, there may not be jobs. That is one line of argument.

Immediately after World War II there was great deal of discussion about automation and whether it would result in high levels of unemployment and replacement of people, but we still seem in this modern industrial society to be able to maintain a fairly high level of employment. Innovations and new developments keep coming along and to create new employment opportunities. That is another line of argument, and it says that the worst that will happen under the developments of the future is that the situation will deteriorate vis-à-vis the unskilled worker.

These are the types of argument being pursued now, but the core of the question is not only whether it will or will not happen, but how soon it may happen. Therefore, I think the point you make is quite valid, Senator Carter, that, even if we are going to have a high level of economic growth, we may still expect to have poverty problems accompanying it, just as in the past.

The Chairman: In my opinion one of the very best social measures acts ever put on the statute books of this country is the Canada Assistance Act. Naturally it has deficiencies, as all acts have, but would it be possible for

us to use that act, with some slight amendments, as a complete umbrella for the delivery of services? As a matter of fact, isn't everything under it now.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, let us take for example the field of health. The tendency in that area in the past has been to develop universal services. Whether that will be the approach in the future is one question I cannot answer, but it is worth thinking about. Under the one approach, you foresee the kind of situation we have for hospital insurance and medical care extended to dental care, to visiting nursing services, to drugs and so forth. Under the other approach, which we now follow, these are made available on a selective basis rather than on a universal basis. In other words, so far as the federal Government is concerned, we will share the cost of all these health services to people in need. Thus, this is one kind of decision that will have to be made in the future: are we going to be selective about the remaining health services that are not covered on a universal basis? If we are going to be selective, is it going to be on a needs test basis, as under the Canada Assistance Plan, or will it be on an income basis, as under OMSIP, as it was in Ontario several months ago? These are the kinds of decisions in that health service system that are going to have to be made.

The Chairman: There are really two questions involved here: hasn't everything been brought under the umbrella of the Canada Assistance Act already; and couldn't that act be used in the future as a vehicle of delivery of services?

Dr. Willard: I think, Mr. Chairman, this is a possibility. In other words, it is possible to experiment with the kinds of test you have for eligibility within this approach. You might be able to say in certain types of cases, long-term cases, that an income test is sufficient up to a certain income level and then a needs test might be applied. There are possibilities through the procedures under the assistance approach or technique whereby improvements can take place. Indeed, as I mentioned earlier, one of the purposes of the task force on the developmental approach to assistance is to look at the whole question of how to test eligibility. There are ways in which testing could be carried out that would be less offensive and would not carry as much social stigma. If you could solve this problem on the one hand, then the only other difficulty you face is the adequacy of benefit. Presum-

ably for those on assistance or receiving this type of income support, if you could solve these two problems, then the main difficulties would be over.

I would add, however, that one of the problems of our day is not only the people who are on assistance, and we have spent a lot of time talking about those, but the numbers of people in employment who have been designated by some people as the working poor. There you have the difficulty of how through a needs test technique do you reach these people, except in individual cases as we now provide for under the Canada Assistance Plan. Many of these are people who are likely to fall into the assistance net unless some action is taken to give them some supplementary income support. I think the whole issue that comes to the fore these days in the discussion of income maintenance programs involves such questions as—how does the level of benefit, if it is going to be adequate for social assistance, but up against the minimum wage and against the kind of remuneration that the working poor are getting. That is one thing. The second question is—how about the working poor themselves, the people who are not on assistance?

The Chairman: Naturally we had to come to this at some time, and you have come to it now. The question of the working poor is half our problem. I think I have made it clear to you that our thinking the Pudolok definition of poverty is more acceptable than the Orshansky. In talking about the working poor in these terms, there are at least three provinces in Canada that extend assistance to the working poor. In order to keep them off relief, they subsidize them. Now, these are not the rich provinces. Is not this information passed on to the rich provinces and some indication given to them that these things are happening in other parts of the country?

Senator McGrand: What provinces are these?

The Chairman: The two western provinces and the two maritime provinces.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, certainly at the federal-provincial conferences of ministers, deputy ministers and officials, these are the kinds of matters that are discussed.

The Chairman: But the usual argument presented is that if you subsidize these working poor, you will keep wages low. That was the original argument and it has been used

over the years. It was, perhaps, a good one before we had minimum wages but now we have minimum wages which are enforced fairly carefully.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, the fact that that provision is in the Canada Assistance Act indicates our support in pursuing it. I think the fact that some provinces have, as it were, put their foot in the stream to try to see how the water feels, is an indication that they are trying it out. The problem they face is, of course, that once they start supplementing wages, if they are not careful the trade unions object. You face certain difficulties. Does it involve subsidizing inefficiency and so on? That is one of the reasons, perhaps, why the provinces have not been more active in this area. However, I would think that if the experience in this field proves to be successful, the trend would naturally be to use this provision under the Canada Assistance Plan more and more.

The Chairman: My next question has to deal with what the Americans are doing, I am sure you are aware of what is happening there with respect to incentives for the working poor and no doubt you have read the latest reports on it. The latest report I have read on it says this, and I quote:

There is no evidence that work effort declined among those receiving income support payments... On the contrary, there is an indication that the work effort of participants receiving payments increased relative to the efforts of those not receiving payments.

They are talking about the experiments now being carried on in New Jersey. To me, these are very welcome words since they indicate that the experiment is working successfully there. I am sure you have read all the literature on this and you have read about the system whereby they exempt the first \$60. Apparently they are finding that in the main it is not lowering wages or keeping wages down, but that it is in fact having a very good effect.

Dr. Willard: I think that is a very useful experiment which is now being carried out in New Jersey. In effect they have taken a control group under ordinary assistance arrangements as well as those they are studying to see what is the effect of the application of different techniques and formulae. They are trying to see what the situation would be in groups where the amount of assistance is 50

per cent, 75 per cent or 100 per cent of their budgetary needs on the one hand, and on the other hand they are trying to study the other variables. They have graduated the rate of reduction of benefit according to the amount of outside income so that they can see what are the effects of all incentives. This is the information that we really need. That is why this is probably one of the more important experiments being carried out.

The Chairman: I gain the impression from reading your brief that you say in effect that in so far as the disadvantaged are concerned provision for them should be made on the basis of a reasonable income, perhaps similar to but more adequate than that provided under the Old Age Security.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, I did not see those words. I am interested that you have gained that impression.

The Chairman: I will point out the statements in the brief.

Dr. Willard: I will accept your word, Mr. Chairman. It is a question of what was intentional or unintentional.

The Chairman: You cannot be more intentional than at the bottom of page 10:

Yet as noted earlier, the social security system is blamed for the failure of the private industrial sector to meet the problem of poverty due to unemployment in a period of rapid technological change when the structure of family relationships has weakened considerably. In periods of full employment, the people who are on social assistance will be the aged, the disabled, mothers with small children, and the unemployable. These people really need help; they are not on the assistance rolls due to any lack of individual motivation.

If that does not mean what I said it does. I do not know what it means.

Dr. Willard: I think it means exactly what it says.

The Chairman: I will continue reading from your brief:

In our complex industrial society which seems unable to provide a high level of employment, there are also a large number of unemployed persons on the assistance rolls. These people are there through no fault of their own—they need

income support, and the kind of society we have developed makes it hard for them to obtain income in any other way.

Are you still not convinced that my interpretation is correct?

Dr. Willard: No, I quite agree that these people need income support; there is no question about that. I do not think that in the brief we have particularly favoured any approach or technique.

The Chairman: Then if you did not favour any system or technique you spent pages 81 to 88 of the brief, which I found particularly interesting.

Dr. Willard: We referred to this, Mr. Chairman, because it is a new development and Canada is one of the few countries that has followed it. The proposal was recommended by a Senate committee and we considered that it warranted that kind of attention.

The Chairman: I am, of course, delighted to see it, but the interpretation I arrived at is exactly the one that you now give us. Moreover, I read into it the fact that you are saying, if you are looking for anyone who knows anything about guaranteed income, we are the boys who know more about it than anyone else; we have been through the drill.

The point I am making, and I read these statements together, is that we have these disadvantaged people who are not in the main stream and who are not able to look after themselves. What is the difference between a blind, old or crippled person? They are all in the same category of being unfortunate. What can you do for them? Maintenance income, yet they have been left hanging on the limit. That is what puts the system into disrepute. All of us understand that you do not have to explain this to a politician. Every man on the street understands it. What sort of system is it which deals with one group of people in one way and a like group in another way? These people I am talking about now are immersed in poverty and constitute about one-third of our problem.

It does no good for you to shake your head and for me to do all the talking, that is not going to get us any place.

Senator Inman: I am interested in what appears at the bottom of page 26. The brief makes a big issue of incentive, and so on. Mention is made of a massive expenditure of public funds which would be required to

bring all Canadians up to a level of basic adequacy.

What is basic adequacy and how much money is massive expenditure?

The Chairman: Senator Inman, that question was asked by Dr. McGrand. We are taking it for granted at the moment that the Economic Council line of poverty would be something that we would recognize as being adequate, subject to some variations.

Senator Carter: With reference to the blind persons' allowances and disabled persons' pensions, have any provinces replaced these payments and brought them in under the Canada Assistance Plan?

Dr. Willard: Yes, a number of provinces have taken action, particularly with respect to new cases. There are several provinces where new cases are put right on the general assistance program rather than on disability and blind persons' allowances. Saskatchewan was the first province to shift the existing cases over. The provision under the Canada Assistance Plan is that any individual must not be worse off if changes are made. The case load under the disability allowances program, which is the bigger one, has dropped from 53,000 to about 30,000 in the last few years as a result of this change of policy.

Senator Carter: Why is there a distinction made between new and old cases?

Dr. Willard: It is simpler when new people apply to have them apply under the new program. Since the blind and disabled persons' allowances ceiling has remained at \$75 they can be better provided for under the Canada Assistance Plan arrangements. In many cases they could be getting say, \$100 or \$150, depending upon their particular circumstances.

In some instances where the question of assets makes it more favourable for the person to stay under those programs they remain there.

Senator Carter: Do you mean the means test?

Dr. Willard: Yes under the present means test. There are some instances where it is to their advantage.

Senator Carter: That is what bothers me. Your system now mixes up the means test and a needs test. Surely that is very unfair to some people?

Dr. Willard: The legislative provision was made so that no individual would suffer. The provinces so far have been very careful to respect this. That is why there has not been a sudden shift of all cases. You see, they can leave them under the means test programs up to the maximum of \$75 but they could still supplement under a needs test shared under C.A.P. What is really happening is that the provinces are finding out what is the best situation for the individual; they are not just shifting them over automatically.

Senator Carter: There must be savings in administration. There are two points here, because you mentioned about the Canada Assistance Plan being an umbrella. It is being used as one and they are phasing out where they can.

Dr. Willard: The phasing out and the impact that this has upon administration is quite important. As you know, the blind persons and disabled persons allowance legislation is quite complex and there are very lengthy regulations. It means that along with Old age Assistance, we had 36 sets of regulations and when unemployment assistance came along it increased to 48. What we have done is to write to the provinces to advise that where the caseload under the blind or disabled persons allowances becomes very small we will have a person on our staff who is specialized in this field available to work with them on a periodic basis so that they do not have to have any specialized people limited to this area of their total assistance operation.

Senator Carter: Is there a uniform definition of a blind person all across Canada?

Dr. Willard: Yes.

Senator Carter: In every province?

Dr. Willard: Yes.

Senator Carter: What about a disabled person?

Dr. Willard: Well, the test for disability is a little more difficult to administer because there are many different disabling conditions. As you know, in the case of the blind you have one test that is applied by the Rehabilitation Services Division of the department. That division deals with the disability test under the Blind Persons Act, and all of the examinations are carried out by ophthalmologists across Canada. The results of these examinations are sent in and adjudicated, and

decisions on eligibility are then made. In the case of disability allowances, assessment under the disability test is in most cases carried out by a team consisting of a provincial doctor, a federal doctor and a welfare officer. In one or two provinces the assessment is done by the provincial doctor first and then sent on for the federal doctor to consider. When one takes into account the many varying kinds of disabling conditions and degrees of disability, one appreciates the difficulty in achieving uniformity. The development of guidelines for assessment, which doctors themselves have worked out to try to get equity of treatment of people in the application of this test have been helpful but nevertheless there is still a variation in the proportion of disabled people across the country. This reflects, in part, the difference in the application of the disability test and I think this is inevitable. It has also happened in the various States of the United States under their permanent and total disability program. However, we have tried to minimize it. The other factors, affecting the numbers and proportions in different provinces are the different income levels within the provinces which have a very direct effect on this matter and the administration of the programs generally.

The Chairman: This paragraph on page 10 may have been overlooked in your brief. I think it deserves to go on the record because it says a great deal. I shall read it as follows:

At the same time, full employment policies failed to solve the problem of poverty. Rapid economic growth generally meant that various areas and groups, both rural and urban, were increasingly left behind by economic progress elsewhere, thus increasing their "relative poverty". Wage levels for relatively unskilled work failed to keep pace with other sectors of the labour force, thus highlighting the phenomenon of the "working poor". The influx of rural residents and immigrants into urban areas created many new problems and pressures, which tended to push vulnerable individuals and families into crisis poverty and long-term dependency. The available structures of health, welfare and educational services and of income support measures (despite changes and improvements) seemed increasingly inadequate to cope with the problems.

I do not think that I have seen it expressed better in any place and I feel it should be on

the record. By the way, I do not wish to pass the afternoon without telling you that in reading your brief, one of the things that really gave me a lift was to see what you were doing in the way of having citizens' groups participating. You have demonstration projects and about eight out of 15 are in that line. These activists, in my opinion, in time will build a fire under you even more than we can build. I think that was very good.

In reading your brief, you spoke about preventive services. I think there is only one province that is doing anything at all by way of prevention. It is not really a great expense compared to the amount of money that the province has received under the Canada Assistance Act which they would not have received otherwise. Why didn't more of them invest in that sort of work? Wasn't it attractive to them?

Dr. Willard: I think so, Mr. Chairman. The provinces have been slow to develop their staffs in this area. Federal money did come in on a shared basis. The costs of the program generally increased with increases in the rates of benefit. They have been pushing the rates benefit up partly in response to the inflationary pressure and partly because of the fact that they appreciated the inadequacy of the rates. There was much to be done to improve the benefit rates and this an opportunity was provided when new federal money came in. The fact that federal sharing was provided for on a comprehensive basis for health and welfare services has been important, particularly in the kind of situation where they are needed for a family or for an individual to put a total program together either for rehabilitation or to prevent further breakdown. In some cases, to rehabilitate is to prevent complete breakdown with the result, long-term dependency. I think that the fact that they could bring together comprehensive family health and welfare services has been constructive. I would agree with you that certainly much more needs to be done and I am not sure why there has not been a greater response.

The Chairman: I am going to read from your brief, Page 13, the bottom of the first paragraph:

If an adequate minimum living standard is to be achieved, either sufficient cash payments must be made to large numbers of unemployed persons, or work opportunities must be provided by government serving directly as the "employer of last

resort". For those who are long-term dependency cases unable to work, cash income maintenance is the only approach left open. This is the distributive strategy.

You raise a point that is very dear to my heart and dear to the hearts of some members around this table for a long time. The "employer of last resort". Let us talk about that for a few minutes.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, as I mentioned, you get into the situation where it is a matter of degree. During the depression, the Government ended up as an "employer of last resort". Public works programs were undertaken; federal, provincial and municipal governments entered into them.

Most governments would prefer—whether at the federal, provincial or municipal levels—to see the situation where the private economy generates sufficient employment opportunities. This is generally accepted.

On the other hand, if you reach a situation where you have chronic unemployment, or you have slow growth, the question of government intervention does arise. There are different techniques through which this may be achieved.

The Regional Economic Expansion Department is pursuing efforts in this way. They are not pursuing it in the way of government as employer of last resort but they are pursuing it in a way which endeavours to stimulate and develop the economy in a particular region.

The idea of "employer of last resort" is one tool that, under certain circumstances, may indeed have to be used. Some people who are concerned about the levels of employment and the numbers of people on assistance, would argue that it would be better if the government could give those people jobs and that it would be better for the unemployed if they could do something more constructive. It is generally conceded that as far as the individual is concerned, he would probably prefer to receive his income in this way, the way in which other people in the community on the whole are getting their income.

On the other hand, all the difficulties that were encountered with public works and other direct intervention by government are still there. How do you phase in and phase out public works projects when the economic activity declines and then steps up. How do

you have projects of the right kind, size and location on the shelf that are ready to be shoved in at the appropriate time. Nor once you get them going can they be just turned off whenever you want. There is a whole series of problems, that we had to deal with in this country, in the United States and elsewhere, during the 30s, in relation to that.

Therefore, it is little wonder that governments do think of it as a last resort. But it is really the only alternative that is not being used when you get into very high levels of unemployment, other than income maintenance payments.

Income maintenance payments are a somewhat less expensive method. Usually, in public works projects you are concerned with a large kind of expenditure that is more expensive than direct payments. Also, when you get the Government carrying out public works projects you get the Government competing with private industry.

If part of the strategy or part of the purpose is to prime the pump of the economy in a particular region—or in the country as a whole, as it was during the 30s—then it has a dual purpose of an economic as well as social nature.

The Chairman: You know from the record that we have had a considerable amount of evidence before us with respect to the creation of jobs and the expense entailed. We think, of course, the creation of jobs is preferable to anything else that can be done. At the same time, it is expensive. Nevertheless we support your views.

On page 68, in the third paragraph, you refer to something I said earlier. I do not think you disagreed with it, but you say it here. You speak of the National Council of Welfare and you say:

The creation of this Council with its special mandate to seek out the views of the poor reflects an awareness that the social service system, while designed to service those in need, has historically failed to involve the people it sought to serve in the definition of their needs and the development of programs to meet these needs.

What troubles me is, why did it take you so long to come to the conclusion? We knew it at the municipal level, that we had to involve people; we knew it at the provincial level years back. Why has it held back? Why have

we not involved people, a long time ago? It was inexpensive. It was not a matter of cost.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, I think that part of the answer lies in the approach to the establishment of advisory committees. As in the case of many Government departments, the department has followed a standard procedure, of having representatives of labour, management and the professional groups involved. This was the approach the I.L.O. proposed for advisory committees for social insurance. Up to this time the Government has followed this pattern. The National Welfare Council which was set up in 1962, followed the pattern which had been used in the case of the Dominion Council of Health which had been established away back in 1919; it had seemed to work well for health matters. The National Council of Welfare involved the public sector and the private sector—the public sector through the deputy ministers and the private sector through lay people involved in the welfare system, and finally professionals working in the welfare system. This composition grew out of this kind of environment.

The second point is quite important. The kind of problems you get in a federal department such as National Health and Welfare in relation to many of its programs are not at the grass roots, because the provinces in fact are administering those programs. This relates to a program relating to social assistance and welfare services.

Therefore, the tendency has been to think in terms of the national role as one of social policy and general planning and that federal-provincial discussions would be needed to provide the experience of the provinces. The provinces would tell us what their needs and problems were and that input would work through this system. So the tendency in Canada has been to use the federal-provincial mechanism as one of the main inputs to the federal department in terms of how things should be done. Of course, we still continue to use this consultation as the main vehicle because we are in shared cost programs.

But the new dimension really developed more recently in response to, I suppose, changes that have been developing within our society. The Department adjusted its welfare grants program to provide demonstration projects in this area as society seemed to indicate the need for a new types of projects; the Department adjusted the kinds of representa-

tion on the National Advisory Council as our society seemed to be demanding a greater input from those that are experiencing first-hand the problems of poverty.

Senator Carter: Along that line, would you say, Dr. Willard, that slowness to involve the poor and the needy, the recipients of welfare, has been in large measure due to the attitude of paternalism which has bedevilled the philosophy behind our welfare system?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, there may have been an element of this that, over the years, has been experienced in policy development in this field. But I don't think, for instance, that when old age security was brought in the members of Parliament who sat on the joint committee of the House and Senate were particularly paternalistic. They felt that they knew their constituents and that they knew what their needs were; they felt that the means test was unsatisfactory and that, in fact, they were speaking for the people. They reviewed the experience of the old age pension means tested program in Canada and they reviewed the programs in the United States, New Zealand, Australia, Sweden, Switzerland, France and the U.K. They went into them in great depth. Then, following that, they heard briefs from all the major organizations across Canada. They heard no welfare rights groups because there weren't any at that time. I don't think any recipients appeared before that committee to make representations either, but that is the way the world seemed to be under those circumstances. The members of Parliament represented the people, not the disadvantaged or any specific group. They made certain recommendations that Canada should have a flat rate demogrant instead of a means test pension. Subsequently, the Government considered and adopted their recommendation.

Things have changed since then.

The Chairman: In other words, Senator Carter, we have failed miserably in this. How could we have taken it upon ourselves to tell persons on welfare what kind of food they should eat or what kind of clothes they should buy and how much they should spend on food and how much on clothing; but we did. In doing so we deprived them immediately of their liberty. Nevertheless, we sat by while all this was done. I often question myself about it.

Senator Carter: Yes, but it did not dawn on us.

The Chairman: That is the point.

Senator Carter: But why? In fact, it wouldn't have dawned on us even now, if there had not been a general rebellion against this paternalism; and that rebellion is only a recent phenomenon.

The Chairman: We should have been in the front of that rebellion.

Senator Carter: Yes, we should have.

The Chairman: Dr. Willard, in talking about demogrant, and universality, selectivity and income tested benefits, it seems to me that selectivity means discrimination, administrative complexity, minimum flexibility, some paternalism and a definite loss of dignity to the user. That is my own view, with which you may not agree at all; but using that view as a basis, can you tell us in non-technical language what are the advantages and disadvantages of the guaranteed income?

Dr. Willard: Let us take the guaranteed income supplement as a sample and look at that. There was an advantage there, in that for a given allocation of resources you could get more money to the people who needed it, whereas, if you had given that same amount of money in a demogrant, it would have been dissipated throughout the whole system. That is an obvious advantage. Secondly, once you leave the demogrant and go to an eligibility test, the question is whether you can get a test that minimizes the problem of stigma, of dealing with some differently from the rest.

Here you get into a whole range of arguments. Some people will argue in favour of the income test which, as it is applied under that program, is relatively simple. It is based on the income tax, but it is set out in very simple form. But it does not ask any more of a poor individual than of the well-to-do person who is filing an income tax. Therefore, in terms of stigma, it should be as acceptable to the poor person as it is to the rich person to provide that information.

On this basis the test is considered to be more acceptable than either the means test or the needs test. First of all, the means test and needs test do require more detailed information and investigation; and, secondly, those in the society that have to provide this kind of information in the case of the means and needs test would be only the disadvantaged, the low-income people, whereas in the case of the income test, the kind of information sup-

plied would apply to well-to-do as well as to poor people.

One concern that some people have is that when you apply this income test approach to a total system you end up having a whole section of the society that must get its income support through this kind of system. They ask the question: will the people who get an income-tested benefit feel any different from the people on assistance? Will they feel that it is only low income groups which receive guaranteed payment cheques associated with low income? Will they in turn feel that some kind of stigma is attached to these payments which will in time separate the poor from those who are not poor within our society? This is a sociological question that some people pose.

When the guaranteed income supplement was brought into the House of Commons, there were some who said that it was just a disguised means test. There is this feeling that an income test is not Simon pure and certainly cannot be taken as an alternative for the demogrant. On the other hand, you get to the question of cost; obviously, if you have to compromise because of cost and you have to institute a test it is better to have an income test than a means or needs test. If you want to have social solidarity and togetherness, the demogrant is the best choice. If you cannot afford that much social solidarity and you want greater adequacy of benefit, then the income test is better than the means test or the needs test.

The question as to the of benefit and how to determine it, is, of course, one of the basic problems of the guaranteed income supplement or the guaranteed annual income, and how do you do this in a country such as Canada? Then if you develop techniques for determining a poverty line, you get back to the question of who is above the poverty line and who is not. But if you have to say "this is to be your income floor" as is the case with the G.I.S., the question then is what about those who because of individual circumstances it is insufficient or those who are in areas of very high cost as compared to others and who do not fit into the general standard. This general level that has been drawn where there are no special circumstances and where a high cost area is not involved. In other words, you can have insufficient benefit for some and adequate benefit for others. It is conceivable that you can think of many people whose income, under the guaranteed

income supplement, because of special circumstances or because there are living in a high cost area in Canada, would be absolutely insufficient while for other people in other circumstances and other areas it would be quite adequate, and they could get along very nicely. You are forced to the conclusion that if you are going to have to draw up a line, then you will have to determine whether the line is going to be an average that leaves some people inadequate benefit while it takes care of the others satisfactorily. You have to decide whether you are going to keep that line moving so that the proportion of people that find it inadequate never becomes too large. In any case, once that line is drawn, you face the difference between the average, as it were, that has been determined for the income support level for the covered population as a whole as compared with the individual circumstances where it is inadequate. At that point you need some kind of system to take care of the individual needs. You need something not only to take care of the shortfall that may not be provided for under the general G.I.S. system, but you also need to take some kind of system that takes into account not just cash benefit but services as well. This is where the Canada Assistance Plan approach, if it is given support as a supplementary benefit by the provinces, would solve this problem. You could adjust G.I.S. on a regular basis to make sure that you minimize the number of people for whom it is inadequate and taper off through supplementation with the needs test assistance program.

The Chairman: But surely, in principle, without talking about adequacy, the four most successful programs on the Canadian scene today are the old age security program, family allowances, unemployment insurance and the Canada Pension Plan. And they operate all across the board. Now some people may keen a little more while others keen a little less, but nevertheless these have been the most successful programs, broadly speaking, that we have. It seems to me that we are thinking of retreating from that principle. I do not mean you, but in the general discussion it seems that we are thinking of abandoning from that principle. Maybe I am an old fogey and hanging on to something that belongs to yesterday, but I have a hard time abandoning that principle.

Dr. Willard: Those are some of the points. I can mention some others; there is the problem of integration, but I think that can be

solved. We have integrated the G.I.S., and it becomes, as it were, a supplement to old age security. The big question and one where difficulties arise is this; should you cut back existing programs in order to generate funds with which to finance the income tested type of plan. For instance, if you said in the case of the G.I.S. "we are going to get some of the money to finance this by cutting back or eliminating old age security" you would have the problem of people who had contributed to that program saying "I contributed so much to this fund; it was taken off my personal income tax each year for the last ten years or so and I have counted on it for my retirement." A lot of people say "close out all the existing social security programs; there are so many billions of dollars now being spent on them and out of that one can finance a guaranteed annual income plan."

The Chairman: Not me. I have never said that, and I have never heard that sentiment expressed around this table.

Dr. Willard: The guaranteed income supplement in respect to old age security really posed the Government with that decision. Another problem you have to face is the question of incentives. For some of the people who are working and who are covered under G.I.S., the question comes up—what should be done for part-time earnings or full-time earnings? Full-time earnings would, of course, put them out of coverage; but for part-time earnings should every \$2 of income be reduced by \$1 in benefit or should every \$3 of income be reduced by \$1 in benefit or should it be dollar for dollar? In other words, if we do not have a progressive scale which provides for an incentive for part time employment we lose a lot.

The Chairman: I am with Mr. Stanfield.

Dr. Willard: If we had this type of program applied down at the level where the great bulk of the population is involved in the labour force, the question of incentives would become crucial. Here is where you have the arguments pro and con. Some say that the effect on incentives would be a serious one, others argue to the contrary. There are jurisdictional questions, administrative aspects, and the question of acceptability by the population generally

It is a change in the whole ball game in terms of the approach to income support. Some find it very hard to see how working poor would get income except through the

guaranteed annual income. Some argue that over time, with the pressure of cybernetics, the views of people who now oppose might change. The level of acceptability at this point is an area of controversy. It is asserted by some that the present assistance program is too generous; those with this view would believe the guaranteed income approach to be even more generous.

The Chairman: Through our experience, yours, Senator Carter's, mine, and that of others, we have always heard this. When the Old Age Security was increased from \$40 we heard it, and a couple of years later this assistance was not enough. We have somehow or another been able to survive this.

At the bottom of page 44 of your brief it is stated:

...to encourage the recognition of assistance as a right, under specified statutory conditions, and to remove any barriers in the form of provincial residence requirements.

Does the federal Government say that where the provinces in their judgment subsidize or assist a man who is working part or full time it is his right?

Dr. Willard: Yes, he is likely to be in need if he does not receive this support. The act says either in need or likely to be in need. This is a case where he is likely to be in need.

The Chairman: He is earning \$50 less than he would have received on assistance. They say keep your job and we will make this up for you and you may keep a certain percentage, of anything you earn above that figure. If they do that they are on all fours with the act, need or likely need.

Dr. Willard: The important point is that under previous legislation we had no right of appeal. Now we have agreements with the provinces which indicate they will carry out this particular policy to persons who are applicants or occupants for assistance. They have agreed to establish appeals machinery for occasions when the applicant does not obtain the social assistance to which he feels he is entitled. That is a key point in making it a right. If there were no right of appeal then, of course, the decision of the bureaucrat would be final.

The Chairman: Judging from our experience and what we have been told, that right

of appeal is the most useless right a man ever had. We could not find a single case where it had been exercised. In Ontario, for instance, there is a right of appeal, but it takes three months. They never heard about it in British Columbia, Manitoba or any of the other places. When I mentioned it in Quebec they thought I was speaking a third language; they did not know what I was talking about.

It is there and it is a very important right, but why does not someone, who is a signaling to the agreement make sure that there will be an appeal?

Dr. Willard: This has been an area of considerable concern to us. We have written to the provincial deputy ministers and have discussed this provision of the legislation and the agreement under it. We have made it the subject of discussion at Federal-Provincial Conferences. The appeals procedure in each province has been analysed in a document for study. This has been circulated to the provinces asking for their comments. In one province after another the appeal machinery is being changed and developed. In some instances the subject has been a matter of discussion and very hot debate in the provincial legislatures. We hope that through this continued process of federal-provincial consultation, plus the concern displayed by welfare rights organizations and the normal attention that legislatures apply to this matter, we will see the appeal mechanism provision fully effective. Its development has been slow, but we do feel confident that it is moving ahead. We have done everything we can within the context of our federal-provincial relationships to press very hard in this connection. The organizations of assistance recipients have played a very important role by bringing this matter to the attention of their members and informing them of their rights.

These organizations have also been useful with regard to the residence requirements. These are matters in which the people affected are helping themselves in ensuring their entitlement.

The Chairman: The lack of information on the part of people who need assistance is amazing. Very little is forthcoming at the provincial offices. It is a very important point, but I do not suggest that you write each of the provinces a letter, for fear that Mr. Kierans would have to deliver it; we cannot wait for that. But, we have now Information Canada. That is the kind of information that

has to get down to the people. You have got to get a booklet out to every one of these people. It is a duty you have to tell the people and let them know what their rates are. It is the only valve you have. Here is an opportunity to really let these people know that there is nothing to hide and what we want to do what is right.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, we are planning a booklet on the Canada Assistance Plan, as you have suggested. We have probably been slow in getting on with it and this is partly because we have operated under the old approach. With regard to provincial-federal relations, after a federal law was passed it is up to the provinces to carry out their provincial law which applies to their residents. We believe that we should at least make known the federal law so that the undertakings of a province in relation to the Canada Assistance Plan will be known to more people than is the case now, and this includes people who are on assistance.

Senator Carter: Are these provincial-federal agreements for the Canada Assistance Plan secret or public?

Dr. Willard: No, they are tabled from time to time in the House of Commons whenever they are asked for.

Senator Carter: I tried very hard to get hold of one in the other house but I did not have too much success.

The Chairman: There is not very much that has escaped you in the other house, Senator Carter.

Dr. Willard, there are a couple of friends of yours associated with welfare who just could not be here today. They wanted to have an opportunity to talk with you about this on Thursday. You have been very helpful this morning and we would like you to come back. I am going to tell you how much we appreciate this excellent brief that has been put together and your approach as well as your thoughtfulness and information that has been available. It helps us in a task that isn't easy. We have got to ask you to come back once again.

Dr. Willard: We will be very pleased to return and perhaps we can talk about some of the Department's health programs.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, is it planned that Dr. Willard will be back here on Thursday?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Carter: Then we will continue where we left off.

The Chairman: Whatever you wish.

Senator Carter: I have some questions.

The Chairman: Please save them.

Senator Carter: Before we leave, for the sake of the record, there is one matter which I would like to bring up. You called attention earlier to page 31 and you read a paragraph. You put some figures on the record and said that the gross national product was 11.9 billion in 1946 against 71.5 billion in 1968 and then you drew a comparison with the welfare services. I think the comparison you made at that time would have been misleading, because if we convert \$46 up to \$68, which is easier, we would have somewhere between \$24 billion and \$25 billion in 1946 as compared with \$71 billion for the GNP in 1968. On page 18 the total expenditures—not back to 1946—from 1959 to 1969 have gone from \$1.4 billion to \$3.2 billion.

The Chairman: I read these figures. You mean the deductions were not correct, or my conclusions were bad?

Senator Carter: I do not think the conclusions were bad, because no conclusion was made, as I understand it. There was just a comparison which I thought could be misleading. You say we have gone from \$11.9 billion to \$71.5 billion and I think the next comparison was that Family Allowance has gone up only 15 per cent as against...

The Chairman: No. I said the last GNP had gone from \$11.9 billion to \$71.5 billion, and the weekly wages rose from 32. The cost of living had gone up 111 per cent, but Family Allowance only went up 15 per cent. What I was trying to say was that these social services were not receiving their proper proportion of the wealth and growth of the economy.

Senator Carter: I think that is wrong. Page 18 shows that the total growth in expenditures of all programs from 1959 to 1969 has more than doubled in the last 10 years. They have probably quadrupled since 1946. In other words, the total increase of social security payments have been more than the growth in GNP. That is the point I am trying to make.

Dr. Willard: Perhaps Table 3 on page 20 would reinforce your point as to how the

amount that applies to these different programs is measured. The GNP has risen from 8.5 in 1959-60 to 10.6 in 1968-69. I think the point is that family allowances did not get the increase in expenditures. It went into other plans, such as hospital insurance.

The Chairman: Fine.

Senator Carter: I think we want to be fair. It would have been misleading. I did not think the comparison would carry through.

The Chairman: Quite right. Thank you very much.

The committee adjourned.

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, February 26, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, I call the meeting to order. Our witness this morning is the Deputy Minister, Dr. J. W. Willard. Just before we finished last week Senator Carter asked Dr. Willard a question to which he has the answer today. Would you care to answer that now, Dr. Willard?

Dr. J. W. Willard, Deputy Minister, Department of National Health and Welfare: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, just when we broke up at our last session Senator Carter asked if we had any information in respect of social security expenditures in Canada as compared with other countries. We have in the course of preparation a document that will be released very shortly. We would be glad to make it available to the committee as soon as it is published. It is entitled "A Comparison of Social Security Expenditures in Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the United States for the Fiscal Years 1961-62 to 1966-67 Inclusive."

Senator Carter: With the exception of the United States, those are all Commonwealth countries.

Dr. Willard: That is correct. The reason we selected these particular countries to make a comparison was owing to the fact that the nature of the social security system in each of them is quite similar to the Canadian system.

Thus, those countries lend themselves to the comparison much more readily than other countries with different systems. Another reason is that the data we are able to analyse is more readily available from them.

The other type of international comparison that is carried out from time to time is done by the International Labour Organization. The Department contributes expenditure data to that Organization on behalf of Canada and they put out a book that compares most industrial countries, showing the relationship of these expenditures to a measure such as the gross national product.

One of the difficulties with such comparisons in the case of Canada is that they are usually quite a few years behind in the last year reported and that is because of the lag in getting information. In the case of Canada we have some lag in the time it takes to get information from provincial and municipal levels in order to show the total expenditure for Canada; and, of course, it is even more complicated when it comes to other countries.

The result of this problem is that the 1966-67 expenditures in these five countries, if we take them as a percentage of gross national product, are much less favourable to Canada in fact than they appear in the comparison today because Canadian programs have been expanding and new programs have been undertaken in comparison with developments in these other countries.

The introduction of the Canada Pension Plan in 1965, the Canada Assistance Plan, the Medical Care Insurance Act and the Guaranteed Income Supplement in 1966, to mention some of the main ones, all have had an impact on the Canadian situation.

Taking a historical perspective on these figures, Canada has always been in a middle position in relation to the five countries. New Zealand has been at the top for most years with the United Kingdom second, although in the last few years this order has been reversed. Canada has been third, Australia fourth and the United States fifth.

The ratio of expenditure to G.N.P. in 1966-67 was in the case of the United Kingdom 11.6 per cent, New Zealand 11.1, and Canada 9.1, Australia 7.8 and the United States 7.8.

Senator Carter, you referred on Tuesday last to a table that dealt with these expenditures in Canada and pointed out the fact that the percentage in relation to G.N.P. is in-

creasing. This was at page 20 of the brief. You pointed out that the Canadian figure for 1968-69 is 10.6. Historically in the case of Canada the percentage has been rising. In the case of New Zealand in recent years it has been dropping. If we go back to 1961-62 we see that New Zealand had 12.4 per cent and that this has now dropped to 11.1 per cent in 1966-67. The United Kingdom was 10.1 per cent and is now up to 10.6 in the same years. Canada was 9.6 in 1961-62, but in 1966-67 it was down slightly to 9.1. However, as you can see in the table on page 20 we are now at 10.6. Part of the reason for that is the fact that the New Zealand and United Kingdom have mature social security systems in the sense that they are comprehensive; for many years now they have included medical care, hospital care and public health services generally. As Canada has built up more sectors of the social security system with further public programs, naturally you would expect the percentage to rise.

Senator Carter: Could I ask two questions arising out of that? You omitted the figures for Sweden in your table. Is this because the statistics from Sweden are not conducive to a good comparison?

Dr. Willard: We could obtain those statistics on Sweden from the ILO publications, if you like, senator, and make them available to you.

Senator Carter: And I gather that in the figures you have used the Gross National Product as the base.

Dr. Willard: Yes.

Senator Carter: Would there be much difference if you had used the total budgetary expenditures as a base?

Dr. Willard: Yes.

Senator Carter: Because the Gross National Product varies with inflationary tendencies in different countries.

Dr. Willard: I think the Gross National Product is a better measure by and large because what is included in total budgetary expenditures may vary considerably from country to country. If one country has a very high military expenditure and another one has not, this would have a very significant effect on the relative importance of the sectors in the comparison, whereas the Gross National Product is the best measure we have of the general output of goods and services in any

particular year in each country and thus you can relate a level of expenditure in a particular sector such as social security to it.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, today we are supposed to deal mostly with health matters, but there are a few questions left over from what we were discussing on Tuesday, and I wondered if I might ask them now.

The Chairman: Certainly, go right ahead.

Senator Carter: Dr. Willard, coming back to our discussions on Tuesday, I asked you what you saw in the future and I gathered from your answer that you did not see a great deal of consolidation, although some provinces are now consolidating blind persons' allowances and disabled persons' allowances under the Canada Assistance Plan. Yet, I gather from your remarks that that could not be carried a great deal further. Was that a correct interpretation of your remarks?

Dr. Willard: Perhaps I could put it this way; within the social assistance area where social assistance techniques are used, the Canada Assistance Plan was developed with a view to co-ordinating and bringing together one system of social assistance, and this objective is being pursued so that gradually the blind persons' allowances and the disabled persons' allowances are being phased out. As I mentioned on Tuesday, the case-load has already dropped very considerably in both programs. The Old Age Assistance program was phased out in effect as of January this year when old age security became available at age 65. Therefore, except for a few cases where there might be some difference in residence requirements between old age assistance and old age security, for all intents and purposes old age assistance has been phased out. So, within the area where this is the technique used to provide income support to people, we are trying to have an integrated, co-ordinated, unified approach.

Now when you consider the broad field of social security, social assistance is just one technique. I mentioned to Senator Inman when she asked about family allowances that it depends on what the objectives are, and that these affect the techniques to be used in the future as well as the techniques that have been used in the past. For example, when family allowances were introduced in 1944, there was a number of socio-economic objectives. One of the social objectives was the fact that wages do not compensate for children, and there was a desire to provide compensa-

tion for children in a way that would be particularly helpful to larger families and to people in lower income groups on the minimum wage and just above. Such a program would be particularly helpful to the social assistance system because people with children would receive these allowances whether they were on assistance or working and any change of this status would not affect them. Now this was one of the social objectives. I think Marsh referred to it as "the key to consistency" in terms of how family allowances related to the social security system as a whole.

One of the general social objectives was that there should be income redistribution in favour of all children within the population up to a given age, and that wage earners that had to support children and as a result had an additional load should be compensated as compared to single persons or married couples who did not have children. This was pointed out very clearly in the statistics quoted in Parliament by the Prime Minister of the day, Mr. Mackenzie King. In other words, the objective here was to try to redistribute income in favour of all children. This was comparable to the system of education we have in Canada, where all children have free education at the primary and secondary levels. This is paid for through municipal and provincial taxes, but there is no differentiation in terms of the burden cost and, naturally, single and married couples without children pay disproportionately more at a given level of income to support these payments on behalf of children. This was one of the main social objectives at that time.

If it were decided not to redistribute income in favour of all children, but to redistribute income in favour of children of low-income families, then you have a completely different social objective, and then you have to employ a completely different technique. You have to switch from a demogrant technique, which is the family allowance program we have now, to an income tested technique, which is similar to the guaranteed income supplement.

What happened in the case of Old Age Security? Here was a demogrant that came about through a certain social objective formulated by a joint parliamentary committee in 1950. The proposition then was that everybody should receive this flat rate benefit at a given age; a great deal of emphasis was placed on the fact it was universal. It was

recognized that people of higher income groups would have part of the demogrant back in taxes. It was recognized that people of higher income groups throughout their working years probably would pay a disproportionately large share towards the financing of the program. It was intended, when came time for the benefit to be paid, that nobody be discriminated against and that everybody should receive the benefit. In other words, it was very clear what the social objective was at that time.

When the Senate Committee on Aging discussed the question of income support for the aged, it decided in 1966 that the social objective should not be universality; that the demogrant technique should not be used; but, rather, that a guaranteed income supplement approach, using an income test, was the technique that should be used.

What was the difference? Why did we have different social objectives in these two situations? Well, the two main factors were a difference in social priorities and a difference in financial capacity. For instance, in the case of the situation in 1950 there was no decision at that time to pursue hospital insurance or medical care and to do many of the other things that have been done since with regard to federal expenditure. Therefore, it was considered that a \$40 a month demogrant was within the financial capacity of the government of the day. But when the Senate Committee on Aging considered the matter, the universal pension was by that time already up to a level of \$75, and the tremendous cost involved in a pension of that level had to be weighed against other things that were under consideration at the same time. The fact the Canada Pension Plan had been introduced meant an additional levy on the wage earners across the country for old age and survivors' and disability insurance, the fact it was planned to proceed with a medical care program, and the fact it was planned to implement a new approach to social assistance under the Canada Assistance Programs had to be taken into account.

So, a different set of social priorities came out of the situation where there were other social programs that were considered important at the time. They had priority over moving ahead with a higher demogrant in the field of the aged, and the financial situation was such that a choice had to be made.

Thus, when you look to the future, the kind of decisions that have to be made in the

allocation of resources relate to the overall questions of government expenditures—in the case of the federal Government, how much is being allocated to post-secondary education, how much is being allocated to regional economic expansion, and how much to the wide variety of other activities of the federal Government. How much is being allocated to the social security sector, and, within the social security sector, what is the best allocation of the funds?

Senator Carter: I want to develop questions on the social objective that Dr. Willard has referred to, but I want to get off the track I am on. I am thinking in terms of the Canada Assistance Plan. Our thinking is geared to poverty in this committee, and we are wondering about the best way of going about allocating the resources we have. We are thinking in terms of guaranteed annual income, or income tax relief, or some device like that, which would take in a large section, particularly of those not in the labour market. Then there are welfare service which the old people particularly must have and which we think everybody in poverty should have below a certain level. Then, as you pointed out, we need a sort of catch-all to make up for the extra assistance you cannot provide for under any rigid system.

I, for one, was hoping that with a three-part package like that we could pretty well cover the social needs of the people who need them most, the people we regard as being below the poverty level; but I gather from what you have said that it all depends on what our social objectives are and how they change.

Before going on to the social objectives that you mentioned, I would point out that you did not give us any figures. We have figures as to how the Canada Assistance Plan is being used by the various provinces, but I am wondering if it is possible to know how much is being devoted to income maintenance. That is just financial assistance. How much would you allocate for welfare services and health services. I think you told us that some provinces are using the Canada Assistance Plan to supplement the wage of the working poor. I wonder if we could have a breakdown under those three headings?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, I have some figures here on the estimated federal expenditures under the Canada Assistance Plan for the year 1969-70. This is what they are: financial aid, long and short term, \$288 million.

Senator Carter: What about health and welfare?

Dr. Willard: In the services sector we have Adult Institutions, \$49,200,000; Children's Institutions, \$33,400,000; Child Welfare, \$35,300,000; Health Care, \$22,800,000; Welfare Services, \$28,900,000, for a total of \$169,600,000.

Then there are some miscellaneous items: under the unemployment assistance program in the case of Quebec, there is \$14 million; Indian welfare support in Ontario, \$2,400,000; and work activity projects, \$2 million. This makes a grand total of \$476 million.

Senator Carter: \$476 million altogether?

Dr. Willard: That is just the federal share. With provincial expenditure it would be double that. Taking the two big items, you have \$288 million for financial aid, and about \$170 million for services.

Senator Carter: Yes. You do not have any figures as to the assistance to the working poor?

Dr. Willard: No, I am sorry, we do not have that, although I would like to say a word or two about it, particularly to clarify what I said on Tuesday. I think when I was referring to people likely to be in need I may have made reference to this in the context of assistance payments, whereas the act restricts this to an area of welfare services.

The main thrust of the social assistance technique is to assist those in need who do not have the normal flow of income, either because they are unemployed or because they are unable to work. It is not a technique that effectively reaches the working poor. I think it is fair to say that—although I am sure it could be argued because there are different points of view on this point. The Canada Assistance Plan provides for the sharing of cash benefits for a person who by reason of inability to obtain employment, loss of the principal provider, illness, disability, age or other cause acceptable to a province is found, on the basis of a needs test, to be unable to provide adequately for himself, or for himself and his dependents, or any of them.

Now, the CAP can share in costs to help the person who is in and out of employment. Because during these periods of unemployment the loss of income has resulted in his being in need he gets assistance payments. But where the cause is not unemployment,

illness, disability, or loss of the bread winner, the federal act gives broad latitude to the provinces by indicating that other causes acceptable to a province can justify the providing for the basic requirements through a needs test. This permits aid to part-time workers and very low income workers who nevertheless are in need as much as people on assistance and who have no other source of income.

CAP can also share in the cost of services to persons who are likely to be in need or who are likely to become assistance recipients, unless such services are provided.

I would say that the needs test approach does not readily led itself to application to the working poor, that is, as the vehicle of income support to those employed on a regular basis at low wages. It is at this point the minimum wages becomes of vital importance for low income workers who are single or married couples. It is at this point that the level of the minimum wage and of family allowances becomes of vital importance for low income workers who have children. Apart from the minimum wage and family allowance demogrants the only other technique that effectively reaches the working poor is some type of income-tested benefit.

Senator Carter: After listening to the statement that you read—and I do not know whether it was from the act itself, or whether it was an interpretation of the act—it seemed to me to be a bit ambiguous. One part seemed to indicate that there are payments made to a person who is steadily employed even though his wages are not enough to support him, but then you got into the area where the province can make up any definition it wants in order to make use of that act.

Dr. Willard: I think, Mr. Chairman, that is a fair observation with regard to the question of assistance payments which are designed to meet the basic requirements of a person in need. Where it is a situation other than inability to obtain employment, illness, or disability it does depend on that section of the act which says "or other cause of any kind acceptable to the provincial authority".

Senator Carter: Yes.

Dr. Willard: So that is the section where, in a sense, the federal act passes the decision over to the province, and that is the area where, apart from services, the question of compensation to low income workers would arise.

Senator Carter: Yes. Well, some provinces are using that, are they not?

The Chairman: Yes, there are four provinces using it now. As a matter of fact, it is being used very effectively in New Brunswick, and that is not one of the richer provinces.

Senator Carter: Could you mention some of the other provinces who are using it? I suppose the poorer provinces are the ones that are using it, but can we assume that the others are not?

The Chairman: I think it is the three western provinces.

Dr. Willard: I wonder if you could answer that question, Mr. Cragg?

Mr. N. F. Cragg, Director, Canada Assistance Plan, Department of National Health and Welfare: In addition to New Brunswick, Alberta is the province which makes the most effective use of it, and Nova Scotia and Newfoundland as well. Very limited use is made of this provision in Quebec, Saskatchewan, and British Columbia.

The Chairman: Manitoba?

Mr. Cragg: I do not believe so.

Senator Carter: There is only one rich province among those three. It seems that the poor provinces are taking advantage of this, the ones that cannot afford it; the ones that can afford it are not doing it. How do you explain that?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, the table comparing minimum wage rates and provincial assistance rates for a four-person family has been circulated. This was a matter which came up yesterday. At that time I mentioned that the big problem arises with regard to adequate provision of assistance where you have a number of children in the family. To give them adequate support certainly you are going to push above the minimum wage rate. Here we have taken a situation where it is not a particularly large family, but four persons. That could be man and wife with two children. Even this comparison is bound to raise difficulties and to place assistance rates in some provinces above the minimum wage rates.

I also mentioned yesterday that the provincial assistance rates shown are, of course, the maximum. It would not necessarily mean that everybody on assistance would be receiving

these rates. Comparing those who are getting the maximum benefits with those who are receiving minimum wage rates on an annual basis, in the case of some of the provinces the assistance provision is higher. Prince Edward Island, Manitoba and Ontario are examples. In the case of the average for Canada, the amount of annual income through assistance is slightly higher than the minimum wage. In the case of families with five, six or even more children, of course, the minimum wage rates appear less and less adequate.

The Chairman: Some of the figures in this table are somewhat surprising. In British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Quebec the allowance is less than the minimum wage. It is hard to believe, but in Nova Scotia it is also less than the minimum wage. The average is just about equal to the minimum wage, with an allowance of \$2,676 as against \$2,600 at the minimum annual wage.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, I mislead you with regard to that. The Canada figure is not an average; it includes Old Age Security and the income supplement. The total is compared with the federal minimum wage.

The Chairman: That is \$1.50.

Dr. Willard: No, \$1.25.

The Chairman: One thing has been bothering this committee: we are told that Ontario has prohibited the use of other causes by way of a supplement in their regulations.

Mr. Cragg: I do not know that you can put it that way, that they have actually prohibited it. They have not included other causes in the reasons for assistance.

The Chairman: I understood, Mr. Cragg, that the regulations prohibit it. I have not seen the regulations, but someone has told us this. Perhaps they have not even shown them to you?

Mr. Cragg: We can check that out.

Senator Carter: Would matters such as that have to be included in the agreement with the province?

Dr. Willard: Not a specific matter such as this; it is a general agreement.

Senator Carter: You referred to the fact that everything would depend on our social objectives, then you discussed family allowances. It is indicated at page 18 that family allowances in 1959, that is ten years ago, were

\$491,214,000. When you make allowance for inflation of roughly one-third, that is ten years at 3 per cent per year, it would result in \$655 million, or roughly \$650 million for 1968-69. Therefore we are spending less on family allowances today, in proportion, than we were spending ten years ago.

Have our social objectives changed? When was the last increase in family allowance?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, the increases have tended to result from a consolidation of rates. You will remember that when the legislation was first introduced rates were \$5, \$6, \$7 and \$8 per month, depending on age. They are now \$6 and \$8 per month. The \$5 rate has disappeared and every child up to age ten is now entitled to \$6 per month. From age ten to 15 years, inclusive, it is \$8 per month. Then the youth allowance is \$10 per month. The main extensions have been through this upward shift in rates through consolidation and through the introduction of youth allowances, which are shown as a separate item in the table.

Senator Carter: But it does not really make that much difference. You only have \$52 million to add to it, so it still would not bring it up. The number has increased over the ten-year period. The number of children receiving family allowances in 1968-69 must be far more than in 1959-60, ten years ago, yet you are spending less money. Even adding the youth allowances you are still spending less money in proportion. What has happened to the social objectives? Have they changed? Have we lost them?

Dr. Willard: Throughout the period the governments of the day have kept the same social objective because they have left the legislation on the statute books as a demogrant, but their priorities appear to have changed. For example, they have given greater priority to old age income security. Whereas at the time family allowances were introduced old age security was operating at a level of about \$30 a month, it is now at \$75 a month. You will recall that the \$30 a month was on a means test basis, so that it was available only to about 46 per cent of the eligible age group which at that time was for people 70 years of age and over.

What priorities have been given to old age security? First of all, the age has been lowered from 70 to 65, which has increased the cost enormously. Secondly, the benefit has been increased from a level of about \$30 to

\$75. Thirdly, the means test has been completely removed and it has been made a demogrant. Fourthly, a guaranteed income supplement has been placed on top, which raises the level of benefit at the present time to a maximum of about \$111. Fifthly, supplementation on a shared basis with the provinces for anybody who finds that level insufficient is provided under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Over this period of time governments have, in their priorities, shows a definite emphasis in favour of income support for senior citizens of Canada as compared with allowances for families. It can be argued, I think rightly, that the provision for old age security was inadequate at the time family allowances were introduced, and that a lot of what has happened has been an effort to get old age security into a proper balance in the total system. However, throughout the period governments have apparently left the social objective for family allowances the same; in other words, that it should be a universal payment. On the other hand, they have given it a much lower social and financial priority and have decided that many other facets of the social security system should be developed. In this process certain programs have not kept up relatively, and family allowances is one of them. In other words, funds have been put into hospital insurance, medical care insurance, a new co-ordinated approach to social assistance, as well as greatly expanded provision for the aged.

Senator Carter: This is what puzzles me. Family allowance filled a very great need, and I think this piece of legislation was one of the most useful for poor families, for families at or just below the poverty level. The family allowance income received by the mother was a real factor, not only in getting the child properly clothed, but properly fed. It therefore ties in with your health objectives. What you are saying is that we have downgraded it a bit because old age security should have a higher priority. To me that does not seem logical. Surely the children are really the resources we should be concentrating on, yet now, compared with ten years ago, the impact of family allowances on the family income is almost insignificant, and the figures in your table tell the story.

Dr. Willard: Not only the figures in the table, but the place in the text where we refer to family allowances. On page 31 we bring out very clearly that relative to the

increase in the cost of living and to the growth in the gross national product family allowances have very definitely fallen behind.

Senator Carter: I have a question on health, but I will put that later.

Senator Fergusson: I am sorry I was unable to be present on Tuesday, as I had to be out of town. I have not yet had an opportunity to read the minutes, so if I ask any questions that have already been answered please tell me so. One of the things in which I am particularly interested is the subject of school dropouts. The committee has asked many witnesses their ideas about this, and whether these children leave school to help the finances of their families. I was interested to learn last night that the Department of Justice, under the Solicitor General, is carrying out a small survey in Moncton to try to discover why there are dropouts, because it is thought that this also leads to juvenile delinquency. How effective do you think youth allowances have been in keeping children at school?

Dr. Willard: It is difficult to give any very satisfactory answer to that question. One of the problems is that the cost of maintaining the youth allowance at \$120 a year is very considerable indeed. The difficulty, of course, is the one Senator Carter has been referring to in the case of family allowances. Even since youth allowances were introduced the cost of living has gone up substantially. The stage at which the added income support to a family would make the difference between a youth in that family being able to carry on in school or alternatively going out to take work would, I think, vary tremendously from one family situation to another. But, I would think the main help that Youth Allowance gives at the present time is that it adds one more increment to a total family income, along with Family Allowances. I indicated on Tuesday that the main assistance that Family and Youth Allowances is providing at the present time is for low income families with large numbers of children. In the situation where you have a family with an income that is below the minimum wage, or at or near the minimum wage and where you have seven, eight or nine or more children, the added increment is very important to the family in terms of its proportion of the total income. You can figure this arithmetic out very quickly and demonstrate that it is very significant in regard to their resources. However, even in that situation, whether or not it would make

the difference between a youth attending school depends upon the family situation.

Senator Fergusson: Dr. Willard, this was the objection of putting in these allowances. What I mean, do you feel that they have been effective in keeping children from dropping out of school?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, if you are thinking in terms of surveys of families designed to find out whether, in fact, it made the difference, we have not conducted such surveys so that I cannot give any quantitative answer. It would be my impression that at the time the legislation was introduced in the case of low income families with large numbers of children this would be a particularly important increment to the family and could indeed have made the difference between children carrying on in school or not.

Senator Carter: Is there a cut-off stage for Youth Allowances?

Dr. Willard: Yes, at 18. It is paid for youth who are 16 or 17 years of age, provided that they are at school or if they are disabled and cannot attend school.

Senator Fergusson: Would you or any of the members of your department know if the research projects of the Canadian Welfare Council which had to do with school performance in public assistance families—there are two such projects mentioned on pages A65 and A66—would have anything to do with the drop-outs? I have not read them, but I noticed the projects that you mentioned.

Dr. Willard: I wonder if Mr. Iverson would want to comment on that.

Mr. B. J. Iverson, Director, Welfare Grants, Department of National Health and Welfare: Mr. Chairman, the one study which was undertaken by the Canadian Welfare Council on school performance of children of public assistance families did, I believe, reach the conclusion (which we might have suspected before) that there is a differential performance between children in those families and those in the general population. I am not able to give Senator Fergusson a detailed report today, but I would be happy to table a copy of the final report of the committee, if that is acceptable.

Senator Fergusson: My reason for feeling that this is important, and we have learned this in the committee, that lack of education is one of the basic reasons for poverty and for

children dropping out of school and not getting their education and training. I want to know whether the efforts we have made by supplying Youth Allowances is preventing this drop-out or not.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, we do have the statistical information. Eighty-one per cent of the youth that are in this age group—16 and 17—are covered by the federal Youth Allowances Program. In my opinion, that is a high percentage compared to past years. It would be indicative of a number of factors, of which I feel that Youth Allowances could be one.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson, Mr. Iverson said he would table that for you.

Senator Fergusson: If you will give us a copy for the committee I think that will be fine. Thank you, Mr. Iverson.

I think that I got lost when Senator Carter and Mr. Cragg were discussing the Canada Assistance Plan. I thought that I understood Mr. Cragg to say that only four provinces had entered the agreement, but on page 44 it says:

Agreements relating to work activity projects have been signed with seven provinces.

Maybe I am referring to something different.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, earlier the point that was being brought out related to whether provinces were paying assistance to people who might be classed or called the working poor, whereas here we are discussing the question of work activity projects.

Senator Fergusson: I misunderstood what the discussion was about. Could we have something about the statement on page 44 at the top of the page which says:

Agreements relating to work activity projects have been signed with seven provinces.

Could we know the provinces who are in agreement and would it be possible to give us some examples of what the work projects are like?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, the provinces that have signed agreements under Part 3, which is the work activity project section, include British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Quebec, Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. So far the provinces which submitted projects and which have had them approved are Quebec and Saskatchewan. The Province of Prince Edward Island has submit-

ted a project which is now under consideration. The first to be approved were the "bûcheron" projects in Quebec. This involves a total of seven "bûcheron" or lumberjack projects. Projects were submitted and approved for Montmagny and for the Eastern Townships. The first set of these has been completed. The overall aim of these projects is to enable recipients of public assistance to become productive citizens. The projects attempt to motivate individuals to look after their own needs, develop habits which will enable them to fit into the everyday working world and prove to themselves that they are able to provide for their needs and those of their dependents.

Participants perform the following forestry jobs: setting up seed stands; clearing paths; reforestation; pruning and gathering of cones.

Participants are provided with any social welfare services necessary for their rehabilitation.

These projects range from six to twenty-two weeks in duration and from 125 to 150 persons participate in each project.

Les Ateliers R-10 Inc., Quebec City is another project. This project is aimed at the global social rehabilitation of the worker-trainees and their vocational readjustment either through a vocational training course or regular employment. Trainees include persons who are chronically unemployed, in receipt of assistance and fit to work.

Participants are engaged in the assembly of floor and dish mops, and in wordwork and carpentry projects. It is hoped to extend the type of work available.

Trainees are provided with complementary recreational and cultural activities. They also receive services necessary for social and work rehabilitation including vocational counselling, case and group work and medical and psychological services, if necessary. Some 20 worker-trainees participate in a four-month training period. About 60 persons can be trained in one year under this project.

There is another project for Quebec.

Senator Fergusson: It is just a general idea.

Dr. Willard: We could table the document.

Senator Fergusson: I would like that very much, if we could have the document tabled.

Senator Inman: Would that document include the projects under consideration in Prince Edward Island?

Dr. Willard: It is here. I do not think Prince Edward Island will mind if we table it, even though it is under consideration. We have a committee which includes representatives from the Departments of Manpower and of National Health and Welfare that reviews work activity projects, to make sure there is no overlapping with vocational training and other Manpower services. The purposes of the program is to try to put emphasis on getting people back to work in an environment which will motivate them perhaps to take normal vocational training and other Manpower programs. In other words, in some cases it is pre-vocational training, in others it is just work activity to try to motivate them and to get them ready to get back into the employment market.

Senator Fergusson: Speaking of the work activity project, I have been trying to remember those we saw out in Vancouver. You did not mention British Columbia?

Dr. Willard: They have signed an agreement.

Senator Fergusson: This was a group of women who were on welfare and it started through an organization that was called MOMS—More Opportunity for Mothers. It was something carried on under the Canada Assistance Act, where some training is being given to just the sort of people to which you refer and it seemed to be successful. It may be that the chairman or Mr. Joyce remembers the name of that organization, as it does not come to my mind. I visited the place where they were working and saw what they were doing. It would be wonderful if the same sort of thing could be carried on in other parts of Canada.

The Chairman: I think it was MOMS.

Senator Fergusson: Yes, and I think that through MOMS they developed another organization.

Dr. Willard: Perhaps Mr. Cragg can say something on this.

Mr. Cragg: This particular kind of organization of which Senator Fergusson refers would not be one that would fit into work activity. These people are obviously well motivated and able to work and just need some support to enable them to do that. This

is available through Part I of the Canada Assistance Plan rather than through Part III.

We have had discussions with British Columbia on a number of other projects which they have not yet submitted in final form—and indeed with other provinces as well.

If you go to Nova Scotia, for example, there is a number of projects there, working with people who do need help in securing employment or in reaching the stage where they are able to take advantage of training. But they come under Part I and they do not have to meet the particular criteria required for the work activity project.

Senator Fergusson: I think it was the Peoples Opportunity Centre, the name I was trying to think of.

Mr. Cragg: That is Winnipeg.

Senator Fergusson: Then that is not the one.

The Chairman: We will find the name.

Dr. Willard: The Canada Assistance Plan, under Part I, to which Mr. Cragg is referring, provides for assistance for community development projects. Some of these community development projects involve working at the community level in an effort to assist people who are on social assistance to get employment, and to work with them in such a way that the process will encourage self help and act as a bridge between other agencies such as Manpower and a housing authority.

Senator Fergusson: That is what it was, the Community project. I realize that. There is one other thing. I am sorry to bring this up and perhaps it was discussed. It is a matter of incentives, mentioned on pages 26 and 27. I got the idea or general impression from the brief, that all people who are working are just waiting for the chance to get a free ride. I do not believe this, from the evidence given to us. There are so many people who are working and who would be a lot better off if they were not working—it may be that was not what was supposed to be implied in the brief, but it was what I got out of it.

Dr. Willard: It certainly was not meant to be the implication. Those of us who work in this field and who have contact with people on assistance and with people who are administering assistance at the local level, are more and more convinced, as I mentioned on Tues-

day, that one of our basic problems is sufficient jobs. For those who are ill or disabled or for those who cannot get jobs, there needs to be income support.

The few cases where the individual may be getting assistance when he should not, or the cases where the provision of assistance adversely affects incentive to work, are a relatively minor problem in the total situation. When individual circumstances are quoted in an unfavourable context, indicating that some people prefer to stay on assistance rather than to work, it does great damage to the other people who, through no fault of their own, find themselves on assistance and who are doing their very best to get along but have to have this channel of income support. Therefore, while it is inevitable, in any system as comprehensive as the social security programs that exist in modern industrial nations, that some abuse will occur as an adverse side effect or by-product of the total system, the incidence of such abuse is so negligible relative to the total provision of income support that it is unfortunate that it gets blown up out of all proportion.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you. This is my own opinion, and I am glad to realize that it is also the opinion of the Deputy Minister of the department.

Mr. Cragg: Mr. Chairman, we do not have definite statistics for all provinces, but if we take Alberta as an example, specifically the city of Calgary, there was a study done there showing that only 5.4 per cent of the assistance cases involved employable people. So there is only a small group of people to start with who could abuse the system if they chose to do so. For the province of Alberta as a whole, the percentage figure with respect to people who are employable but who are on assistance is 6.5 per cent. Those are people who could work if work were available. That is the small percentage from whom you will draw the people who may abuse the system.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, we have talked about people and how they get categorized with regard to the question of incentive. I think it is fair to say that the way assistance programs sometimes operate is not fair to them, in that quite often additional income they may earn, part-time income, results in their having their assistance reduced; and in this sense an assistance program can have an adverse effect on incentive.

That is looking at it from the point of view of where the fault may lie in the program rather than with people; and that occurs most commonly among people involved in a part-time employment situation. However, it can also occur in instances where full-time employment is involved, and where, as I mentioned before, there are a large number of children. There is the situation where more income is derived by being on assistance than by being at work. But this is not the fault of the recipients.

There are only two remedies in the case of part-time employment and income from that source. Provision can be made in the assistance program to have some income exempt, and then above that level to have some progressive rate of reduction so that as each \$2 or \$3 is earned perhaps only \$1 is deducted. That permits the individual to carry on in part-time employment and thus encourages him to feel he was doing something constructive toward securing income for his own support.

So far as the working poor is concerned we have already canvassed that situation and I have indicated that there are two income security techniques for trying to assist them. One is the demogrant in the case of family allowances; if the rates of allowance are high enough, this could easily solve the problem. The other is the income tested benefit.

The Chairman: Mr. Cragg, the survey to which you referred was made by Professor Peitchinis, was it not? As I recall, there was also an American survey made because of many accusations similar to those which Senator Fergusson brought forward here, and that American survey, which was on almost a national basis, indicated that the figure was less than 1 per cent. Do you recall that, Mr. Cragg?

Mr. Cragg: Yes, Mr. Chairman, but I believe that in the United States they used a different base so that the two programs are, in that sense, not comparable. In the United States, for example, they do not include aid to dependent children. Even so, however, it is a relatively small percentage in both countries, in any case.

The Chairman: Dr. Willard, on page 45 of the brief there is mention of the adequacy of assistance, I should like to read into the

record the third paragraph with respect thereto:

Adequacy of Assistance: While provinces have made substantial progress toward the improvement of assistance levels, further movement is hindered by three major factors. One is the scarcity of financial resources, bearing in mind that 50 per cent of costs must be found within the province; the poorer provinces assert that they cannot afford to provide a desirable standard of assistance and services to eligible persons. A second is the absence of consensus about the standard of living that such programs should support. A third problem is the relationship of assistance levels to work incentives.

Now, something occurred to me here as we went along. For example, Newfoundland is a very poor province where the assistance is well above the minimum age. The same thing is true of Prince Edward Island. Yet we find that in British Columbia it is considerably below and Quebec appears to be considerably below. Some of the other provinces are just on the margin. These poorer provinces are attempting to do a great deal more than we give them credit for. The standard of living becomes important. I have a statement to read here before I ask my question. This is a statement made by the Prime Minister on September 16, 1968, appearing on page 68, of *Hansard*. I quote:

In order to focus programs on those who need them we must define, with as much clarity as possible, the essential components of a minimum standard for satisfactory living—not a subsistence standard but one which allows for dignity and decency. Defining the components of such a standard is a tremendously complex task. Yet, Mr. Speaker, it is something which must be done if we are to fashion the tools with which to measure, with some precision, social investments.

That is the Prime Minister's statement. The Fifth Annual Report carried a similar statement of which you are undoubtedly aware. Now, my question is; what has the department done towards bringing about a minimum standard as indicated here, not a subsistence standard, since the declaration made by the Prime Minister in September, 1968?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, we have done a number of things. Some of the studies we have carried out appear in this document. As

you can see, we have made an analysis of the development of concepts for measures of minimum living standards which is one of the appendices. We have made an analysis of family budgets in Canada which is included as another appendix. We have also built up the story of monthly budgets for items of basic needs by provinces under social assistance legislation. One of the federal-provincial task forces, the one concerned with a developmental approach to assistance, has a committee working on this question; I believe you would be interested, Mr. Chairman, in the fact that they considered that this matter should be approached not on a national basis designed to come up with a national standard, but that it should be examined more on a regional or provincial lines, having regard to the different circumstances within the different regions and provinces of Canada. So we are pursuing these studies with the provinces in the context of a joint federal-provincial task force.

The Chairman: Do you feel that these studies have had an impact on the people responsible for welfare in the various provinces and has there been any change or any improvement?

Dr. Willard: This question of what brings about change or improvement is a very intangible thing. We like to think there are many people who play parts in bringing about change. All we can do is to bring these matters to the attention of the ministers responsible in the respective provincial governments, and to committees such as this so that the public at large can see the rates that are being paid to social assistance recipients across the country.

The Chairman: Yes, but Dr. Willard, we are contributing 50 per cent. I feel that we are pretty understanding in our contribution. The provinces are not complaining about your coming in and being small about things. Fifty per cent is a fairly decent contribution. Do we not have anything at all to say other than merely advising and suggesting? Do we not have a little more to say having regard to the partnership we have with them? It is pretty well an open-end partnership.

Dr. Willard: Well, Mr. Chairman, I cannot reveal the nature of the discussions between the federal and provincial ministers in such matters as to whether it is advice or how frank the discussions are, nor can I reveal the nature of the discussions between deputy ministers and technical officials. That is one

reason why it is difficult to answer your question. I pointed out on Tuesday that at the time the Canada Assistance Plan was developed and, indeed, when all the assistance measures over the years were developed, the old age pensions, that is the means tested, programs, unemployment assistance and so forth, the point that was dominant was the fact that the operation of such programs was conceded by all to be under provincial jurisdiction. When the legislation for the Canada Assistance Plan was developed, there was considerable criticism by the provinces that the means test programs for the blind the disabled and the aged were inflexible. Federal legislation had fixed requirements and long regulations, and the provinces had very little area in which to move. The whole thrust by the federal Government was one to make the new assistance instrument simple and flexible. Secondly, there was desire to leave the responsibility with regard to assistance rates and the kind and extent of services to the provincial jurisdictions. This is the nature of the instrument within which the Department has to work.

The Chairman: But, Dr. Willard, I fully understand what you are saying and we know the kind of work you are doing. This committee and the chairman of this committee have absolute confidence in you, so don't worry about that. However, let us get back to what we were discussing. Here we have an open-end contract. When we had an open-end contract on the Trans-Canada Highway, we laid down specifications and said "you get this and we want that" for the 50 per cent or the 25 per cent, whichever it was. We do it with regard to hospitals, we do it with regard to dozens and dozens of programs—these open-ended programs—and yet we find here, on this very important one, we are just pay and leave it entirely to the provinces. Where is the social philosophy there?

Dr. Willard: There are times when you have to decide where the responsibility for the social philosophy lies within a federal state. I think what I have been saying is that it has been the view of the federal Government, and certainly the view of the provincial governments, that this rests mainly within the sphere of the provincial government, when it comes to social assistance and social services. In some programs certain conditions have been laid down and an effort has been made to have the provinces conform to those conditions before they receive federal contributions.

Over the last few years the trend has been to provide fewer and fewer conditions and, indeed, some provinces would like to withdraw from shared-cost programs in a way that there would be only general financial arrangements. One approach is federal withdrawal from certain areas of taxation, so that the provinces would proceed to provide social assistance in their own way, without reference to legislation such as the Canada Assistance Plan. Another approach is the provision under some of these shared cost programs of federal block grants; some would view this as a far more satisfactory approach than individual programs with specific conditions.

The Chairman: Could you give us an example of a block grant?

Dr. Willard: For instance, a block grant in the health field that would take care of the whole of the health sector and would mean fewer conditions in the case of the federal legislation with regard to how the province spends the money within that particular field.

So, the trend of discussion with the provinces has been, firstly, to underline the fact that this is their responsibility—this most of them make clear; and secondly, that given the funds on tax room, they would like in the case of some provinces to carry out this responsibility on their own. In some cases—and this is particularly true for low-income provinces—the federal participation is very important because it has an important income redistribution effect. Within each of these programs in the social security field there is some income redistribution from high-income provinces to low-income provinces, whether it be in the field of social assistance or in the field of hospital care or whatever other program you might select.

The Chairman: The only one province at the present time that has taken a grant and is looking after its own public assistance is the Province of Quebec. All the rest of them are part of the scheme.

Dr. Willard: That is correct. However, Mr. Roberts, after the last Federal-Provincial Conference, indicated to the press that Ontario was thinking about it.

The Chairman: But I think the table that you filed here tells us a tale that really bothers us on the committee and should bother the Canadian people, that here is Quebec, which has withdrawn from the scheme...

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, may I clarify the relationship of Quebec under several shared cost programs including the Canada Assistance Plan?

The nature of the arrangement under the Interim Arrangements Act with Quebec is that they have received tax points—I believe it is 19 equalized points under personal income tax. There is also an adjustment made at the end of the year that takes into account the difference between what Quebec actually expends on the program and what have received through the tax points. So the Interim Arrangements Act provides for a particular method of financing with respect to the Quebec program under the federal program. In other words, the Quebec government goes out and collects personal income tax from people in Quebec with which to finance its social assistance program. The 19 points include not only Canada Assistance Plan but hospital insurance and health grants, and some other programs.

On the other hand, in all other respects the Canada Assistance Program is administered and operated in relation to Quebec on the same basis as for other provinces. In other words, the provincial agreement between the federal Government and Quebec under the Canada Assistance Plan still holds. All the accounts in Quebec under the Canada Assistance Plan are audited by the federal Government in the same way as they are audited in other provinces.

We have the same relationship with the welfare authorities in that province that we have with the welfare authorities in the other provinces with respect to the Canada Assistance Plan. The one exception relates to their expenditure statements; they forward them to us and after verification we send them to the Department of Finance, so that they may determine how much the adjustment payment to that province should be.

Thus, Quebec is not completely out of the existing federal-provincial system; the province is very much a part of the total country-wide program. Under this arrangement, for instance, Quebec has to carry out its obligations with regard to appeals and other matters covered under the Canada Assistance Act, the same as any other province.

The Chairman: Then what does "opting out" mean?

Dr. Willard: That is the interim stage in opting out. The next stage, which the Quebec government has indicated it would like to pursue, would mean that there would presumably be complete severance. The administration of the Quebec assistance program would not be within the context of an agreement under the Canada Assistance Plan, and presumably there would be a general fiscal agreement between Canada and Quebec concerning the permanent withdrawal of Canada from certain tax areas. From then on Quebec would carry on completely with its own legislation, and would not be covered, as it is now, by these federal-provincial agreements relating to hospital insurance, the Canada Assistance Plan and certain other measures.

The Chairman: The reason for my question is obvious after looking at this table which indicates the differences between the current minimum wages rates in the provinces. The current minimum wage in Quebec is \$1.35 an hour, but the amount of assistance that a family receives is lower than it is in any other province—perhaps I should say that the difference is greater than it is in any other province. I was wondering if that was due to their policy of using the money in any way they liked, but you say it is not?

Dr. Willard: No. I think, Mr. Chairman, that the expenditures on social assistance in Quebec have increased substantially over the last few years. Let me put it in this way, the percentage increase in provincial financial assistance has gone up in the case of Quebec by 52 per cent in the period from 1965-66 to 1968-69.

The Chairman: What about the others?

Dr. Willard: For Canada as a whole the figure is, as I mentioned on Tuesday, 42 per cent. For Newfoundland it has gone up by 78 per cent; for Prince Edward Island, 52 per cent; for Nova Scotia, 56 per cent; for New Brunswick, 60 per cent; for Quebec, as I mentioned, it has gone up by 52 per cent; for Ontario, 37 per cent; for Manitoba, 45 per cent; for Saskatchewan, 14 per cent; for Alberta, 24 per cent; and for British Columbia it has gone up by 63 per cent.

The one other point, Mr. Chairman, that I would like to add is that within the past week British Columbia has announced an increase in its social assistance rates, so that the figures shown here are out of date.

Senator Carier: Are you about to take up another subject, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes, but if you have a question, please go ahead.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, you said that a sharing of 50 per cent was pretty generous, and so it is in a way. However, I would point out that it is still pretty hard for the poor provinces to match the other 50 per cent. The ones that can least afford to match it are doing the most towards looking after the poor.

I should like to ask Dr. Willard if there is any new thinking on this; whether they have been considering this problem? Have they given any thought to a sliding scale based on the average per capita income so that provinces whose per capita income falls below the average would get a few extra points on the sharing.

Dr. Willard: Yes, Mr. Chairman, in August the four ministers responsible for welfare in the Atlantic provinces met with the Honourable Mr. Munro to put forward a brief asking that a higher percentage of sharing be provided to low income provinces. Since that time the officials of the Atlantic provinces have been working on two or three alternative proposals, and the Minister of National Health and Welfare has indicated that he will put this request before his colleagues for consideration.

The Chairman: Let us for a few minutes touch on a subject that we did not touch on before, namely, that of female heads of families who are widowed, divorced, or separated. I think your brief indicated that there are about 300,000 of them in Canada who have as their responsibility some 472,000 children of various ages. Our figures were a little higher, but you could be quite right. We think that they are a special problem in many instances. Senator Fergusson raised the matter of there being more dropouts in such households than in households with a male head, or with both a father and a mother. What attention have they received, particularly the children? I think that 35 per cent of those women work by their own choice, but that still leaves a considerable number who are totally dependent. In this group there are almost half a million children of all ages. What are we doing to make sure that those children have the benefits of education, and so on?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, traditionally this group of people in the population received income maintenance support through what we have known in Canada as the moth-

ers' allowances program. This, along with workmen's compensation, was one of the earliest pieces of provincial legislation enacted to help a needy group.

You will recall that in 1916 Manitoba brought in the first legislation, and very soon thereafter the various provinces followed.

In many ways Canada was ahead of other countries in trying to give protection to this group, and this is apparent when you look at the matter historically. When it came time for the federal Government to consider the Canada Assistance Plan the federal Government was not sharing in the cost of allowances for this group. Strangely enough, in the United States federally they were sharing for many decades the cost of the aid to dependent children programs which were administered by the states. On the other hand, in Canada federally we were sharing the costs of unemployment assistance which is still not done in the U.S. The situation was just the reverse in the two countries.

When the Canada Assistance Plan was being designed the question was: Would the cost of mothers' allowances be covered federally, and would child welfare services be included as a part of the legislation? The provinces made strong representations on both these points which were considered by the federal Government, and the sharing of this type of provision was provided for in the act. The fact that the federal Government began sharing these costs was of tremendous assistance to the provinces, which were feeling considerable financial pressure because of these and other programs and the improvement of assistance programs generally.

With reference to your question as to whether particular families are afforded adequate support, this again is a matter that depends on how generous a particular province is with the rates of benefit they will pay. It also depends, and this is becoming increasingly so, on the extent to which day care centres have been or can be developed. More and more of these women who have children to support are going back into the labour force. This was not the pattern in the 1920s and the 1930s, but it is true of the postwar period. Therefore this question of day care centres is of vital importance. The manner in which part time workers are dealt with is of particular importance to this group. If the part time earnings of the mother who wishes to go out to work but cannot give full time to

a job are taken away on a dollar for dollar basis, such a defect needs to be remedied.

The availability of health services, including the hospital insurance and the medical care programs which are now being established in the various provinces is, of course, of particular importance to these families. Over and above that, the inclusion in the Canada Assistance Plan of federal sharing on the whole range of health services which may not be provided for under other federal programs is particularly important to this group. This applies to eye glasses, drugs and various other needs that the mother and her family may have with growing children.

The Chairman: When you speak of dollar for dollar, how many provinces permit the dollar for dollar and how many take total deductions?

Dr. Willard: I have not the figures with me. Perhaps Mr. Cragg could speak to this question.

Mr. Cragg: Mr. Chairman, it is a very complicated picture. Each province varies in accordance with the programs of long term and short term assistance. They have certain allowable items which may take into account earned income or such items as income from board and lodging receipts, room rentals or rental of property. To take Ontario as an example, there are two assistance programs provided by the province under the Canada Assistance Plan. There is the Family Benefits Act, which generally provides long term assistance, and is administered by the province. Exemptions here include, as I have indicated, a variety of items, but with respect to wages and salaries exemptions are in relation to the number of children and adults in the family. If there is just one adult, the exemption is \$24 per month. For two adults it is \$36 per month. If there are six children and two adults the exemptions are \$108 per month. Under the General Welfare Assistance Act, which is administered by the municipalities in Ontario and is generally for the employable person who is temporarily unemployed, there are no exemptions at all. That is on a one for one basis.

The Chairman: Would that be applicable across the country in that particular orientation?

Mr. Cragg: Most provinces do provide some exemptions for earnings.

The Chairman: Both long and short term?

Mr. Cragg: Yes; I have a detailed table here.

The Chairman: Could you leave it with us for our file, please?

Mr. Cragg: Yes.

The Chairman: Does the table cover all the provinces?

Mr. Cragg: Yes.

Senator Carter: What criteria do you have for long and short term? I presume the short term is based on the assumption that the applicant is going to find work soon, but that assumption very often has no validity. Does this definition vary from one province to another?

Dr. Willard: Yes, there are variations. For instance, a disabled person or one who is obviously unemployable tends under most programs to receive a long-term benefit. The amount of benefit may be higher and his continued eligibility is checked less often. If it is a case of a wage earner temporarily out of work, or even one who is in and out of work quite regularly, he tends to be in the short-term benefit stream.

Senator Carter: There is no period laid down. An unemployed person could be on short-term benefit for a year, I presume?

Dr. Willard: I do not know whether Mr. Cragg wishes to add anything further?

Mr. Cragg: This could be. If he is classified as an employable unemployed person he could be on short term assistance for a fairly lengthy period. It varies from province to province. The table I am going to leave with you defines for most provinces what they mean by long and short term assistance. The definition in the Newfoundland Act is that short term assistance is available to unemployed employables. That is all they say. Long term assistance is available to adults or families with mental or physical incapacities, widowed mothers with dependent children, other women with children and without adequate means, unmarried mothers caring for their children, and fathers with dependent children if they are incapacitated or must remain at home because the mother is incapacitated, deceased, in jail, in a sanatorium, in a hospital or has deserted the home.

The Chairman: One point that troubled me when you presented this table was the fact that our staff figures did not agree with

yours. I wanted to know why, because I thought they would be able to do multiplication and that your people also would or would use the computer. Now, my staff point out to me the obvious mistake: you have your examples working 52 weeks of 40 hours per week and our staff, being a little more generous, decided to give them two weeks holiday.

Dr. Willard: Without pay?

The Chairman: Oh, no; the law says you must pay them.

Dr. Willard: That is why it is 52.

The Chairman: We did it the other way then.

Dr. Willard: We thought the two weeks would be with pay. I think we were more generous than your staff.

The Chairman: I am afraid you are.

Dr. Willard: We may be wrong, but we like to be on the side of the angels.

The Chairman: You are.

If there are no further questions. That concludes this part of the hearing and we will turn to health. We have here Dr. James Wiebe, Director General of the Medical Services Branch; Dr. Robert Armstrong, Acting Director General of the Health Insurance and Resources Branch; and Dr. L. Bradley Pett, Deputy Director General of the Health Services Branch.

First, Dr. Willard will say a few words.

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, I thought we might address ourselves first of all to the very important departmental program concerned with Indian and Northern Health Services. In the brief we have listed some of the infant mortality rates, some of the averaged age-specific death rates and so on, to give an indication of the health status of the Indians.

The other day in the general summary I mentioned some of the new developments. One was our consultation with Indian representatives from across Canada; in the last three days Dr. Wiebe has been meeting with these representatives. This has provided a means of communication and joint participation with the Indians in policy development.

I also mentioned that a system of liaison officers has been developed, whereby the Department of National Health and Welfare is providing \$10,000 to each Indian association

to meet the salary and other expenses of Indian liaison officers, who can tell us about our health services from the point of view of the Indians receiving care from those health programs.

Another important matter, upon which Dr. Wiebe might wish to comment, is that since 1962 a Community Health Worker Training Program has been established, under which Indians and Eskimos are trained so that they are able to go into their communities and act as health workers.

Another important development that Dr. Wiebe may wish to mention is that in an effort to tap the resources of our medical schools in Canada the department has entered into contracts with various universities for them to provide medical staff on a rotating basis for some of our health regions and health zones. For example, we have an agreement with McGill University whereby they provide two doctors and two fifth-year medical students, who go into our hospitals in the Baffin zone and provide medical services. There are similar contracts with other universities, including the Universities of Manitoba, Western Ontario, McMaster, Toronto, Queen's, Montreal and Dalhousie. This is an effort to supplement the staff coming under Dr. Wiebe's direction, and to try to improve the quality of care by this means.

Efforts are being made to improve radio communication, which has been difficult in some isolated centres. An appropriation of \$500,000, designed to try to assist in this regard, has been announced.

I do not know whether Dr. Wiebe would want to add anything further to that.

Dr. James H. Wiebe (Director General, Medical Services Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare): We are developing a relationship with the Canadian medical profession through the Canadian Medical Association. While this development is at an early stage, it is quite promising. We believe there are here resources that we can advantageously tap and utilize.

Dr. Willard: Do you want to say anything about your discussion of the past few days with Indian leaders and the kind of things you have been talking about?

Dr. Wiebe: We have just had our second meeting, the first being last fall. Both meetings were of two days duration. The first one resulted largely in an agreement to speak

further, which we thought was tremendous progress. The second meeting did, we think, produce a number of fairly solid achievements, particularly with respect to the community health workers. The Indian Brotherhoods are most interested in this program, wish to support it, and moreover wish to operate it and made this proposal to us. We agreed with enthusiasm, because no program among Indians has better chances of success, we believe, than if it is carried out by the Indians themselves.

We also broadened our liaison officer program and increased the financing of it so that there would be more officers available, who and so that they could be paid better salaries. This program also is in the hands of the brotherhoods.

These were two of the main things that were hammered out. There were many other relatively minor subjects. We considered this meeting a success, and on departing the Indians also looked forward to the next meeting, when further topics will be discussed.

Senator Carter: The table of the Indian infant mortality rate is very interesting. The first thing that strikes me is that the Indians in New Brunswick have a lower mortality rate than that for the whole province, whereas in every other province the rate is stacked against the Indians two to one, even up to three to one. Is there any special reason? Do they have special water in New Brunswick, or special air? Why is there such a striking difference in New Brunswick compared with all other provinces?

Dr. Wiebe: I believe one needs to be just a little careful here, because we are dealing, first of all, with a small number of Indians in that province and therefore a small number of possible deaths. One such case can contribute greatly to the fraction or the ratio that we get.

Senator Carter: The sample is too small for a general comparison.

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, I think it would be wise to assume that.

Senator Carter: Have you any comparative figures with the Indian or Eskimo rates in other countries? Does this include the Eskimos or just the Indians?

Dr. Wiebe: Where it says Indian it is Indian only.

Senator Carter: Have you comparative figures for Eskimos?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, at the bottom of page 50. In 1968 it was 49 per 1,000 for Indians and 89 per 1,000 for Eskimos.

Senator Carter: How does that compare with the figures for Eskimos in Greenland? Do you have such comparative figures?

Dr. Wiebe: We do, but they are not available at the moment. The Greenland Eskimo situation is not entirely comparable to our own. They have been in contact with western civilization for hundreds of years, where our Eskimos count their true contact in terms of decades. I believe their figures are better, but unfortunately we are unable to say exactly how much so.

Senator Carter: Do you provide a full range of health services for Indians, Eskimos, including tuberculosis and mental disease? The federal Government does not share with the provinces in expenditures for these two diseases, I understand, but do you provide them for the native people?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes. Perhaps it would be best to confine our remarks at the moment to provinces and not to the territories, which is a different situation again. Either we or the province provide this full range of services to the Indians. Perhaps you wonder why I put it in this way. First of all, not every Indian in the country comes to us for services. Many Indians provide their own health services and pay for them or take advantage, if they are living off the reserves, of the facilities available in the province. Those Indians living on their reserves do look to us for these services and we provide as wide a range of services as the provinces do and perhaps a little wider, because we are in the position of dealing with a limited number of people. Our staffs are therefore able to have practically every person on their conscience. Thus, our immunization program, which is in the preventive field is perhaps much better than for any other segment of the Canadian population. In the same way, our case finding and treatment effort in regard to tuberculosis is perhaps a little more specific to the individual rather than to the mass.

Senator Carter: Is the responsibility of the Government limited only to Indians on reserves or could an Indian living off the reserve claim those services too?

Dr. Wiebe: We generally expect an Indian living off the reserve, who has made his way as other citizens have, to take the same responsibility as other citizens. In the same way, if he is in need he has access to the same sources of assistance as other citizens do.

Senator Carter: Is there a legal basis for that or is that just a practice that has grown up?

Dr. Wiebe: Shall we say it is a practice in that Indians are perhaps, first of all, citizens of their province and then citizens of Canada. If you wish to mention the statutory basis for this, our whole work is based on section 72 of the Indian Act, which provides permissive legislation for the federal Government to provide certain services to Indians. It is very poorly defined.

Senator Carter: Do you have any comparative figures of the infant mortality rates for non-Indians and other Canadians who are living in isolated areas under similar conditions?

Dr. Wiebe: We have done quite a search of the literature and have not been able to come up with anything that has been very useful. I am, however, on the trail of a study which took place in British Columbia, specifically in the Fraser Valley area. I just heard about this last week and I do not have it in my possession yet. My source of information suggested that other segments of the population, in a similar socio-economic setting, are perhaps even more disadvantaged than the Indians are, if you study the statistics.

Senator Carter: On page 51 you list the causes of infant mortality. Have you done any research as to what extent this is caused by lack of health education on the part of parents in the community?

Dr. Wiebe: We have not done research on this. However, there is the project which Dr. Willard referred to earlier, namely, that of the community health worker program. When it was begun, certain base-line data was taken. We shall determine, as the years go by, whether any effect was shown as a result of this project, which of course involves largely education, activation, stimulation and information for the Indian people.

Senator Carter: I was interested in knowing if there was any evidence that poverty was a contributing factor more than others, such as lack of education and lack of services.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, Senator Carter in fact asked the question, but I will go a little further and ask if there is any prenatal or postnatal education provided for those Eskimos and Indians?

Dr. Wiebe: There has been for many years.

Senator Inman: What is being done, what services are there to alleviate these diseases and the causes of them? It is not always poverty.

Dr. Wiebe: We are taking advantage of all possible methods—actual treatment, finding of disease, education. We are trying to take advantage of all methods of alleviating the situation.

We have had a constantly rising budget with which to perform this program. However, we believe we now have perhaps arrived at the point where pouring a great deal more money into the health services side might not produce the results that we might anticipate, until certain other things happen, namely, on the socio-economic side—until the effects of low income, poor living conditions, lack of access to services, poor communications—all these things that we take for granted in the country at large, until these have been improved for them—we wonder whether some of the dollars might, instead of increasing the health budget, might not be diverted to these other problems.

Senator Inman: Do you find these people co-operative?

Dr. Wiebe: They are human beings and many of them are very co-operative. Others show relative degrees of indifference. These people find themselves at an inter-face between two cultures. One culture, namely, ours, is highly competitive and requires planning; the other is their old culture which is a day to day type of thing, with very little planning required. There is a conflict in minds, I believe, relative to this situation.

Senator Inman: Do you take any part in providing for them in regard to ante-natal and post natal education?

Dr. Wiebe: We have been encouraging this. I have been 25 years in the service and have tried to spend time trying to persuade them that medicine and health care would be a good thing. Today these people have become highly critical. In some cases, much more so than the general public in Canada, as to whether they are getting good health services or not.

Senator Inman: Do you find much of this trouble with other groups—perhaps Senator Carter asked that—other groups in Canada, new Canadians, or people who may not have been used to these services? Can you get at them?

Dr. Wiebe: I am not qualified to pass an opinion and I have no statistical data to back this up.

Senator Fergusson: I want to comment on the community health training program. You speak of it on page 53. You say it was instituted in 1962. I would gather from the report you have here that you feel it is quite successful.

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, if you measure success in terms of what we might consider very very slow progress. I do not think we can measure success by the same yardstick as in the Canadian environmental at large. On a recent trip, I spoke to a community health worker, who had spent six years in the community, and I asked the specific question: "What have you succeeded in doing, how would you assess what you have done?" She said: "I do not think I have achieved very much." But I think she was growing along with the situation and things had been happening around her and she did not notice them. Now our nurses have indicated that there have been changes in attitudes and changes in practices with respect to health.

Senator Fergusson: Do you expect to expand this program?

Dr. Wiebe: We shall expand it just as rapidly as we can acquire health educators. Health educators are not trained in Canada. We have to send persons out of the country for training. Health educators are necessary to this program, because what is involved are the techniques of education and not just information. There is no point in lecturing people, as you know; one has to devise ways and means of persuading them to look for new knowledge and new practices.

While we have a number of educators who head this program, we lack them. Nevertheless, there are always courses going on and the numbers are increasing yearly.

Senator Inman: Is there not a place where these educators can be trained in Canada?

Dr. Wiebe: On this point I did a survey yesterday with two of our regional directors

and to our combined knowledge there is no university which provides that in Canada.

Senator Fergusson: Where do you send them?

Dr. Wiebe: To the United States.

Senator Fergusson: Only to the United States?

Dr. Wiebe: There are courses in England but we have not utilized them.

Senator Fergusson: Do you send them on scholarships or how do you send them?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, actually these people are given leave with pay and perquisites and we look after such things as fees and books and transportation and so on and so forth. There is no loss to them.

Senator Fergusson: As Senator Inman says, is it not bad that we cannot set up such training in Canada. It would be in the universities, I suppose?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, it would be in a university setting, it is a degree course.

Senator Fergusson: Have you tried to get universities interested?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, we have communicated with universities on this matter and presumably the demand in Canada is not great enough in toto to warrant such a program but we shall continue our efforts.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you.

Senator Carter: Has any work been done to diagnose the different kind of diseases and ailments that the Indians, and Eskimos suffer from—for example, diseases of dietary deficiency and that sort of thing.

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, we have as a matter of fact one medical officer who has some assistants from time to time as needed, whose sole work is just exactly what you have suggested, Senator Carter, investigating whether there are variations or variances from what we consider normal in the medical textbook. This requires a great deal of study and one must not be too premature in making assumptions until results are known. It does appear that in certain metabolic situations the Indian or Eskimo metabolism differs somewhat from ours. But it is a little premature to say too much on this subject.

Senator Carter: Do you have a preventive program? I am not talking so much of an

immunization program, but of a general preventive program for these people, under your department?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, we try to bring to bear all the tools that are available. Prevention is something that can operate from almost any facet of daily life, the prevention of accidents, for example. The educational program includes that. Prevention may take the form of better housing, better sanitary conditions in the community, better sanitary conditions in the individual home. This is all prevention. In so far as the provision of facilities such as housing and so on is concerned, they are not in the purview of this department, as you know. We do, however, communicate at a high level, and at the echelon level, too, with the Departmental of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, whose function is to provide these services, and we exchange advice and information with them.

Senator Carter: Do you provide school children with milk or dietary supplements and vitamins, or with bread or special flour with vitamins in it?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, partly. With the help of officers in our department we have made certain developments. For instance, Dr. Pett helped us some years ago to develop the vitamin biscuit which had the various vitamins usually deficient in the diet of Indians. These vitamin biscuits were offered to school children and are still in use.

However, so far as school lunches and so on are concerned, this would not fall under our purview but would be within the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, which does in fact have such programs.

Senator Carter: There must be a close liaison between your department and the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, because the two programs supplement each other.

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, indeed. We are certainly not satisfied that we are closely enough related, but we are working at it so that our efforts can be synchronized and meshed, as you properly suggest they should be.

Senator Carter: How do you manage for dental care? What kind of dental services do you have for these people?

Dr. Wiebe: They suffer from the same problems you and I suffer from. Dentists are in very short supply in Canada. However, we

have on staff at this time about 22 dentists who work full-time for us. In addition to that, there are many Indian groups who have easy access to metropolitan facilities. Furthermore there are some private physicians who sell us their time for a week or so at a time.

The Chairman: On the reservations?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes. We would have them visit either in remote areas or otherwise. We are now negotiating with the dental profession to provide more of that kind of service.

The Chairman: Certain Indian organizations which have appeared before us have voiced the fear that the provinces will not give them the kind of services they have been receiving hitherto, I wonder if there is any basis for that state of mind.

Dr. Wiebe: I would give a guarded yes as an answer, because in many phases of our work we have used a much higher concentration of manpower per individual than in the provincial setting. Furthermore, our range of services has been a bit wider than most provinces give. I can therefore understand the fear expressed by the Indians, but, nevertheless, they should also be persuaded that we are not going to cause them to have less than they had in the past.

Senator Carter: I have never been sure whether the provision of eye glasses, dentures and prosthetics and such things was something that came under your department or the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development. Does it come under your department?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes.

Senator Carter: All of it? None of that comes under the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development?

Dr. Wiebe: With the exception of certain major items such as wheelchairs, and I can think of no other exceptions at the moment, we provide all prosthetic devices.

Senator Carter: Do you have any problems with the folklore of the Indians, in the sense that they have their own remedies for certain ailments? Is there much of a problem in that respect?

Dr. Wiebe: The most recent complaint I have had was the day before yesterday to the effect that we and the missionaries had taken away from the Indians their peyote. Even so,

there is still a residuum there, but I don't think it interferes with the acceptance of the modern technology and techniques that are available. It is somewhat like what an old Indian told me years ago when we were discussing religion—his old religion and the new Christian religion. He said you had to put your feet into both lakes to play it safe.

Senator Carter: He was a good politician, then.

I was interested to see that you have community health programs. How successful are they, and can they be "translated" to other, non-Indian, groups in poverty levels?

Dr. Wiebe: That is an interesting question. At least one province has asked if it can join us and send delegates or students to our courses. Apparently that province at least feels it could make use of the same kind of individual within its own groups.

Senator Carter: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Do you have any witch doctors on the payroll?

Dr. Wiebe: Around this table, you mean?

The Chairman: I had in mind the Indian who says he wants to go to a witch doctor. And if he exists, can the witch doctor claim a fee from you?

Dr. Wiebe: We haven't licensed them yet.

Senator Inman: What provision do you have for old people who are not able to look after themselves?

Dr. Wiebe: That does not properly come within our purview, in the sense that the Indian Affairs Branch would be looking after it, but, obviously, we are very much interested because there are health problems related to the aged. Indirectly we have assisted, because many of our smaller hospitals are being closed and the Indians are taking over some of these institutions to utilize for the purposes that you have in mind.

Senator Inman: Such as old people's homes?

Dr. Wiebe: That is right.

The Chairman: To use my term, how many old folk's homes would you have?

Dr. Wiebe: We have none. We have one hospital in southern Ontario that was taken over by the Indians, and there is another

hospital in the Fraser Valley which is now under negotiation with them.

The Chairman: How many beds would there be in those hospitals?

Dr. Wiebe: The one in southern Ontario has 35 beds, approximately, and the one in Fraser Valley has 150 beds.

The Chairman: Without intending to draw any inferences, that means that across this country there are approximately 200 beds for an Indian population of over 250,000. Of course, their way of looking at these problems is different from ours. What is their way of looking at them? Do the old folk just stay at home with their families?

Dr. Wiebe: They have the same access to the usual homes as other citizens have.

The Chairman: Even from the reservation. And the question is as to who pays?

Dr. Wiebe: It is a question of who pays, yes.

The Chairman: Then, just one more question. Somewhere in your brief you said that drugs are provided at local initiative in the provinces. Is that a plus or a minus?

Dr. Wiebe: I want to be very sure I am addressing myself to the question you have in mind. I believe you are referring to immunological products such as vaccines and things of this nature, and most provinces are now providing these free to Indians as they do to any other citizen and on the same basis as they provide them to other citizens.

The Chairman: But there was a reference to three provinces and I did not know whether this was in addition or whether only three had participated. Is it a problem? I am not talking about pot or anything of that nature, I am talking about normal drugs.

Dr. Wiebe: Drugs for legitimate use do not provide any problem. We provide the drugs for Indians, so there is no problem. None of the provinces provides drugs for Indians except in the way I have said.

The Chairman: Where they are off the reservation?

Dr. Wiebe: If in the Province of Ontario, for example, a person is a diabetic, the province will provide free insulin and will not ask if that person is an Indian or not. The insulin is available to all.

Senator Carter: We are discussing the medicare program in Canada and different provinces are coming into it now although they are not all in yet. But under our programs for the Indians, they are provided with everything that a province could get under medicare. Is that right?

Dr. Wiebe: I must answer that by changing the frame of your statement a bit. Every province that now has a medical care program extends to the Indians the same provisions they extend to other citizens.

Senator Carter: Any variation would depend upon the particular provincial agreement with the federal Government?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, the same program applies to the Indians in the Province of Ontario, for example, as applies to other citizens.

Senator Carter: But an Indian in Ontario under medicare might get a different range of services from those available to Indians in other provinces. But your responsibility is to all Indians.

Dr. Wiebe: If it should happen that a specific Indian were unable to receive under a particular provincial plan the services he required, then we would see to it that he got those services.

Senator Fergusson: I have a question with regard to the co-charges and extra-billing which is referred to on page 56. I do not understand this wording, and I wonder if you could explain and tell us if it works against the poor people, and makes it less likely that they will get the services they require.

Dr. Willard: Dr. Armstrong might wish to comment on this question of co-insurance charges and extra-billing.

Senator Fergusson: You see, I do not know what the word "co-charges" really means.

Dr. Robert A. Armstrong, Acting Director General of the Health Insurance and Resources Branch, Department of National Health and Welfare: This is more usually referred to as "co-insurance". Under the hospital insurance plans in British Columbia, Alberta—although only temporarily now—Saskatchewan and the Northwest Territories they have what is called an authorized charge or sometimes co-insurance where the patient pays an amount varying from about \$1 per day to \$2.50 per day, depending on the province, and the hospital plan pays the balance.

Only one other province, Saskatchewan, has a similar charge under medical care.

Senator Fergusson: But does it work against the poor people of Saskatchewan?

Dr. Armstrong: Typically any person on public assistance does not have to pay because the province will pay it on his behalf for hospital care or medical care. Because of the Medical Care Act requirements in Saskatchewan there are special provisions to prevent hardship. For example, the rate of payment, according to the way the medical care plan is administered, must be such that there is no financial impediment to a person receiving all necessary medical care. In the case of people on lower incomes, the province must make fairly elaborate provisions to prevent such impediments from developing. In Saskatchewan anyone on public assistance is automatically covered. For certain illnesses which have been more or less traditionally treated free in that province, such as cancer, tuberculosis, mental illness, the province pays the co-insurance without reference to income.

There is a third such provision whereby the person, who does not qualify either as a public assistance recipient or by coming into one of the special categories, may apply for temporary assistance or the doctor or hospital may apply on his behalf, if it comes to their attention that the patient is likely to be financially embarrassed and he might be too proud or too ignorant to apply for assistance himself. We have to get a commitment of that sort from a province to permit the charge.

Senator Fergusson: I wondered how this could be brought under the Act if some people were going to be left out. You feel that this covers it adequately for people at the marginal level?

Dr. Armstrong: It has done so so far. The majority of cases coming to our attention—and I might add that people always seem to know where Ottawa is, no matter what province they live in, because if they have a problem, they write to us. In most cases where there have been problems it was because people did not know that there was help available, and on our redirecting such letters to the appropriate people in the provinces, these situations have been taken care of.

Senator Fergusson: But there could be a lot of people who would not know about this and would not know where to apply.

Dr. Armstrong: Yes, that is the case. This is another interesting aspect about the so-called private insurance statistics which have been bandied about a great deal in recent years, particularly by those opposed to medical care programs, and which in many cases have not been proven entirely accurate. In other words, they have often overestimated the number of people covered or very often didn't recognize duplication of coverage. In British Columbia when they introduced their plan, (during the previous four years before they had a governmental plan with subsidies available to low-income people), they were amazed at the number of people who popped out of the bush, so to speak, and who were qualified for completely free coverage or substantially subsidized coverage but did not realize that this was available until the great wave of publicity surrounding the introduction of the federal-provincial program. Yet, they lived there for four years previously and in most cases would have been qualified for premium subsidy for medical coverage but they had never heard of it being available.

The Chairman: Could you categorize these people at all? Were they low income people?

Dr. Armstrong: These were people who would get low cost coverage on a subsidized plan. In other words, they were low income people, some with no taxable income whatever and some with very little taxable income, but they just did not know there was help available before.

The Chairman: Of course, nobody told them either.

Dr. Armstrong: I suppose four years before there was some publicity attendant on the introduction of the old British Columbia Medical Plan, but nothing like the publicity the universal plan got with full page ads and forms all over the place, radio and television, and all the publicity of the medical care debate in the House of Commons, and so on.

The Chairman: For a highly unionized province it does not make quite as much sense as in a province with less unionization, because they usually know their rights and word gets around.

Dr. Armstrong: The interesting thing in that regard is that while British Columbia had a very high level of decent private insurance coverage through group arrangements—perhaps a higher average level than any other province—most agreements were such that if

a worker was laid off his coverage stopped at midnight, or if he left one job covered under one group and moved to another job covered under a different group, he lost coverage in between jobs and had no coverage until he had passed the waiting period in the new job under the different group. That has all gone now because under Medicare coverage continues and is not related to employment; but here were people who were part of the work force who could be left without coverage at a time when they most needed coverage.

Senator Carter: Part of your problem, I suppose, is staff for the program. You do not have all the qualified staff you would like to have to carry out your full program. Is that a problem?

Dr. Armstrong: We are not running a medical care plan. We are administering a medical care program which is achieved through individual provincial plans that fit together, just as has been the case in hospital insurance where the federal Government lays down the minimum requirements and the provinces each run their own plan within those requirements.

Senator Carter: The doctor told us this morning you do have 22 full-time dentists on your staff.

Dr. Armstrong: That is the Indian and Northern Health Services.

Senator Carter: Yes, in the Indian and Northern Health Services. Do you have staff problems? Is your staff inadequate for the full implementation of the program?

Dr. Wiebe: We do have problems, and they vary from year to year and relate to the general deficiency in any particular category. Dentists are in short supply anywhere you look.

Senator Carter: Do you have any program to indenture native people, to get them into high school and bring them on through, with an agreement that they go back and work for four or five, five or ten years among their own people?

Dr. Wiebe: To date we have not had such a program, but we have used whatever means were at our disposal to encourage young Indians to go into the professions, and we have given them all the support we could by summer employment, and so on. During their course at school, of course, they are completely supported by the Indian Affairs Branch.

Senator Carter: It does not matter which department works it out, if we know there is anything being done, because obviously these people would be the best to do that type of work.

Dr. Wiebe: We have recently spoken to the National Brotherhood on this subject, to see whether it could help us by persuading some of their own people to do exactly what you have suggested, and if they come forward with anything of this nature we will certainly support it.

Senator Carter: The National Brotherhood?

Dr. Wiebe: Yes, the Indian Brotherhood.

Senator Carter: Do you mean out of reserve funds? I am thinking of a government program.

Dr. Wiebe: We would support it.

Senator Carter: And you would do the selection?

Dr. Wiebe: And give encouragement. There are some Indian doctors and dentists, but so far they have preferred not to go back to their own people.

The Chairman: Dr. Pett, would you mind filling us in a little on the national nutrition survey—what you have in mind, what you are trying to attain?

Dr. L. B. Pett, Deputy Director General, Health Services Branch: The National Nutrition Survey really has two objectives. One is to provide factual information on a statistical basis across the whole country, because there are indications scattered here and there that nutrition in Canada is not all it might be. The other purpose, I think equally important, is to provide, particularly for the Food and Drug Directorate, information on the amounts and kinds of foods that are consumed by individuals in relation to, really, the pesticide residues and other things which could be in those foods. It is one thing to have the analysis that a food contains some mercury or DDT; it is quite another thing to establish how many people were eating that particular kind of food and, therefore, to know how widespread the problem is in the population. So there is this double-barrelled objective, both aspects of which I think are very closely related to the interests of the department.

The Chairman: How long has the survey been going on?

Dr. Pett: The plan has not actually started yet. The feasibility study was carried out last year, and the pilot project is being carried out now. It is sought, among other things, to reach formal agreements with the provinces who will be participating, a process which is expected to take place this summer, with a view to starting in actual fact by next fall or in the summer of 1971, depending on how these agreements are reached.

The Chairman: How do you get your nutrition information across to the public?—we are meeting these poor people all the time and they do not seem to have any idea what it is all about.

Dr. Pett: That is a rather different thing, in a way, from a national nutrition survey. The department has had a program for nearly 30 years designed to help people learn about the foods to eat for good health. Since it is partly informational and partly health education, it has to work through and with the co-operation of the provinces. It is not, generally speaking, directly a federal program, except with respect to the Indians I would like to give credit to the work done not only by Dr. Wiebe but by all his colleagues in one particular area in the nutrition area. It almost applies to the whole field of preventive medicine, in which I am interested—namely, in one particular case, materials designed for Indians. The material is at the level of pretty well all the Indians.

To come back to your interest and that of the honourable senators, this is not true in the field of poverty.

I think that most of the health education efforts provincially and federally—I am not going to single out anything in particular—have not been aimed at the poverty level. It simply is not good enough to tell people to eat grapefruit when they cannot afford grapefruit, or, indeed, on a more elementary level, to tell people to wash their hands before eating in order to prevent the spread of infectious hepatitis—which is one of our fairly important problems today—when they have not running water in their houses. These are simply other ways of saying that when you are talking about poverty you are talking about extra-health problems that need an approach that is perhaps a little more direct—the type of direct approach which I think has been achieved with the Indians. This is why the provinces want to get in on some of the advances that have been made in respect of the Indians.

Senator Carter: This survey is an across the nation survey?

Dr. Pett: That is correct.

Senator Carter: Are you taking samples from different income groups?

Dr. Pett: Yes it will be not only demographical but will be taken by age and sex, but also the characteristics of low and high incomes will be included in the sample. Of course, this will vary from province to province, but it will be conducted in such a way that the number of people examined at the low income level will be adequate for an interpretation of that level.

Senator Carter: Have you made any similar survey geared to the health index of different groups? I am referring to the mortality rate in people who are below the poverty level as compared with that in people in the annual income range of \$6,000 to \$7,000, and up. Do these different groups suffer from different types of diseases or ailments?

Dr. Pett: The Canada sickness survey which was conducted in 1951 did, in fact—well, I think it is the only one that has been done on a national basis in Canada. It would be nice to have it repeated, perhaps.

Senator Carter: It is out of date now, do you think?

Dr. Pett: Oh yes. It was made in 1950-51.

Senator Carter: Yes, that was 20 years ago.

The Chairman: The survey in connection with old age security was done in the same year, and you would be the first to say that it was out of date.

Senator Carter: Dr. Willard, is your department thinking of renewing the sickness survey, particularly now as we are geared to the poverty group or, as we call them, the working poor, and the native peoples?

Dr. Willard: Mr. Chairman, we have in the last few years given consideration to this question, but we never got to the stage where it was agreed that it would get priority. The amount of money involved is very considerable. The nutrition survey is the new big survey that the Department is putting its money into at this time, and it is going to cost \$1.9 million. Looking at it in terms of the poverty problem, because there will be an analysis on the basis of income, it is going to be very important indeed. You will recall that

in the appendices that dealt with the whole question of budgets of low income people, the food component is very important and therefore in terms of the study takes on special significance. I would say the other very important budget item, if you are singling them out, is housing or shelter provision. There is a great variation there, even within a given city. The relationship of rents and so forth to the income of people is another area that I think deserves a great deal of study.

So, with regard to the sickness survey, I think it is a type of survey that certainly the department should get back to as soon as it can get the resources with which to do it.

Dr. Armstrong: May I say something on that, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes.

Dr. Armstrong: Under the universal medical care plans you have a record of virtually every medical service rendered to every resident in a province. In some provinces the numbering of the identification cards of persons on public assistance or on subsidized premiums is distinct so that the plan can tell who is such a person and who is not. It becomes feasible, after the plans have been running for a reasonable length of time and the computers have the bugs cleared out of them, that you can do a sickness survey on a computer.

Some provinces have refused to identify persons on assistance in any way by means of numbering. In other words, it would be a much more involved process to find out who was in a low income group and who was not, but I think the provinces are sort of divided between these two approaches. However, technically speaking, one can do a sickness survey by computer once we have the universal plan in effect.

There is another point related to this, and that is that experience in Canada has generally been that the low income people, when they are first given comprehensive coverage, take a few years to learn to use it. Although it is commonly bandied about that you are going to have your services swamped because these people are going to the doctors and hospitals in droves, experience in Canada has been that it takes a few years before they take advantage of the benefits of the plan. This is partly because of education, partly because of ignorance, and partly because it is

something new and they do not know what to do with it. It is also due in part to ingrained habits of watching every penny, because they know that if they go to the doctor they may be given a prescription and that costs them money, or that they have to pay bus fare or a taxi in order to get to the doctor. They have become so used to incurring an expense when they go to a doctor that they tend to shy off.

The Chairman: There does not seem to be anything further, Dr. Willard. On behalf of the committee I will thank you and your competent and impressive staff for coming here today. We are very appreciative of your brief. It is thoughtful and helpful. We have many problems before us, and the information contained in the brief will be of great use in their solution.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX A

A REVIEW OF THE ROLE OF

THE DEPARTMENT OF
NATIONAL HEALTH
AND WELFARE

IN RELATION TO

P O V E R T Y

A Brief Prepared for Presentation to the
Special Committee of The Senate on Poverty
Under the Authority of
The Honourable John Munro
Minister of National Health and Welfare

FEBRUARY 1970

Special Senate Committee

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I. INTRODUCTION

The substantial economic growth of Canada after World War II led to the expectation on the part of many that with the rising Gross National Product poverty would steadily diminish as a serious problem; this has not proved to be so.

Real income per capita did increase substantially, but a significant portion of the population did not benefit to the extent needed to lift them out of poverty. While the affluent society became increasingly visible to the poor, the poor remained largely invisible to the affluent in society. In recent years, however, there has been a growing awareness of the continuing magnitude of poverty in Canada.

Perhaps our lack of perceptiveness was caused, in part, by the persistence of the notion of poverty as absolute deprivation. That is to say that the poverty line frequently has been regarded as a level of minimum physical subsistence, just sufficient to maintain life and working capacity. But human needs also comprise many "conventional" or social elements related to the changing ways of life in the community; and, of course, these change over time. Thus more people begin to realize that many are "poor" because they are deprived of the income, opportunities, environment, and self-respect that is regarded as normal in the community to which they belong. Poverty then is to be seen as relative to the continually changing average standard of living in the community; this is not to say, however, that isolated cases of absolute deprivation cannot be found.

(a) Extent of Poverty in Canada

There are various ways of attempting to measure the extent of poverty, and these are under study within the Department. Two reports related to measurement of living standards have been included as appendices to this presentation. Appendix I is entitled "Historical Development of Concepts and Measures of Minimum Living Standards". Appendix II deals with "Family Budgets in Canada".

The rough measure of poverty used by the Economic Council of Canada in its Fifth Annual Review indicates that approximately four million Canadians could be considered to be living at or below a poverty level.⁽¹⁾ Of these, available data from the Canada Assistance Plan and the Old Age Security Program suggest that close to two million currently are receiving income support based on a means or needs test, or an income supplement to Old Age Security; the incomes remain nonetheless below this poverty line. Accordingly, using the Economic Council's measure, we may conclude that most of the remaining two million persons are in families of the working poor who are employed members of the labour force, but whose earnings are below the poverty line.

(b) Causes and Types of Poverty

To be poor does not signify only lack of income; it means lack of opportunities -- for good health, for education, for meaningful employment, for suitable recreation and so

(1) Preliminary estimates for 1967 put the figure at 840,000 families and 586,000 unattached individuals for a total of roughly 3.85 million people (Income Distribution and Poverty in Canada 1967. D.B.S.)

forth. Poverty is characterized by a depressing and harmful physical and social environment -- both indoors and outdoors. It leads to a sense of failure, a feeling of alienation, and generates personal and social pathologies.

A variety of categories of poverty may be distinguished. First, cyclical poverty, which refers to the temporary deprivation that may occur on a substantial scale because of a downturn in the business cycle, a crop failure, or the seasonal nature of certain industries. Prolonged massive unemployment following a major downturn in the business cycle, however, has not occurred in Canada since the economic depression of the nineteen thirties. Fiscal and monetary policy as well as income security measures have been successful in reducing the magnitude and impact of periodic recessions, while other measures have helped to cope with the serious Canadian problem of seasonal unemployment.

Much more difficult to deal with is collective poverty which affects populations in particular geographic locations. Such depressed area poverty may arise from lack of natural resources, changes in the natural or technological environment or retarded economic development because of demographic and geographic factors. Collective poverty is found in certain rural and coastal areas, and in towns whose industry is no longer competitive.

Sometimes the concept is also used to describe the poverty of particular ethnic groups or people living in the decaying inner cities. In these cases, however, cultural factors may well dominate the economic factors mentioned before.

Individual poverty results from individual misfortune or incapacity.⁽¹⁾ It may be of a temporary nature arising from injury, illness, unemployment or other circumstances, and is then described as crisis poverty. Poverty may arise also at various stages of the life-cycle -- childhood, parenthood, old age -- when changed circumstances bring it on. On the other hand, some persons may remain handicapped, physically or mentally, for the rest of their lives; such long-term dependencies may lead to very severe poverty.

These various causes may interact frequently to reinforce deprivation and patterns of behaviour which reduce future possibilities for escaping from poverty. Many questions may be posed concerning the effectiveness of social policies designed to combat one or another facet of poverty. Sometimes an approach which is intended to alleviate one aspect may actually aggravate other forms of poverty. For example, it is sometimes argued that higher minimum wages would exclude from the labour market a growing number of workers whose marginal productivity could not match the costs of employing them. That is to say the collective poverty of workers in marginal industry may lead to crisis poverty for all or some, if higher minimum wages should lead to a closing down of that industry.

(1) One exception to this is the voluntary poverty of the Christian ascetic or the hippie.

The extent to which ill health is a cause of poverty or poverty is a cause of ill health is open to argument. We do know that health problems are frequently associated with poverty, and in many cases are chiefly responsible for loss of income. Chronic and disabling conditions may push people into dependency. In Ontario 30 per cent of all General Welfare Assistance recipients in March, 1968, were granted aid because of major health problems, as compared with 43 per cent given aid because of unemployment. Ill health of the principal wage earner may induce, for all family members, the adverse living conditions which in turn contribute to poor health, and low educational achievement, thus perpetuating for them the condition of poverty. There is little doubt, that the impact of ill health on those whose financial and educational resources are severely limited - and this is the case with most of the poor - is often disastrous.

The distinctions drawn between types of poverty and the causes they point to are relevant to the next section in which the Department's policies in respect of poverty are discussed. It is clear that these policies address themselves mainly to individual poverty. Their impact on cyclical and collective poverty, particularly the former cannot be gainsaid, but responsibility for its prevention lies primarily with overall government policy and for its implementation with other departments.

II. POLICIES AGAINST POVERTY

Two basic objectives of social policy in modern industrial states have been to maintain full employment and to achieve freedom from want. Monetary and fiscal policies and related economic measures in the trade, industrial labour and manpower fields have been aimed at the maintenance of full employment, while controlling the rate of inflation. The various income security measures and the health and welfare services that have been introduced have been directed toward freedom from want. These objectives have been related to other goals, such as better opportunities for children and adults to lead full, meaningful and useful lives.

The full employment objective has not been attained throughout Canada in recent years. It has been implicitly assumed that, given the appropriate monetary and fiscal policies, the private sector of the economy will generate enough jobs to maintain a high level of employment. But the industrial system does not respond easily to social objectives; rapid technological change makes it increasingly difficult for unemployed people to find jobs. A much heavier burden than would otherwise be the case is thus thrown on the income support system because the private industrial system does not generate the job opportunities that are required of it. The social security system is blamed for its "failure" to eliminate poverty, when in fact it is the private sector of the economy that has been unable to perform in accordance with public expectations.

The freedom from want objective has also not been fully attained in Canada, for a variety of reasons. One factor which has restricted the development of health and welfare services and income security in Canada has been the lack of clarity in the constitution on jurisdiction in the field of social security. A number of approaches have been employed over the past half century to meet this problem. One of the earliest was the provision by the federal government of grants to the provinces to support health services and to provide income maintenance for the aged. This shared-cost approach has continued to be used in respect of a number of programs - notably, hospital insurance and medical care and the Canada Assistance Plan through which the cost of health and welfare services, as well as income maintenance payments, is shared by the federal government. Another approach is the use of the federal spending power to make direct payments to persons by way of income support through such programs as family allowances and youth allowances.

A third approach has been to amend the constitution to clarify the question of jurisdiction in particular fields. During the depression era of the 1930's when Parliament sought to enact an insurance measure to deal with the problem of income support for the unemployed, the legislation was declared to be *ultra vires*. With the agreement of all provinces, the federal government accordingly sought an amendment to the British North America Act to give Parliament powers in respect to unemployment insurance and thereby secured authority for the enactment of the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1940. Similarly, the provinces agreed in 1951, and again in 1964, on amendments which gave Parliament concurrent power with the provincial legislatures in respect of retirement insurance and related benefits such as survivors and disability benefits. This authority permitted the federal Parliament to proceed with Old Age Security and Canada Pension Plan legislation.

Through these approaches, the federal and provincial governments have developed the present social security system in Canada. In general, the provinces administer health services and welfare services and social assistance programs

which are best administered at the provincial or local level, while the federal government provides support to the provinces in those fields and makes direct income security payments, either on a universal basis as with family allowances and basic old age security, or on an income-test basis as in the guaranteed income supplement program. In addition, the federal government has carried responsibilities for some special groups - notably, veterans, Indians and Eskimos, immigrants, and seamen in need of health care.

The following discussion is concerned primarily with the work of the Department of National Health and Welfare viewed in the context of the total activities of government relevant to poverty. For this purpose, policies against poverty have been grouped into four broad categories: general economic policy, programs to improve the environment, services to improve earning power, and direct income support measures.

Any such separation for discussion purposes should not be interpreted as meaning that each category is self-contained. All are inter-related, and co-ordinated planning is vital for success.

(a) Government Anti-Poverty Policies

(i) General Economic Policy

The Economic Council of Canada has listed the performance goals of the Canadian economy as: full employment, a high and sustained rate of economic growth, reasonable price stability, a viable balance-of-payments position, and an equitable sharing of rising incomes. From this perspective, the most fundamental remedy for unemployment and for poverty is to expand aggregate demand, employment opportunities and incomes. General economic policies designed to maintain a high level of aggregate demand serve as the basic infrastructure underlying all other policies aimed at reducing poverty.

But the Economic Council recognizes also that economic policy consists of more than this. It includes also particular measures directed towards particular regions, sectors or industries of the economy, characterized by slow growth, low wages or "collective poverty". Programs have been developed to increase job opportunities in depressed areas or particular sectors of the economy, and several departments of the federal government are involved, notably the new Department of Regional Economic Expansion, and others such as the Departments of Manpower, Agriculture and Fisheries.

Higher levels of national income have been accompanied by proportionately greater growth in service industries. The "personal service" fields of health, education, welfare, cultural activities, sports and recreation have been a part of this growth. The health industry, for example, is one of Canada's most rapidly growing sources of employment. Numbers employed now total approximately 450,000 persons (75 per cent female) including not only professionals, but also substantial numbers of manual or semi-skilled workers.⁽¹⁾ A major stimulus to this expansion has been the hospital insurance, health resources, and medical care programs administered through the Department of National Health and Welfare.

(1) According to the Royal Commission on Health Services (Vol. I, page 497), "Expansion has taken place largely at the expense of unemployment (actual or underemployment in the home) rather than at the expense of other output these Canadians might have produced."

(ii) Programs to Improve the Physical and Social Environment:

The squalid environment of poverty areas is frequently characterized by substandard housing, overcrowding, ill-health, dreary surroundings, low quality public services, alienation, crime and social pathologies. The importance of a physical and social environment which will help the poor to cope with family crises, and offer the children a means of escape from a life of poverty can scarcely be overstressed. Policies related to these problems are concerned mainly with housing, public and community services, community development, and pollution control.

Housing policy is primarily a responsibility of provincial housing authorities and the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation. However, since poor housing conditions are of central importance in perpetuating poverty and disease, the Department of National Health and Welfare has a major interest in the field of housing. Bad housing is a prime obstacle to all anti-poverty efforts; it raises the costs of health and welfare programs. Enforcement of housing standards is essential for the promotion of health and of child and family welfare. A very large increase in low-rent housing projects and housing for low-income families and aged persons is needed to reduce the heavy pressure of shelter costs on low-income family budgets. Any income maintenance programs for needy persons should include sufficient provision for an adequate standard of housing. The problem arises when the total stock of adequate housing is insufficient to meet demand. Under these circumstances assistance recipients and the working poor end up living in substandard housing.

Among community public services that need special attention in low-income areas are parks, playgrounds and recreational facilities, library services, public health services, garbage and sewage disposal, and public transport.

Community development is a technique for helping the poor to deal with social change and to develop approaches to solving their community problems. Community development programs have been sponsored under the Canada Assistance Plan and by the Secretary of State. Under the National Welfare Grants Program community development projects have also been financed.

Problems of pollution leading to deterioration of the physical and social environment have become increasingly important in today's society. Water and air pollution, noise, radiation exposure and the effects of pesticides are matters of growing concern. Responsibility for aspects under federal jurisdiction rests mainly with the Departments of National Health and Welfare, Transport, and Energy, Mines and Resources. This Department has particular responsibilities for the health aspects of water and air pollution across international and interprovincial boundaries, and for radiation protection, and is conducting studies relating to noise, and to pesticide residues in food.

(iii) Services to Improve Earning Power or Reduce Dependency:

Services to reduce dependency and increase vocational skills have always been important as a means of attacking poverty. Educational programs, training schemes, health services, grants to help people to move to new jobs, family counselling and family planning services all contribute to the alleviation of hardship among the poor, the prevention of future dependency, and the rehabilitation and remotivation of the poor toward improved self-care, social functioning and earning power.

But the opportunities offered by these services are frequently grasped only by the more able and least deprived persons; conversely, the providers of service also tend to focus their efforts on individuals with good prospects. Thus, the "hard to reach" individuals, families and groups, are given less attention and become even harder to reach. The need is for massive inputs of service directed to some of the most seriously disadvantaged individuals, families and groups. This means much more money and personnel than are currently being used for these purposes.

This is not to imply that no significant progress has been made. Provincial educational programs have expanded enormously in recent years, and increasing attention is being directed to deprived areas and groups in the population. Federal financial assistance in the costs of vocational education for a number of years, and the expanded post-secondary vocational training scheme of the Department of Manpower has been aimed at up-grading the skills of unemployed and low-wage workers. Improved Counselling and employment services as well as mobility grants of that Department have also greatly strengthened Manpower services across Canada.

The rehabilitation of disabled persons has been a success story for some groups. Provincial workmen's compensation boards and the Department of Veterans Affairs pioneered comprehensive arrangements for persons affected by work-connected and war-connected disabilities respectively. Voluntary agencies also did much useful work for specific disability groups, and beginning in 1953, provincial rehabilitation programs were organized in many provinces when federal financial support was made available for co-ordination of services and for medical rehabilitation. The Department of Manpower currently administers federal-provincial cost-sharing agreements for the vocational rehabilitation of disabled persons. The Department of National Health and Welfare has since 1948, assisted medical rehabilitation services, demonstration or training projects through the National Health Grants, and now operates a national prosthetics service.

Advances have been made in improving the accessibility of health services to the poor, and in removing the financial barriers to health care. The provision to the Indians of Canada and northern residents of geographically accessible health services has been a primary concern of the Department for many years. The National Health Grants Program, introduced in 1948, provided federal grant assistance to a wide variety of health services in the provinces, including local public health activities. The implementation of the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act in 1958 made prepaid public ward hospital care universally available to all Canadians in participating provinces; outpatient services too have been included in the program by most provinces. The Canada Assistance Plan, beginning in 1966, enabled the Department to share the cost of a complete range of health care services for public assistance recipients; and the Medical Care Act which became effective on July 1st, 1968, provided for comprehensive physicians services on a universal basis in participating provinces, with federal financial contributions: seven provinces are currently participating. Nevertheless, the Department is aware that many stubborn problems remain to be overcome in meeting the health needs of the poor.

Many problems remain also in the provision of social welfare services designed to prevent future poverty, alleviate existing situations, and foster the rehabilitation of the poor. Comprehensive counselling services, foster home care, institutional care, day care for children and adults, meal services, homemaker services, work activity projects and sheltered workshops are supported under the Canada Assistance Plan, which offers an incentive to the provinces to expand

such services by sharing in the cost of both assistance and services.

(iv) Income Support Programs

Income support measures have one or more of the following objectives: first, to provide income support to alleviate the economic circumstances of the poor and to prevent persons from becoming poor; secondly, to provide protection against loss of income arising from certain social risks for all members of society--not just those classified as poor; and thirdly, to redistribute income in favour of certain groups.

In Canada we have five distinct types of income maintenance:

- i) Social Assistance
- ii) Compensation Payments
- iii) Income-tested Allowances
- iv) Universal Demogrants
- v) Social Insurance.

Social Assistance: Public assistance based on the means test and administered by municipalities is the oldest type of income support program. Beginning with Mothers' Allowances in Manitoba in 1916, provincial governments developed province-wide assistance for particular categories of persons. Federal participation began in 1927 with the Old Age Pension legislation, followed later by cost-sharing of Blind Persons Allowances in 1937 and Disabled Persons Allowances in 1954. Federal cost-sharing for general assistance, used extensively during the thirties on an emergency basis, began again in 1956 for employable persons under the Unemployment Assistance Program; "unemployables" were added two years later. The Canada Assistance Plan, which commenced in 1966, involves federal-provincial cost-sharing of both cash payments to needy persons based on a test of needs, and a comprehensive range of services for all categories of public assistance recipients. Other federal assistance programs include war veterans allowances, and cash payments to Indians and Eskimos.

Compensation Payments: Provincial workmen's compensation programs pay cash benefits as compensation for loss of earning capacity arising from work-connected disability or death. War Pensions are provided by the Department of Veterans Affairs as compensation for service-connected disability or death. Although these are regarded as awards for damages, nonetheless they are paid over a period of time in lieu of income.

Income Tested Allowances: Income tax exemptions for dependents may be considered as allowances available to persons above a specified income level, (i.e. persons having taxable income); with rising marginal tax rates the benefit increases as income increases.⁽¹⁾ Conversely, the guaranteed income supplement for old age security recipients introduced by the federal government in 1967, is available to persons below a specified income level; the benefit decreases as income increases. In both instances there is an "income test". Some people have suggested that this technique be used to provide all persons with a basic minimum income - the negative income tax and guaranteed income approaches.

(1) Flat rate tax credits apply to persons above a specified income level, but remain constant for income changes above that level.

Universal Demogrants: A universal demogrant is a flat rate benefit on a universal basis to all persons in a category. This was the approach followed in the federally administered Family Allowances Program introduced in 1944. A similar approach was adopted in 1951 in the federally administered Old Age Security Program providing flat rate pensions to persons 70 years of age and over.

Among subsequent changes in these programs have been higher benefits, introduction of Youth Allowances in 1964, and progressive reduction of the eligible age for Old Age Security to 65 years. Quebec has its own youth allowances program and a supplementary family allowance program, introduced in recent years.

Social Insurance: Social insurance involves periodic contributions as a condition of eligibility for benefits. The first such program in Canada was the federal Unemployment Insurance Program, begun in 1941, to protect workers against loss of income through unemployment. In 1965, the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans were introduced to provide a degree of protection to contributors and their dependants against the risks of loss of income through retirement, death and disability.

(b) Changing Welfare Concepts

Before reviewing departmental programs in detail in Chapters III, IV and V, something should be said about changing welfare concepts as they affect program development. These may be examined in terms of four strategies: prevention, rehabilitation, income-redistribution and participation. While these four objectives are all present in greater or less degree in most anti-poverty programs, the relative emphasis has varied over the years.

During the early post-war years, the preventive strategy dominated economic and social policy. With memories of the depression of the nineteen thirties still fresh, what we have described as cyclical poverty⁽¹⁾ was the main pre-occupation. The primary concern was to prevent another economic depression, and economic policies were, and still are, directed towards the objectives of maintaining full employment and stabilizing the economy. The new major federal programs of income security, (i.e. unemployment insurance, family allowances, and old age pensions) were viewed as "built-in stabilizers" for the economy--important devices for maintaining aggregate demand and stabilizing consumer purchasing power. The attractiveness of the approach was that measures that helped to prevent individual unemployed workers, children and old people from living in poverty, simultaneously helped to modify any recession. Thus, cyclical poverty, life cycle poverty and temporary crisis poverty arising from unemployment⁽¹⁾ could be attacked by policies that also promoted greater national production at the same time.

While the prevention of poverty was a main objective the redistribution of income was an important subsidiary consideration. The maintenance of full employment, of course, improved income distribution by reducing the number of families at the low end of the income scale because of unemployment. Transfers of income from the working population to the main non-working groups also were intended to redistribute income. The income security programs further reflected a new approach to the old Canadian problem of

(1) See Chapter I.

regional economic disparities.' In addition to inter-governmental transfers of funds, transfer payments directed to persons caused a flow of funds from the more prosperous provinces to provinces having higher proportions of unemployed workers, older persons and children in the population. There remained, of course, the problem of the "unemployables" -- long-term dependency among the working age population. This was seen as a gradually diminishing residual problem which could be looked after by the provinces and municipalities using traditional techniques of public assistance; low levels of assistance combined with rehabilitation services would help to reduce the size of the residual group.

To sum up, the essence of the preventive strategy against poverty was full employment for the working-age population, plus universal benefits for all persons at risk in non-working groups. The development of universal benefit programs could proceed step by step in line with economic growth, and in accordance with social priorities. Thus, social insurance for the employable unemployed (1941) was followed by the universal demogrant for children under 16 (1944) and for the aged over 70 (1951); later came universal hospital insurance (1957), and the medical care program (1966), the last two at the option of the provinces. Also, during the fifties and sixties, the coverage of unemployment insurance was extended, and during the sixties the age range of the universal demogrant was extended by youth allowances and by amended old age security. The Canada Pension Plan was enacted in 1965. Social solidarity among all classes of citizens was promoted by these developments, although universal benefit levels were sufficiently low that benefits did not interfere with incentives to employment.

But as universal programs have progressed, problems of cost have come to the forefront. Increasingly, despite the growth of the gross national product, rising expenditure levels have inhibited extension of benefits, endangered adequacy of benefits, and have forced reconsideration of the concept of universality. In the case of health care, rapidly rising costs of insured services have generated pressures to examine the efficiency of the health delivery system, and to re-introduce some form of direct payments by patients. In the case of universal demogrant, the age range has been extended, but benefit levels for family allowances have not kept pace with increases in the cost of living. There remain some gaps and inadequacies in the protection afforded by the unemployment insurance program and the Canada Pension Plan. Thus, the effectiveness of universal programs in preventing poverty has become increasingly restricted by cost considerations.

At the same time, full employment policies failed to solve the problem of poverty. Rapid economic growth generally meant that various areas and groups, both rural and urban, were increasingly left behind by economic progress elsewhere, thus increasing their "relative poverty". Wage levels for relatively unskilled work failed to keep pace with other sectors of the labour force, thus highlighting the phenomenon of the "working poor". The influx of rural residents and immigrants into urban areas created many new problems and pressures, which tended to push vulnerable individuals and families into crisis poverty and long-term dependency. The available structures of health, welfare and educational services and of income support measures (despite changes and improvements) seemed increasingly inadequate to cope with the problems.

Yet as noted earlier, the social security system is blamed for the failure of the private industrial sector to meet the problem of poverty due to unemployment in a period of rapid technological change when the structure of family relationships has weakened considerably. In periods of full employment, the people who are on social assistance will be the aged, the disabled, mothers with small children, and the

unemployable. These people really need help; they are not on the assistance rolls due to any lack of individual motivation. In our complex industrial society which seems unable to provide a high level of employment, there are also a large number of unemployed persons on the assistance rolls. These people are there through no fault of their own -- they need income support, and the kind of society we have developed makes it hard for them to obtain income in any other way.

The demonstrated insufficiency of the preventive strategy of full employment and universal benefits appears to be bringing about divergent results. On the one hand, the effects of the broad preventive strategy are being pushed forward into the future. That is to say that under the Canada Pension Plan, for example, the preventive effects in reducing the number of persons who would otherwise be in needy circumstances will be felt only gradually over many years. Similarly, many observers are stressing that increased output from the economy over the long-term is the only ultimate way of providing a satisfactory living standard for all citizens.

On the other hand, in the short-term the preventive strategy is being increasingly merged with and subordinated to a rehabilitation strategy and an income redistribution strategy. That is to say that there is a growing movement in favour of more selectivity in the provision of cash income directed to persons having the greatest need. This parallels the growing awareness that inflationary pressure (a side effect of full employment policy) as well as counter-inflationary policy both tend to have selective adverse effects on low-income groups. As contrasted with universalism which tends to promote social solidarity, selectivity tends towards a more clear-cut division between "the haves and the have nots".

The rehabilitation strategy aims to build up earning capacities and reduce dependency by promoting opportunities and encouraging independence. It focuses on individuals and tries to give them the tools to lift themselves out of poverty. Beginning with the physically disabled, following successful methods developed for workers and war veterans, this approach has been extended to the chronically ill, the mentally handicapped and retarded, and various "socially" disabled persons. It involves co-ordinated provision of counselling and guidance, health care, welfare services, training and job placement services directed towards deprived individuals and families. Co-operation among many agencies and all levels of government is essential.

In the early post-war years, the rehabilitation strategy was seen as complementary to the preventive approach, and as being directed to the residual group affected by crisis poverty and long-term dependency; this was perceived as arising mainly from physical or mental disability or illness. Gradually, a broader approach has emerged, stimulated by the developing notion of "structural" imbalance in the economy. Not only the disabled, but all poor persons are viewed as underutilized resources of human capital. As pointed out by the Economic Council, many suffer from "remedial disadvantages, such as lack of education or training, lack of information about job opportunities, inability to move to known job opportunities, poor work habits, and poor physical or mental health stemming from economic deprivation".

Arising from recognition of this situation, the systems of training and education are being reorganized to weld together the needs of the poor for appropriate skills, and the needs of the economy for workers in various occupations. Methods of developing job opportunities, work activity projects, sheltered workshops and employment services are being given more attention and resources than formerly. In the field of health care, an emphasis on prevention and rehabilitation implies reorganization to promote the efficient delivery of the right service to the right person in the right place at

the right time. Similarly, welfare services can be directed to areas of greatest need, and as specified in the Canada Assistance Plan, this may include services for persons likely to become needy if such services are not provided. This approach, if successful, has the happy result of increasing the gross national product while reducing the number of families in poverty.

It should be pointed out that selectivity in the provision of services is not contradictory to universal availability of benefits. If services are to be selectively directed to areas of greatest need in an efficient way, universal availability of benefits without a financial barrier to persons requiring them, is a necessary prerequisite for optimum allocation.

The distributive strategy reflects a growing pre-occupation with cash transfers stemming from recognition of the injustice of the existing distribution of income. It is being better understood that the vast majority of the poor are in their unfortunate situation through no fault of their own. Moreover, the tax policies often fall heavily on the poor requiring them to pay taxes from meagre resources.

As already noted, the universal demogrant of the early post-war years had important redistribution effects on non-workers and on less wealthy regions. However, gradual inflation combined with continuing low wage levels for unskilled work muted these effects among employed persons; furthermore due to inflation and continuing long-term unemployment in depressed areas, poverty arising from long-term dependency increased instead of gradually "withering away" as had been hoped.

In line with the early post-war view of residual poverty as being caused mainly by physical or mental incapacity, federal policy aimed at supplementing universal benefit programs with financial support for provincially administered means test assistance for blind persons (1937), elderly persons 65 to 70 years of age (1951), and permanently and totally disabled persons (1954). A new departure in 1956, however, heralded the beginning of a trend towards a broader base for income redistribution on a selective rather than universal basis. The Unemployment Assistance Act (1956) extended federal sharing to provincial and local assistance for the employable unemployed; two years later unemployables also were included. This increased federal aid gradually stimulated pressure in favour of more adequate benefits based on a more selective approach designed to help those who most need such assistance.

During the sixties there was increasing criticism of the universal demogrant as providing inadequate benefits for those needing it, while at the same time (despite the element of recovery through the income tax machinery) providing income support to many persons who don't need it. Social assistance programs also have come to be widely criticized as being unnecessarily complex, of depriving the recipient of dignity, and of denying him the ability to participate in community life because allowances are inadequate and restrictive. These changing attitudes have stimulated a search for new approaches, of which the use of a declaration of income which is tested impersonally through the income tax machinery is an example; this has been incorporated into the Guaranteed Income Supplement program for the aged.

Within public assistance itself, the trend has been toward a needs test rather than a means test as a means of measuring the assistance to be provided; and this approach was incorporated into the Canada Assistance Plan (1966). Between 1959 and 1969 the number of assistance recipients in Canada approximately doubled. Undoubtedly, benefit levels have gained on unskilled wage levels over this period, despite

the development of minimum wage legislation. The minimum wage has tended to set a ceiling on further changes in assistance levels, which otherwise might reduce work incentives. A higher minimum wage helps not only the working poor but also ceases to act as a deterrent to more adequate assistance levels. A low minimum wage can adversely affect the incentive to work among those who would fare better on assistance than at work. On the contrary, a high minimum wage can increase unemployment among low-paid workers whose higher wages are not justified by their low productivity; this applies particularly to marginal industry. A further point to be made is that minimum wages do not take into account the number of children a wage earner may have; family allowances and tax deductions somewhat compensate for this. If an adequate minimum living standard is to be achieved, either sufficient cash payments must be made to large numbers of unemployed persons, or work opportunities must be provided by government serving directly as the "employer of last resort". For those who are long-term dependency cases unable to work, cash income maintenance is the only approach left open. This is the distributive strategy.

The participation strategy is based on the growing awareness of the need to involve the people directly affected by social development programs in their planning, development and implementation if these programs are to be successful. This awareness stems from our increased understanding of the process through which people individually and in groups learn to accept and use their own resources, as well as the technical and financial resources of the community, to develop new solutions to their problems.

This strategy is based on the concept that people have a right to exercise influence over the forces in their environment which affect them, and that those affected are in the best position to identify their problems and needs, decide on their priorities, plan solutions, and participate in their implementation. There is also a growing awareness that people can only begin to develop the skills, the knowledge and the commitment to deal in more adequate ways with their environment through the experience which grows out of participation.

The effectiveness of this approach is usually of a long-term nature, with positive results and increased capacity of citizens only becoming evident after periods of several years of relatively intensive action aimed at promoting citizen participation. The effectiveness of this approach has been demonstrated by the growing ability of Indian and Métis people in dealing with their own situations, articulating their needs and entering a position of negotiation with government regarding future programs and policies which will directly affect their position and status in our society.

There has been a fairly rapid realization among other disadvantaged groups, including welfare recipients, that they too can achieve positive development through collective action. This is being demonstrated by the variety of welfare rights groups, tenants associations, and community improvement groups which have sprung up among low income citizens in the past year or so.

As citizens groups gain experience in participation they have shown an increasing ability to be more effective and to achieve positive results more quickly. Government has recognized the advantages and often the necessity of promoting citizen participation to make its own plans and programs more effective and to reduce the dependency-inducing nature of many of its present services. To this end the department has, and is currently, supporting a number of special projects and activities aimed at initiating, encouraging and experimenting with this approach.

Direct support for such projects has been provided from the program of funding for welfare demonstration projects (see Appendix III). Projects of a similar nature but with a health orientation are being considered for funding in the present fiscal year under the health grants program. Projects with a social-recreational focus are being explored for possible funding by the Physical Fitness and Amateur Sport Directorate of the Department in the new fiscal year. The Department supports activities and programs geared to participation of consumers of service and disadvantaged groups generally under the cost-sharing agreements in the Canada Assistance Plan.

Agreement has been reached with the National Indian Brotherhood which is establishing an Indian Health Committee to meet with the Minister semi-annually to recommend improvements in policy and administration of health services for Indians, and at any time to report cases of poor or inadequate health services. Indian liaison officers have been appointed to improve communication between the Indian people and departmental medical officers. Indian representatives are studying ways in which their people can make more effective use of the fitness and amateur sports grants that are available to improve Indian recreational facilities.

The Department has also established a National Council of Welfare, an advisory body to the Minister, which includes substantial representation from low income, welfare recipient and economically disadvantaged minority groups, and which is designed to serve as a vehicle through which the poor can enter into dialogue with government on the efficacy of present programs and participate in the development of new ones.

The citizen participation strategy rests on the principle of collective self-help and is dependent upon a responsiveness among the poor to such a course of collective action. Although a certain number of these organizations have come into being through the sponsorship of local social agencies or government, they are most largely a spontaneous phenomenon initiated by the poor themselves. As a phenomenon these groups post-date the observations in the Economic Council of Canada's 5th Annual Review that "the poor tend to be collectively inarticulate, lack the education and organization to make themselves heard ... (and) have few spokesmen and groups to represent them and give voice to their needs".

The Department views the emergence of these self-help groups among the poor as a highly positive development. If, as the Economic Council suggests, the absence of such groups has been among the reasons for the perpetuation of poverty, the presence of such groups offers the prospect of reaching the roots of what the Economic Council's report described as the "sense of entrapment and hopelessness accumulated defeat, alienation and despair which often so tragically are inherited by the next and succeeding generations".

(c) Role and Structure of the Department of National Health and Welfare

The functions of the Minister of National Health and Welfare are set out in the Department of National Health and Welfare Act as follows:

- "5. The duties, powers and functions of the Minister extend to and include all matters relating to the promotion or preservation of the health, social security and social welfare of the people of Canada over which the Parliament of Canada has jurisdiction and, without restricting the generality of the foregoing, particularly the following matters:

- i) Co-operation with provincial authorities with a view to the co-ordination of efforts made or proposed for preserving and improving the public health and providing for the social security and welfare of the people of Canada."

The major activities of the Department may be summarized as follows: direct administration of nation-wide income security programs, health care for special groups such as Indians, and food and drug control; administration of grants-in-aid for social assistance and welfare services, health care programs, health resources, training of personnel and health and welfare research; provision of technical assistance and consultative services to the provinces; research and statistics; and co-ordination of health and welfare efforts within Canada and of Canadian international participation.

Although the Department of National Health and Welfare has the major responsibility for health and social welfare programs at the federal level, other departments -- the Departments of Veterans Affairs, Indian Affairs and Northern Development, Labour, Manpower and Immigration, in particular-- have an important role in the provision of services which complement those of this Department.

(i) Organization

Under the Minister of National Health and Welfare, the Department is grouped in three branches:

The Welfare Branch under the executive authority of the Deputy Minister of National Welfare; the Health Branch is under the executive authority of the Deputy Minister of National Health; the Administration Branch which includes the Research and Statistics Directorate, is under the authority of the two Deputy Ministers.

Welfare

Under the Deputy Minister of National Welfare are the Income Security Branch, the Welfare Assistance and Services Branch, the Fitness and Amateur Sports Branch and the Special Programmes Branch.

Income Security Branch

- The Canada Pension Plan,
- Family and Youth Allowances,
- Old Age Security and Guaranteed Income Supplement.

Welfare Assistance and Services Branch

- The Canada Assistance Plan,
- Old Age Assistance,
- Blind Persons Allowances,
- Disabled Persons Allowances,
- Welfare Grants Program.

Fitness and Amateur Sports Branch Special Programmes Branch

- International Welfare,
- Emergency Welfare,
- Special Projects.

Health

Under the Deputy Minister of National Health, the four main branches include Health Insurance and Resources, Medical Services, Health Services, and Food and Drug.

Health Insurance and Resources Branch

- National Health Grants Program,
- Health Resources Program,
- Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Program,
- Medical Care Insurance Program,
- Health Facilities Design.

Medical Services Branch

- Indian Health Services,
- Northern Health Services,
- Civil Service Health,
- Civil Aviation Medicine
- Immigration Medical,
- Quarantine,
- Public Health Inspection.

Health Services Branch

- Child and Adult Health (Health Education, Smoking and Health, Chronic Illness and Aging, Child and Maternal Health, Dental Health, Mental Health, Nutrition)
- Environmental Health (Occupational Health, Radiation Protection, Public Health Engineering),
- Rehabilitation Services,
- Laboratory of Hygiene,
- Emergency Health Services,
- Research Development - Epidemiology - Public Health Nursing.

Food and Drug Control

International Health - Special Projects

Administration Branch

- General Administration,
- Information Services,
- General Counsel,
- Research and Statistics (Biostatistics, Health Research, Social Security, International Welfare and Special Projects, Welfare Research).

(ii) Main Programs

The development of the main departmental programs related to poverty may be listed in chronological order of enactment as follows:

- 1927 - Old Age Pensions
- 1937 - Blind Persons Allowances,
- 1944 - Family Allowances,
- 1948 - National Health Grants,
- 1951 - Old Age Security,
- 1951 - Old Age Assistance,
- 1954 - Disabled Persons Allowances,
- 1956 - Unemployment Assistance,
- 1957 - Hospital Insurance,
- 1962 - National Welfare Grants,
- 1964 - Youth Allowances,
- 1965 - Canada Pension Plan,
- 1966 - Health Resources Fund,
- 1966 - Canada Assistance Plan,
- 1966 - Guaranteed Income Supplement,
- 1966 - Medical Care Insurance.

(iii) Expenditures

Departmental expenditures on these programs have been increasing steadily. In Table 1 are shown the expenditures over the last ten years on our departmental social security programs, and the percentages that these outlays represented of total federal spending. For purposes of comparison, four additional tables have been provided showing:

Table 2 - Social security expenditures by all three levels of government on particular kinds of benefits.

Table 3 - The percentages that total expenditures on health and on social welfare by all three levels of government represent of our gross national product.

Table 4 - A breakdown of total social security spending for each level of government.

Table 5 - A breakdown of health and social welfare spending for each level of government.

TABLE 1: DEPARTMENTAL EXPENDITURES OF SELECTED ITEMS OF SOCIAL SECURITY,
TOTAL AND AS A PERCENTAGE OF ALL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES, 1959-60 TO 1968-69

SOCIAL SECURITY PROGRAMS	TOTAL EXPENDITURES AND AS PERCENTAGE OF ALL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES											
	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69		
	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	Total	%
	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	\$ '000	%
Old Age Security	574,867	8.9	592,413	8.8	625,108	8.5	734,382	9.9	808,391	10.6	885,294	11.0
Guaranteed Income Supplement	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Canada Pension Plan	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family Allowances	491,214	7.6	506,192	7.5	520,781	7.1	531,566	7.2	538,312	7.1	545,775	6.8
Youth Allowances (1)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Family Assistance	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)	(2)
Canada Assistance Plan (3)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployment Assistance (3)	40,166	0.6	51,220	0.8	92,044	1.2	96,477	1.3	107,371	1.4	107,553	1.3
Blind Persons Allowances (3)	4,197	0.1	4,162	0.1	4,130	0.1	4,882	0.1	4,988	0.1	5,625	0.1
Disabled Persons Allowances (3)	16,051	0.2	16,386	0.2	16,134	0.2	19,634	0.3	20,207	0.3	23,365	0.3
Old Age Assistance (3)	30,349	0.5	30,557	0.5	30,811	0.4	38,179	0.5	39,208	0.5	44,991	0.5
National Welfare Grants	-	-	-	-	-	-	157	-	343	-	635	-
Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services (3)	150,593	2.3	189,369	2.8	283,883	3.9	336,673	4.5	392,244	5.1	433,882	5.4
Health Grants (3)	31,057	0.5	30,398	0.5	30,000	0.4	30,295	0.4	30,995	0.4	35,187	0.4
Hospital Construction Grants	14,941	0.2	17,995	0.3	19,000	0.3	20,000	0.3	22,000	0.3	21,512	0.3
Contributions under Health Resources Fund Act	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Medical Care Insurance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Indian and Northern Health Services (4)	21,949	0.3	23,005	0.3	23,970	0.3	23,083	0.3	28,591	0.4	30,662	0.4
Other (5)	16,586	0.3	17,862	0.3	19,223	0.3	21,502	0.3	19,596	0.2	21,589	0.3
TOTAL DEPARTMENTAL EXPENDITURES (Incl. O.A.S., O.I.S. and C.P.P.)	1,391,590	21.5	1,479,560	22.1	1,655,384	22.7	1,896,830	25.1	2,012,245	26.4	2,182,880	27.1
TOTAL FEDERAL EXPENDITURES (National Account Basis)	6,490,000	100.0	6,769,000	100.0	7,335,000	100.0	7,386,000	100.0	7,609,000	100.0	8,067,000	100.0

(1) Excludes payments to Quebec under the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Revision Act, 1964.

(2) Under the administration of another federal department.

(3) Excludes payment to Quebec, effective April 1, 1965, under the Established Program (Interim Arrangements) Act.

(4) Includes expenditures on certain pensionable minor items.

(5) Includes administration expenditures.

TABLE 2: SOCIAL SECURITY EXPENDITURE BY ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, BY TYPE OF BENEFIT, SHOWING AMOUNTS AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, FISCAL YEARS 1958-59 TO 1967-68, INCLUSIVE

Type of Benefit	1958-59		1959-60		1960-61		1961-62		1962-63		1963-64		1964-65		1965-66		1966-67 ^(b)		1967-68 ^(b)	
	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%	\$'000	%
Old Age Benefits	619,690	22.0	635,586	21.0	653,728	19.5	686,729	18.6	810,740	20.8	886,807	21.8	975,276	21.9	1,022,183	21.6	1,143,332	21.2	1,425,210	21.7
Survivors	38,779	1.4	39,839	1.3	37,944	1.1	36,997	1.0	36,505	0.9	36,914	0.9	36,371	0.8	39,997	0.9	49,300	0.9	199	(c)
Family Allowances	474,787	16.8	491,214	16.2	506,192	15.1	527,918	14.3	543,683	13.9	552,401	13.6	588,311	13.2	618,520	13.1	625,448	11.6	718,813	11.0
Unemployment Benefits	527,027	18.7	480,766	15.9	604,016	18.0	621,609	16.9	579,843	14.9	559,676	13.8	553,355	12.4	540,794	11.4	610,876	11.4	486,336	7.4
Disability Benefits	36,310	1.3	37,698	1.3	38,321	1.2	38,375	1.0	45,777	1.2	47,064	1.2	54,231	1.2	61,800	1.3	55,208	1.0	36,111	0.6
Workmen's Compensation(s)	80,028	2.8	85,236	2.8	91,616	2.7	94,181	2.6	104,523	2.7	111,651	2.7	124,286	2.8	141,604	3.0	173,410	3.2	190,000	2.9
Health Services	623,524	22.1	818,867	27.0	933,753	27.8	1,125,668	30.5	1,247,245	32.0	1,333,751	32.8	1,541,933	34.6	1,680,904	35.6	2,018,153	37.4	2,490,625	38.0
Veterans Pensions and Allowances	210,481	7.4	212,236	7.0	214,710	6.4	258,912	7.0	263,672	6.8	262,548	6.4	279,930	6.3	293,844	6.2	307,988	5.7	313,206	4.8
Other	210,716	7.5	227,094	7.5	276,311	8.2	298,844	8.1	266,539	6.8	278,260	6.8	300,304	6.8	327,734	6.9	407,059	7.6	892,457 ^(d)	13.6
Total	2,821,342	100.0	3,028,536	100.0	3,356,591	100.0	3,689,233	100.0	3,898,527	100.0	4,069,072	100.0	4,453,997	100.0	4,727,380	100.0	5,390,774	100.0	6,553,057	100.0

(a) Cash benefits; medical aid and hospitalization under this program are included in "Health Services".

(b) Includes estimated data.

(c) Less than 0.05 of one per cent.

(d) Payments under provincial assistance programs covered by the Canada Assistance Plan are made on the basis of need, and recipients include aged, survivors, unemployed and disabled persons, but no breakdown under these categories is available. An amount of \$637,000,000 is included here for that program.

TABLE 3 - GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE, AND ON TOTAL SOCIAL SECURITY, AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP, FISCAL YEARS 1959-60 TO 1968-69, INCLUSIVE

	1959-60	1960-61	1961-62	1962-63	1963-64	1964-65	1965-66	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69
	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions
Gross National Product	35,482	36,293	38,202	41,123	44,358	48,364	53,636	59,265	63,016	69,000 ^e
Government Expenditures on:										
Health	819	934	1,126	1,247	1,334	1,542	1,681	2,018 ^(a)	2,439 ^(a)	2,744 ^(a)
Social Welfare	2,210	2,423	2,563	2,651	2,735	2,912	3,046	3,373 ^(a)	4,114 ^(a)	4,576 ^(a)
Total Social Security	3,029	3,357	3,689	3,898	4,069	4,454	4,727	5,391 ^(a)	6,553 ^(a)	7,320 ^(a)
Per cent of GNP of expenditures on:	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Health	2.3	2.6	2.9	3.0	3.0	3.2	3.1	3.4	3.9	4.0
Social Welfare	6.2	6.6	6.7	6.5	6.2	6.0	5.7	5.7	6.5	6.6
Total Social Security	8.5	9.2	9.6	9.5	9.2	9.2	8.8	9.1	10.4	10.6

(a) Includes estimated data.

Special Senate Committee

TABLE 4 - TOTAL, PER CAPITA AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION
OF GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES ON HEALTH AND
SOCIAL WELFARE, BY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT, FISCAL
YEARS 1959-60 TO 1968-69, INCLUSIVE

Year Ended March 31-	Federal	Provincial ^(a)	Municipal	Total
Total Expenditures				
	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions	\$'millions
1960	2,167.6	754.7	106.4	3,028.7
1961	2,362.1	885.7	109.0	3,356.8
1962	2,577.1	1,004.3	107.8	3,689.2
1963	2,683.5	1,097.7	117.3	3,898.5
1964	2,801.0	1,166.8	101.2	4,069.1
1965	2,969.7	1,376.1	108.2	4,454.0
1966	2,883.5	1,714.3	129.6	4,727.4
1967 ^(a)	3,243.1	2,017.7	130.0	5,390.8
1968 ^(a)	3,986.5	2,426.6	140.0	6,553.1
1969 ^(a)	4,450.0	2,725.0	145.0	7,320.0
Per Capita Expenditures				
	\$	\$	\$	\$
1960	122.99	42.82	6.04	171.85
1961	131.17	49.18	6.05	186.40
1962	140.34	54.69	5.87	200.90
1963	143.44	58.68	6.27	208.39
1964	146.95	61.22	5.31	213.48
1965	152.92	70.86	5.57	229.35
1966	145.80	86.68	6.56	239.04
1967 ^(a)	160.88	100.10	6.45	267.43
1968 ^(a)	194.01	118.10	6.81	318.92
1969 ^(a)	213.36	130.65	6.95	350.96
Percentage Distribution				
1960	71.6	24.9	3.5	100.0
1961	70.4	26.4	3.2	100.0
1962	69.9	27.2	2.9	100.0
1963	68.8	28.2	3.0	100.0
1964	68.8	28.7	2.5	100.0
1965	66.7	30.9	2.4	100.0
1966	61.0	36.3	2.7	100.0
1967 ^(b)	60.2	37.4	2.4	100.0
1968 ^(b)	60.8	37.0	2.2	100.0
1969 ^(b)	60.8	37.2	2.0	100.0

(a) From the year 1965-66 on, figures for provincial expenditures include total Quebec expenditures under the shared-cost programs which are now financed partly through tax abatements and adjustment grants under the Special Programs (Interim Arrangements) Act of 1965. These payments are no longer shown as federal expenditures on health and social welfare.

(b) Includes estimated data.

TABLE 5: FEDERAL, PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL EXPENDITURES ON HEALTH AND SOCIAL WELFARE SHOWING AMOUNTS AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY EACH LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT, FISCAL YEARS 1959-60 TO 1968-69, INCLUSIVE

Fiscal Year	Federal						Provincial(a)						Municipal					
	Health		Social Welfare		Total		Health		Social Welfare		Total		Health		Social Welfare		Total	
	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent	\$millions	Per Cent
1959-60	279.5	13	1,888.1	87	2,167.6	100	470.9	62	283.8	38	754.7	100	68.4	64	38.0	36	106.4	100
1960-61	323.7	14	2,038.4	86	2,362.1	100	544.5	61	341.2	39	885.7	100	65.5	60	43.5	40	109.0	100
1961-62	420.6	16	2,156.5	84	2,577.1	100	639.1	64	365.2	36	1,004.3	100	65.9	61	41.9	39	107.8	100
1962-63	474.7	18	2,208.8	82	2,683.5	100	698.8	64	398.9	36	1,097.7	100	73.7	63	43.6	37	117.3	100
1963-64	538.1	19	2,262.9	81	2,801.0	100	740.8	63	426.0	37	1,166.8	100	54.8	54	46.4	46	101.2	100
1964-65	589.5	20	2,380.2	80	2,969.7	100	894.5	65	481.6	35	1,376.1	100	57.9	54	50.3	46	108.2	100
1965-66	475.6	16	2,407.9	84	2,883.5	100	1,131.9	66	582.4	34	1,714.3	100	73.4	57	56.2	43	129.6	100
1966-67(b)	566.4	17	2,676.7	83	3,243.1	100	1,381.7	68	636.0	32	2,017.7	100	70.0	54	60.0	46	130.0	100
1967-68(b)	694.4	17	3,292.1	83	3,986.5	100	1,670.0	69	756.6	31	2,426.6	100	75.0	54	65.0	46	140.0	100
1968-69(b)	835.5	19	3,614.5	81	4,450.0	100	1,830.0	67	895.0	33	2,725.0	100	78.0	54	67.0	46	145.0	100

(a) From the year 1965-66 on, figures for provincial expenditures include total Quebec expenditures under the shared-cost programs which are now financed partly through tax abatements and adjustment grants under the Special Programs (Interim Arrangements) Act of 1965. These payments are no longer shown as federal expenditures on health and social welfare.

(b) Includes estimated data.

III DEPARTMENTAL WELFARE PROGRAMS(1) PEOPLE

The welfare programs operated by the Department have been developed to meet the needs of specific categories of people.

(a) Aged Persons

In 1968 persons 65 years of age and over numbered 1,604,700 and comprised 7.7 per cent of Canada's population. (1) Using the criteria of the Economic Council of Canada, we can estimate approximately 45 per cent of these older persons are at or below the poverty line, and that they comprise about 16 per cent of the "poor" population of Canada.

The broad objective of social policy for aged and retired persons has been to provide protection against loss of income due to age, and specialized services to meet the varied needs of elderly people. Just as adequate income maintenance through transfer payments is essential for older people, so also are the services that enable them to live comfortably, creatively and independently for as long as possible, and with appropriate social and recreational outlets.

Initially, government involvement in protection against loss of income due to age was limited to destitute persons; the technique was public assistance based on a test of means; the level of support was bare physical subsistence; and the administering authority was at the local level. But during the past several decades there has been increasing participation by federal and provincial governments; income maintenance has been extended to aged persons regardless of income. The newer techniques include the universal demogrant for aged persons and the selective income supplement. In addition, there is contributory social insurance providing retirement benefits and the universal coverage of hospital and medical care insurance. In some cases further assistance and services may be provided through social assistance.

Basic income security for all persons 65 years of age and over is provided through the federal government's universal Old Age Security scheme. Under the same legislation a Guaranteed Income Supplement Program provides needy aged persons with a monthly supplement, subject to an income test. For aged persons with special needs, some provinces provide through their public assistance programs supplementary cash assistance, institutional care, welfare and health services, and the federal government shares half the costs under the Canada Assistance Plan. Hospital Care (all provinces) and medical care (seven provinces) are available on a prepaid basis under provincially administered programs, financed jointly by provincial and federal governments.

For aged persons who are not quite so needy, another approach has been developed which provides additional income security for the current working population when they reach retirement age. Income support for contributors reaching the age of 65 will be available through the Canada Pension Plan.

(1) See Dominion Bureau of Statistics "Estimated Population by Sex and Age group for Canada and Provinces, June 1, 1968".

This is a contributory social insurance program covering almost the entire working population, which will provide additional benefits above the basic Old Age Security Pension to all contributors on retirement. Additionally, there is a network of private pension plans across Canada which provides additional benefits for a substantial portion of the working population as they reach retirement age.

(b) Children

Many studies have documented the disadvantages suffered by children in poor families -- ill-health, sordid environment, lack of educational opportunity and so forth. The number of such vulnerable children is large. Of Canada's 7 million children under the age of 16 in 1966, an estimated 1.6 million or 23 per cent belonged to families estimated to be living in poverty. In terms of the total number of Canadians estimated to belong to poor families, perhaps 40 per cent are children under 16 years of age.

Income maintenance has been the preferred approach of federal and provincial governments towards equalizing opportunities for children; transfer payments are intended to assist large families and to supply protection against the loss of the breadwinner. Unlike some European countries relatively less emphasis has been placed on benefits in kind such as free or subsidized school meals, day nurseries, domestic help, rent subsidies and other specific services. Free education and health care have been extended widely in Canada, but apart from this Canada relies mainly on local and voluntary organizations to respond to particular needs for services not readily available to poor children through the market.

Historically, severe deprivation was the main concern; local government supplied public assistance and voluntary societies undertook child protection services. The provinces followed with mothers' allowances and support for or provision of child protection and care, services for unmarried mothers and adoption services. Children in other needy families continued to be assisted under various public assistance programs. Beginning in 1966, the Canada Assistance Plan made available comprehensive federal financial support for both assistance and services for needy children.

National concern for the economic welfare of children was first expressed through income tax legislation -- tax exemptions for children. Later, in 1944, the Family Allowance program was introduced as a positive system of transfer payments applicable to children under the age of 16. Through the fifties and sixties, improved health and education services with equal accessibility for rich and poor alike became important social goals; schooling allowances in Quebec in 1961 and the federal Youth Allowances Program in 1964 were part of the search for ways of encouraging children to continue their education. More recently, the provinces of Quebec and Newfoundland have developed additional income support measures for families with children.

Social insurance is the other method for protecting children against loss of income to the breadwinner or directly against loss of the breadwinner. Payments without a means or needs test for surviving dependent children are made under the workmen's compensation, and war pension programs, and have been available since early 1968 under the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans. Benefits will be available in 1970 under the Canada and Quebec Pension Plan for children of disabled contributors.

(c) Disabled Persons

Disabled persons comprise a significant element of the poor in Canada, and undoubtedly various forms of disabling illness and injury play an important role in bringing on poverty.

Physical and mental defects that lead to disability affect a substantial proportion of the population. It is estimated that congenital defects, chronic diseases and accidents restrict at least one person in ten in carrying out the usual activities of daily living. Several provincial welfare departments have indicated that about one-third of assistance recipients are in families receiving aid because of ill-health or disability.

Originally, physically or mentally disabled needy persons had to rely on general assistance or "poor relief" administered by local authorities. Subsequently, a variety of income maintenance programs financed by federal, provincial and municipal governments have been developed to provide cash assistance to disabled persons and their dependents. Some of these, such as Disability Pensions for war veterans and for disabled workers covered by Workmen's Compensation legislation, are based on the principle of cash compensation for war-connected or work-connected disability, with payment based partly on the degree of functional incapacity regardless of any subsequent earnings. Other programs such as Blind Persons Allowances and Disabled Persons Allowances, make eligibility for benefits dependent upon a means test as well as the degree of functional incapacity.

Income support and rehabilitation services began first for particular categories of disabled persons, while more recent programs have been extended to cover all types of disability. The Ontario Workmen's Compensation Law of 1914, later imitated by other provinces, embodied the principles of collective liability, medical aid, cash disability benefits and comprehensive rehabilitation services for work-connected injury, disease or disability. The federal government operated comprehensive services for war veterans, and awarded disability pensions for service-connected permanent disability. Blindness allowances on a means-test basis were introduced as a shared federal-provincial program in 1937.

After the war, Medical rehabilitation services were encouraged by national health grant support to the provinces. Beginning in 1954, disabled persons with "permanent and total disability" who could pass a means test became eligible for allowances under a new federal-provincial shared-cost program. In some provinces this program is being merged with the Canada Assistance Plan. Beginning in 1970, under the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans pensions are payable to disabled contributors who qualify.

(d) Widows and One-Parent Families

According to the 1966 Census of Canada, there were about 300,000 families headed by a female, containing about 472,000 dependent children. Undoubtedly, a large proportion of these families are living at or below the poverty level, many of them being recipients of social assistance. There are a variety of reasons for this type of family situation: separation, divorce, widowhood, desertion, unmarried parenthood and so forth.

Fatherless families have normally received income support through the public assistance structure. In cases where the situation arises from separation, desertion or

divorce, attempts may be made through the courts to obtain maintenance payments from the father for the mother and children. Otherwise, such families are frequently dependent entirely on social assistance. Additional separate provision for widows exists in some provinces.

In all provinces assistance is available to needy mothers with dependent children. The first categorical program for mothers' allowances was established in Manitoba in 1916; other provinces followed suit until all had such legislation by 1949. Provision was made for provincial allowances for needy widows, mothers with disabled husbands and certain other categories of needy mothers with dependent children. These programs were excluded from federal sharing of costs when the Unemployment Assistance Program was begun in 1956; they continued to be excluded when the program was extended to include "unemployables" in 1958. However, all such special income support programs were brought under the umbrella of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966.

With the coming of the Canada Assistance Plan (and prior to it in several instances) the provinces have discontinued mothers' allowances as separate programs, and have made assistance available to needy mothers on the same basis as to other needy persons and their dependents.

Social insurance protection for widows, orphans and one-parent families (arising from death of the breadwinner) is provided under the Canada Pension Plan. Benefit levels, however, are not intended to provide full maintenance, and where other income is not available, would have to be supplemented by social assistance.

(e) Other People in Need

Single persons and couples without dependent children generally do not qualify under the various programs designed to meet the needs of particular categories in the population. However, the Unemployment Assistance program in 1956 was developed to protect unemployed persons in need, regardless of family status, and was extended in 1958 to cover "unemployable" persons as well. The Canada Assistance Plan of 1966 was intended to cover all cases in which need could be shown. However, as provincial assistance plans have been developed, they have not generally recognized the needs of employed persons working at very low rates of pay -- the "working poor".

In general, assistance benefits are not available to the "working poor" under existing policies. This is despite the fact that there are no bars in the Canada Assistance Plan or in agreements made with the provinces under that statute to federal sharing of assistance to fully employed persons. Some provinces specifically preclude payment of assistance as a general policy to fully employed persons; others do not. In practice, however, payment of assistance in such provinces is on a highly restricted basis and is usually confined to families in which extreme hardship can be identified.

The suggestion that public assistance be made available to the fully employed raises the hotly disputed question of incentives, especially when it is considered in relation to the provision of adequate scales of assistance to the unemployable. The objection is often raised that if assistance is provided at a satisfactory level for the unemployable it may become a disincentive for self-support for partly employable recipients of assistance and for the fully employed who may be able to earn no more than is available under assistance. Here is the basic dilemma. If assistance programs

provide adequate support for unemployables, assist employable recipients at the same level, and provide no income exemptions, the latter will have no incentive for employment. If employables are allowed partial exemptions of earned income above a level of basic adequacy, not only is a massive expenditure of public funds required to support incomes beyond that level, but the programs are accused of subsidizing substandard wages. If, to provide a work incentive for people who can earn, some form of income guarantee is set at less than the minimum adequate level, the problem of providing an adequate minimum for those who cannot work remains.

(2) PROGRAMS

The Departmental programs mentioned briefly above in connection with the categories of people they were designed to serve are discussed below in more detail.

(a) Old Age Security

(i) Universal Demogrant

The objective of the old age security program has been to provide a basic pension as a floor on which Canadians could build a retirement income. Under the Old Age Security Act of 1951, a universal pension of \$79.58 a month is now payable by the federal government to all persons who meet the residence and age qualifications. The pension is adjusted by increases in the Pension Index developed for the Canada Pension Plan; the ceiling for increases in any one year is 2 per cent per year. Adjustments have brought the benefit to \$79.58 a month beginning in January 1970.

The old age security benefit may be described as a universal demogrant which covers practically the entire aged population with the exception of the few who do not have 10 years of residence. (1)

The amount of old age security pension has almost doubled from \$40 to \$79.58 since it was introduced in 1951; over the same period the consumer price index increased by about 44 per cent, while average weekly industrial earnings went up by 138 per cent. The universal flat-rate pension goes equally to men and women, is not related to previous earnings, and does not require a retirement test. It is not intended to provide for total maintenance, but rather to serve as a floor for basic income.

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- (1) The pension is payable to a person of attained age who has resided in Canada for ten years immediately preceding his application for the pension. Any gaps in the ten-year period may be made up if the applicant has resided in Canada in earlier years for periods of time equal in total to double the length of the gaps; in this case, however, the applicant must also have resided in Canada for the year immediately before his application for pension. A 1965 amendment authorized the payment of the pension to persons who have had 40 years of residence in Canada since age 18, thus making eligible for the pension persons who have left Canada before reaching the qualifying age but have spent virtually all of their working lives in Canada. A pensioner may absent himself from Canada and continue to receive payments. If he has lived in Canada for 25 years since his 21st birthday, payment outside of Canada may continue indefinitely; if not, payment is continued for six months, in addition to the month of departure, and is then suspended, to be resumed only with the month in which he returns to Canada.

OLD AGE SECURITY STATISTICS, CANADA
YEARS ENDED MARCH 31, 1964 to 1969, INCLUSIVE

Fiscal Year Ended March 31	Pensioners in March	Net Pensions paid during fiscal year
	No.	\$
1964	971,801	808,391,300
1965	993,582	885,294,468
1966	1,105,776	927,299,487
1967	1,229,561	1,033,408,230
1968	1,366,210	1,153,283,794
1969	1,504,862	1,296,849,281
1970 (a)	1,660,000	1,485,000,000

(a) Estimated

(ii) Guaranteed Income Supplement

The main objective of the guaranteed income supplement is to provide additional income support for old age security recipients who because of age will be assisted only slightly by the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans (see below). The Plan which came into effect in 1967 by amendment to the Old Age Security Act, is limited to pensioners born on or before December 31, 1910, and utilizes an income test for determining eligibility.

The concept of a guaranteed annual income as applied to this age group represents an important new feature in Canada's social security system. The maximum supplement payable is 40 per cent of the amount of the flat-rate Old Age Security pension. With the escalation of that pension, the maximum supplement has increased from \$30 in 1967 to \$31.83 in 1970. The combined Old Age Security pension and the maximum supplement now provides an annual income of \$1,336.92 for a single pensioner, and \$2,673.84 for married pensioners.

Pensioners with income in addition to their old age security pension may receive partial benefits. The maximum supplement is reduced by \$1 a month for every full \$2 a month of income over and above the old age security pension and any supplement that may have been received. In the case of a married couple, each is considered to have one-half of their combined income. (1)

- (1) Where one spouse will not be receiving an old age security pension at any time in the current year, to make allowance for that fact, six times the amount of the monthly old age security pension is deducted from one-half of the combined income in calculating the income of the pensioner for Guaranteed Income Supplement purposes. Payments will not be made to married couples unless both spouses submit returns. However, in order to prevent undue hardship when no statement of income is obtainable from one spouse, the other, in certain circumstances, may be deemed to be single for purposes of determining income. Furthermore, although marital status is determined as at December 31 of the preceding year, even if this status should change in the current year, a special provision allows a person to be deemed either married or single in the preceding year.

The Guaranteed Income Supplement program is administered in conjunction with the Old Age Security Pension program. An application for the supplement is sent to each person when he begins to receive the Old Age Security pension and subsequently at the beginning of each calendar year.⁽¹⁾ Entitlement is reassessed each year on the basis of the pensioner's income in the preceding year.⁽²⁾

Slightly more than 50 per cent of old age security recipients also received the guaranteed income supplement in 1969 as shown in the table below; approximately 31 per cent were eligible for the full amount of the supplement.

(iii) OAS and GIS

The total cost of the combined program is estimated to reach \$1.9 billion in the fiscal year 1970-71. Old Age Security and GIS payments are financed through the Old Age Security Fund. This Fund obtains its revenues from the following earmarked taxes: a 4 per cent tax on taxable personal income subject to a limit of \$240 a year; other sources of finance are a 3 per cent sales tax and a 3 per cent tax on corporation income.

The benefit is subject to income tax, and thus is recovered in part from persons with taxable incomes.

The program is administered by the Family Allowances, Youth Allowances and Old Age Security Division of the Department of National Health and Welfare through regional offices located in each provincial capital.

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- (1) If a pensioner who is in receipt of a supplement leaves Canada, the supplement will be paid for the month of departure and for six further months. If he has not returned by then, payment will be discontinued but may be paid again upon his return. If on the date when a supplement might otherwise become payable to a pensioner he has been absent from Canada for six months, no supplement may be paid until his return. If his absence has been for less than six months, a supplement may be paid until he has been away for six months. It will then be discontinued until his return.
- (2) Entitlement to a supplement is normally based on the pensioner's income in the previous year. However, where a pensioner retired from employment or self-employment in that year or in the current year, he may elect to substitute estimates of certain income items (such as employment earnings and pensions) in the current year for that which he actually received in the preceding year. This may allow him to show a lower income and hence to become eligible for a higher supplement.

OAS PENSIONERS BY GIS STATUS, NUMBERS AND PERCENTAGES, BY PROVINCES,
AUGUST, 1969

Province	Number of OAS Pensioners			Percentage of OAS Pensioners				
	Total	Without GIS	With partial GIS	With full GIS	Total	Without GIS	With partial GIS	With full GIS
Newfoundland	28,915	5,755	4,671	18,489	100.0	19.9	16.2	63.9
Prince Edward Island	11,454	3,174	2,701	5,579	100.0	27.7	23.6	48.7
Nova Scotia	64,701	24,382	13,989	26,330	100.0	37.7	21.6	40.7
New Brunswick	48,991	18,171	9,341	21,479	100.0	37.1	19.1	43.8
Quebec	354,754	142,128	67,887	144,739	100.0	40.1	19.1	40.8
Ontario	562,442	320,430	116,217	125,795	100.0	57.0	20.6	22.4
Manitoba	86,034	39,513	20,204	26,317	100.0	45.9	23.5	30.6
Saskatchewan	85,006	42,370	17,949	24,687	100.0	49.8	21.1	29.1
Alberta	102,196	47,576	22,248	32,372	100.0	46.6	21.8	31.6
British Columbia	179,493	96,310	35,648	47,535	100.0	53.7	19.8	26.5
Northwest Territories	736	112	54	570	100.0	15.2	7.3	77.5
Yukon Territory	420	184	37	199	100.0	43.8	8.8	47.4
Canada	1,525,142	740,105	310,946	474,091	100.0	43.5	20.4	31.1

SOURCE: Monthly Report, Treasury Office, Department of National Health and Welfare.

(b) Family and Youth Allowances(i) Family Allowances

The Family Allowances Act of 1944, administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare, is designed to assist in providing equal opportunity for all Canadian children. The allowances do not involve a means test and are paid from the federal Consolidated Revenue Fund. Unlike old age security pensions, family allowances are not taxable income.⁽¹⁾

Allowances are payable in respect of every child under the age of 16 years who was born in Canada, or who has been a resident of the country for one year, or whose father or mother has been domiciled in Canada from a date three years immediately prior to the date of birth of the child. Payment is made by cheque each month, normally to the mother, although any person who substantially maintains the child may be paid the allowance on his behalf. Allowances are paid at the monthly rate of \$6 for each child under 10 years of age, and \$8 for each child aged 10 or over but under 16 years. If the allowances are not spent for the purposes outlined in the Act, payment may be discontinued or made to some other person or agency on behalf of the child. Allowances are not payable for any child who fails to comply with provincial school or attendance legislation, who ceases to be maintained by a parent, who ceases to be a resident of Canada, or on behalf of a girl who is married and under 16 years of age.⁽²⁾

The original broad objective of the program was to correct to a degree the imbalance between family income and family need, and to make an investment in the children of Canada. It provided for a redistribution of income in favour of low income families and low income regions of the country.

The objectives of the program are still being met, but to a much lesser extent than earlier. While \$560 million are being redistributed each year, the impact is not as great as it would otherwise be because family allowances have not kept pace with the growth in national income and the purchasing power of Canadian families. The gross national product was \$11.9 billion in 1946 and \$71.5 billion in 1968. When the program was in full operation in 1946, the average weekly industrial wage in Canada was approximately \$32.50 per week; it is now \$120 per week. The cost of living has risen by 111 per cent since 1946. By contrast, the average monthly family allowance payment per family between March, 1947, and March, 1969, has increased by 15 per cent; the average payment per child went up 12 per cent.

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- (1) There is an element of recovery from income taxpayers through the smaller income tax exemption for children eligible for allowances. The tax exemption for dependent children qualified for family allowances is \$300 per child, as compared with \$550 for children not qualified for such allowances.
- (2) The federal government also pays family assistance, at the rates applicable for family allowances, for each child under 16 years of age resident in Canada and supported by an immigrant who has landed for permanent residence in Canada, or by a Canadian returned to Canada to reside permanently. The assistance, which is payable monthly for the first year of the child's residence in Canada, is intended to bridge the gap until the child becomes eligible for family allowances. The eligibility requirements, other than that relating to length of residence are the same for family assistance as for family allowances.

The table below sets out recent statistics on the family allowances program:

FAMILY ALLOWANCES STATISTICS, CANADA
FISCAL YEARS ENDED MARCH 31, 1964 to 1968, INCLUSIVE

Year	Families Receiving Allowance in March	Children for whom Allowance paid in March	Average Number of Children per family in March	Average Monthly Allowance ⁽¹⁾		Net total allowances paid during fiscal year
				per family	per child	
	No.	No.	No.	\$	\$	\$
1964	2,711,272	6,736,157	2.48	16.67	6.71	538,312,224
1965	2,746,549	6,817,013	2.48	16.68	6.72	545,775,231
1966	2,785,636	6,865,057	2.46	16.59	6.73	551,734,824
1967	2,833,941	6,882,874	2.43	16.42	6.76	555,794,947
1968	2,888,101	6,901,486	2.39	16.19	6.77	558,774,458
1969	2,937,084	6,882,900	2.34	15.89	6.78	560,186,052

(1) Based on gross payment for March.

It should be noted that two provinces have added supplements to the federal family allowance scheme.

The province of Newfoundland introduced its parents supplement (schooling allowances) program in 1966. Under this scheme, an annual benefit of \$15 is paid in semi-annual instalments for each eligible child who is registered at and attending a school other than a trade school or university. There is no age limit specified in the legislation but the allowance terminates when the child leaves school.

The province of Quebec introduced its own family allowances program under legislation enacted in 1967. Under this plan the following allowances are paid at the end of each six-month period to persons satisfying the relationship and residence requirements in respect of children under 16 years of age: \$15 for one child, \$32.50 for two children, \$52.50 for three children, \$77.50 for four, \$107.50 for five, \$142.50 for six, and an extra \$35 for each child after the sixth. These allowances are increased by \$5 for each child between the ages of 12 and 16 years. To qualify for the allowances, children must be attending school regularly from the time when they are first required to do so, unless prevented by physical or mental infirmity.

(ii) Youth Allowances

Legislation providing for youth allowances became effective September 1, 1964. The Federal Government does not provide youth allowances in Quebec, which has had its own program called "schooling allowances" since 1961. With the introduction of the federal scheme, Quebec agreed to make certain changes in its schooling allowances program so that it would be comparable to the federal measure; since then that province has been compensated by a tax abatement adjusted to equal the amount that the federal government would otherwise

have paid in allowances to Quebec residents. The federal youth allowances together with the Quebec schooling allowances programs cover all eligible young people in Canada. The federal program is administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare, and payments are made from the Consolidated Revenue Fund.

Under the federal program monthly allowances of \$10 are payable in respect of all dependent children aged 16 and 17 who are receiving full-time educational training or are precluded from doing so by reason of physical or mental infirmity. Both the parent or guardian and the child must normally be physically present and living in a province other than Quebec.⁽¹⁾

Allowances normally commence with the month following that in which family allowances cease and continue until the school year terminates. They are paid retroactively for the summer months when the child returns to school at the commencement of the new school year. Allowances for a disabled child not attending school are payable continuously throughout the year. Should a student leave school, leave the country permanently, cease to be maintained, take up residence in Quebec, or die, the allowance will cease. Otherwise, the youth allowance continues until the end of the month in which the young person reached age 18.

Youth allowances are not considered to be income for any purpose of the Income Tax Act. A higher personal exemption under the Income Tax Act is provided for dependent children age 16 and over than for children under 16. Receipt of youth or schooling allowance does not change this entitlement under the Income Tax Act.

The objectives of the program were primarily social ones, closely related to manpower policy; the new program has, of course, increased the average monthly payment per family and per child. The social objective was to encourage children to remain in school at least until the age of 18; in June 1966, the number of youth allowance recipients was 408,979 or 81 per cent of the census population outside Quebec aged 16 and 17. Another objective has been to assist handicapped children before they qualify for disabled persons' allowance at age 18.

(1) The federal allowance is not payable to a parent who resides in Quebec or outside Canada, regardless of where his child may be attending school. However, a child may attend school in Quebec or outside Canada or, if disabled, receive care or training in Quebec or outside Canada, and still be considered eligible, on the basis that he is a resident of a province other than Quebec but is temporarily absent.

The table below gives summary statistics on the youth allowances program:

YOUTH ALLOWANCES STATISTICS, CANADA, EXCLUDING QUEBEC,
YEARS ENDED MARCH 31, 1965 TO 1969, INCLUSIVE

Year	Youths for whom allowances paid in March		Total youths	Net total allowances paid during fiscal year (a)
	Attending School full-time	Having physi- cal or mental infirmity		
	No.	No.	No.	\$
1965 (b)	396,281	1,756	398,037	26,869,815
1966	402,802	1,992	404,794	46,468,550
1967	409,591	2,530	412,121	47,395,633
1968	432,051	2,514	434,565	49,426,980
1969 (c)	466,693	2,071	468,764	32,662,081

- (a) Excludes fiscal contributions made by the Government of Canada to Quebec under the Federal-Provincial Fiscal Revision Act which amounted to \$9,540,600 in 1965, \$17,506,279 in 1966, \$23,637,127 in 1967, and \$14,393,507 in 1968.
- (b) Covers seven months; program became effective September 1, 1964.
- (c) Data include March-September months of 1969-70 fiscal year. Number of youths is taken as an average of 5 months (excludes August and July).

(c) Canada Pension Plan

In 1965, the enactment of the Canada Pension Plan added an important new component to Canada's Social Security system. The Plan was designed to provide an earnings-related retirement pension for members of the labour force and together with the Quebec Pension Plan, applies to about 92 per cent of them. It also provides benefits to contributors who become disabled, and their dependent children. At a contributor's death a lump sum death benefit becomes payable together with monthly benefits for his widow and surviving dependent children.

The Canada Pension Plan does not operate in a province which has established a comparable plan. The only province to do so is Quebec. However, the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans are closely co-ordinated and operate together to provide one nation-wide system. Anyone who, in the course of his or her working life, contributes to both plans will receive the same benefits as if he had contributed to either plan throughout.

Coverage: For purposes of making contributions, the Canada Pension Plan covers all employees who earn over \$600 and all self-employed persons who earn \$800 or more in a calendar year, provided they are over 18 and under 70 years of age. Employees and self-employed persons who earn less than the above limits in a calendar year are not covered by the Plan for that year. Also excluded from coverage are casual employees, family workers and some migratory workers.

Financing: The Canada Pension Plan is financed by contributions of employees, employers, and self-employed persons and by interest earned by the fund. The first \$600 of each contributor's annual earnings is exempt from contributions. On earnings above that amount and up to the present maximum on pensionable earnings of \$5,300 a year, the employee makes a contribution of 1.8 per cent, with his employer paying a matching contribution. Self-employed people contribute at the combined rate of 3.6 per cent, also on annual earnings between \$600 and \$5,200 provided that they have earned at least \$800 in the year.

Adjustment of Benefits: Once a Canada Pension Plan monthly benefit is paid, it is subject to annual adjustments in accordance with upward changes in the Pension Index. Benefits are payable no matter where the beneficiary may live whether in Canada or in any other country.

The contributory limits under the Canada Pension Plan are automatically adjusted with changing economic conditions. For 1966 and 1967 the limits were \$600 and \$5,000. For the next eight years these limits are adjusted by means of a specially constructed Pension Index which will reflect increases in the Consumer Price Index, subject to a maximum annual charge of 2 per cent. The upper limit was \$5,100 in 1968, \$5,200 for 1969, and is \$5,300 in 1970. After 1975, the contributory limits will be adjusted according to changes in an Earnings Index based on a long-term moving average of national wages and salaries. This method is to be used to keep contributory earnings in line with the average earnings of workers.

Retirement Pensions: A retirement pension is 25 per cent of a contributor's average adjusted pensionable earnings. His pensionable earnings include not only those earnings on which contributions were made but, also, the \$600 that was exempt from contributions. In the calculation of a contributor's pension, his earnings for each year are adjusted so that they bear the same relationship to the average of the maximum pensionable earnings in force at the time the pension begins and of the two preceding years that they bore to the upper limit prevailing in the year in which they were actually received. In this way, past earnings are revalued to their current equivalent before his average earnings are calculated. His total adjusted pensionable earnings under the program are averaged over the entire period from the commencement of the program on January 1, 1966, or from age 18, whichever is later, to the date the pension is first paid; but in no case are they averaged over less than 120 months, unless a disability pension has been paid to the contributor in the interim. Consequently, during the first ten years of the program only partial retirement pensions are payable. Not until 1976 will full retirement pensions first become payable.⁽¹⁾

(1) After 1975, certain periods of low earnings, or no earnings at all, and the earnings themselves, are disregarded in determining the average earnings on which retirement pensions are to be based. Pensionable earnings received between ages 65 and 70 may be substituted for lower or nil earnings of earlier periods of the same duration and the earlier periods are dropped out, provided that the reduced contributory period is not less than 120 months. These drop-out provisions make it possible for the person to receive a higher pension than would otherwise be the case.

A retirement pension is payable at any time between the ages of 65 and 70, provided the contributor has then retired from regular employment. If he earns \$900 a year or less, he is considered to be retired for purposes of applying for his pension. Those taking up employment after starting to draw a retirement pension will be required to pass an earnings test. For earnings from work of between \$900 and \$1,500 in any year, the pension will be reduced by one-half of the excess of actual earnings over \$900, with the maximum reduction in this range being \$300. When annual earnings exceed \$1,500, the retirement pension will be reduced by \$300 plus all earnings in excess of \$1,500. However, no reduction will be made in the pension for any month in which the pensioner's earnings are \$75 or less, no matter what his earnings are for the entire year. The pension is payable at the full rate when the person attains age 70 regardless of any current earnings. Earnings test limits will be adjusted as the earnings ceiling rises.

Survivors' Benefits: The Canada Pension Plan provides a degree of income protection for widows and dependent children, as well as for disabled widows of contributors. Survivors' benefits under the Plan including the widow's pension, disabled widower's pension, orphan's benefit, and the lump sum death benefit, first became payable in 1968.

A widow's pension is payable to qualified widows in all cases at age 65 or over, but under 65 a number of factors can affect payment. A widow age 45 to 64 at her husband's death, a disabled widow under age 45, or a widow under age 45 with dependent children, is entitled to a widow's pension if her husband has made contributions for the required period of time. This pension is comprised of a flat-rate component, (\$26.53 in 1970), and an earnings-related component equal to 37.5 per cent of the retirement pension payable to her deceased husband. If her husband was under age 65 at the time of his death, a pension is calculated for him as if he had actually attained age 65 at that time. A widow who is not disabled and who does not have dependent children receives a reduced pension if she is under age 45 at the death of her husband. If such a widow is between 35 and 45 her pension is reduced by 1/120 for each month she is under age 45 at his death. If a non-disabled and childless widow is under age 35 at the time of her husband's death, she is not entitled to receive a pension until she reaches 65 years of age unless she becomes disabled in the interim.

A woman widowed at age 65 or over, or a widow reaching age 65, will receive a pension calculated on a different basis than for those under 65. At age 65 or more it is calculated as 60 per cent. of her husband's retirement pension. If her husband was not in receipt of a retirement pension at the time of his death, one is calculated for him in the prescribed manner as if he had reached the eligible age at that time. A widow age 65 or over who is also entitled to a retirement pension of her own may receive by way of her retirement pension and her widow's pension an amount equal to the greater of, (a) 60 per cent of the total of her own and her husband's retirement pension, or (b) 100 per cent of her own retirement pension plus 37.5 per cent of her husband's retirement pension; subject to the limit that the total cannot exceed the maximum retirement pension that is payable under the Plan.

A lump sum death benefit is also payable provided the minimum qualifying contributory period has been met. The amount of the benefit is six times the monthly retirement benefit that is being (or would be) paid to the contributor in the month of his death, but cannot exceed 10 per cent of the maximum pensionable earnings for that year; (in 1970 that would be \$530). If the contributor is under 65 years of age when he dies, a retirement pension is calculated for purposes of determining the amount of the death benefit as if he were 65 at the date of his death.

If a qualified male contributor dies, a monthly orphan's benefit is payable on behalf of his eligible dependent child whether or not the mother is alive. An orphan's benefit is payable on the death of a female contributor if she was maintaining the child at the time of her death. To be eligible for the benefit the child must be a dependent child as defined by the legislation governing Canada Pension Plan.

The amount of the benefit in 1970 is \$26.53 monthly for each of the first four dependent children of a contributor, and \$13.26 a month for each additional child. However, where there are more than four children in a family, the total of the orphans' benefits is divided equally among them. If both parents were contributors, and both die, only one orphan's benefit is payable to each of their children. The benefit ends when the child gets married, reaches age 18, or if he is between 18 and 25, at the time when he ceases to attend school or university fulltime.

A pension is provided for the disabled widower of a contributor if he was disabled at the time of his wife's death and had been wholly or substantially maintained by her. The rate of pension is the same as that for a disabled widow. A disabled widower entitled to his own retirement pension is also provided with the same two alternative formulae as the widow for purposes of calculating his total income from the two benefits. The disabled widower must continue to prove disability for the duration of his pension. Before age 65 he can receive both a disabled widower's pension and a disability pension, subject to the limit on the combined total mentioned previously.

Disability Pensions: Pensions for disabled contributors and benefits for their dependent children will first be payable in February 1970 under the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans.

A contributor who becomes disabled after making the required contributions will be entitled to a disability pension consisting of a flat-rate component, at least \$26.53 monthly in 1970, and an earnings-related component equal to 75 per cent of a retirement pension calculated as if he had reached 65 in the month the disability pension became

payable. A contributor is considered to be disabled if he has a physical or mental disability so severe and likely to continue so long that he cannot get steady work. Benefits payable to dependent children will be the same as orphans' benefits, which in 1970 are \$26.53 monthly for each of the first four dependent children, and \$13.26 for each additional child.

Current Data: As at the end of December, 1969, statistics on benefits are as follows:

(1) Retirement Pensions in pay	90,064
(2) Survivors' Benefits:	
(a) Widows' Pensions	17,998
(b) Orphans' Benefits	21,041
(c) Disabled Widowers' Pensions	24
(d) Lump Sum Death Benefits - (paid since February, 1968)	23,527

Expenditures on benefits in December, 1969, totalled almost \$4.0 million. As will be seen from the above 129,127 individuals are deriving monthly benefits from the Canada Pension Plan. The overall caseload has been increasing at the rate of about 7.5% per month. This, of course, will rise even further when disability pensions become payable for the first time in February, 1970.

In February, 1970, the maximum retirement pension under the Plan was \$44.24; the maximum disability pension was \$92.88; the maximum widow's pension was \$67.15 and the orphan's benefit amounted to \$26.53 for the first four children and one-half that amount for the fifth and each additional child. The maximum death benefit payable in 1969 equals \$530.

Administration: The Department of National Health and Welfare administers the Canada Pension Plan through its head office in Ottawa and district and local offices located in various centres across Canada. Contributions are collected by the Department of National Revenue which is also responsible for the coverage of persons under the Plan.

Summary: The Canada and Quebec Pension Plans may be viewed as long-term measures to reduce poverty among the aged, survivors, and the disabled. In the case of the aged, individuals and married couples eligible for full retirement pensions (worth \$105 a month in 1967) plus old age security pensions, will undoubtedly be well above the poverty line when such pensions become payable in 1976. During the ten year transition period prior to 1976, the "blanketing-in" process will provide relatively large benefits in relation to contributions for older workers. Moreover, benefits are not strictly proportional to earnings; low wage earners will receive somewhat higher benefits in relation to contributions than will average wage earners. At the same time, it must be recognized that a contributory scheme of this type is partly a method of income transfer across time for the same individual, and is thus less redistributive than a scheme which transfers funds between individuals at a point in time. Thus, many of the working poor must pay contributions now, when they can ill afford to do so, in order to keep themselves out of poverty after retirement.

Private Pension Plans

It is important to remember that the retirement system of income support provided under public programs is supplemented by private pension plans available in many places of employment. These plans provide pensions for retirement with some of the better plans providing benefits for disability and to survivors. Generally, private pensions provide little protection for the dependants of deceased contributors. Plans are either non-contributory with the contributions being paid by the employers and benefits being payable to employees, or contributory where both employer and employee contribute to a pension fund.

Plans and membership in 1965⁽¹⁾ were:

	<u>Plans</u>	<u>Membership</u>
	No.	No.
Contributory	11,558	1,823,000
Non-contributory	<u>2,102</u>	<u>523,000</u>
Totals	13,660	2,346,000

Unduplicated membership in 1965 was 2,295,000 or 38.3 per cent of the paid workers in the labor force.⁽²⁾

The following table shows the levels of income support provided for one year under private pension plans in 1965 to members who had normal retirement in that year. With increasing wages and salaries, benefits provided under private pension plans will also increase. Some of these increases may be offset to a degree by the effect of adjustments made by private plans to the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans.

NORMAL RETIREMENTS OF PENSION PLAN MEMBERS,
BY ANNUAL PENSION AND SEX, 1965

Annual Pension	Male	Female	Total
\$	No.	No.	No.
Less than \$600	1,264	576	1,840
600 to 999	1,268	585	1,853
1,000 to 1,499	1,669	619	2,288
1,500 to 1,999	1,743	504	2,247
2,000 to 2,499	1,481	306	1,841
2,500 to 2,999	1,082	269	1,351
3,000 to 3,499	1,058	215	1,273
3,500 to 3,999	609	124	733
4,000 to 4,499	407	143	550
4,500 to 4,999	296	45	341
5,000 to 5,499	223	32	255
5,500 to 5,999	161	29	190
6,000 and over	483	38	521
Not stated	18	7	25
Totals	11,762	3,546	15,308

Source: D.B.S. Survey of Pension Plan Coverage, 1965.

(1) D.B.S. - Survey of Pension Plan Coverage, 1965.

(2) "Paid worker in the Labor Force" also includes the Armed Services.

(d) The Canada Assistance Plan

The Canada Assistance Plan, enacted in 1966, is a comprehensive public assistance measure which provides, under agreements with the provinces, federal contributions of 50 per cent of the costs of assistance to persons in need generally, and of selected costs of extending and improving welfare services.

This comprehensive measure is the latest in a series of developments that have progressively altered the form and structure of assistance programs. The trend from municipally administered assistance to provincial programs for particular categories of recipients has been mentioned in Section II. One of the first of such groups was widows with dependent children, on whose behalf mothers allowance programs were introduced by provincial governments during and after the First World War. Categorical programs, as they came to be called, were subsequently extended to the aged, the blind and the disabled, with cost-sharing provided by the federal government.

The means-test categorical programs improved the adequacy of benefits for qualified recipients, (mainly long-term beneficiaries), but did nothing for other needy persons and their families. The federal Unemployment Assistance Act of 1956 was an attempt to redress the balance in favour of "employable" (mainly short-term) recipients of assistance; cost-sharing was provided for assistance payments by provinces and their municipalities to "employable" unemployed persons. Two years later the legislation was amended to permit federal cost-sharing of assistance to "unemployable" persons as well, including residents in homes for special care.

Stimulated by more comprehensive federal sharing, the pendulum began to swing away from the categorical approach to public assistance. The provinces accelerated their development of more generalized social assistance or social allowance programs under which eligibility was determined increasingly on the basis of a family needs test rather than an individual means test. The non-categorical needs test approach was incorporated into the 1966 Canada Assistance Plan legislation, which provided also for sharing of health care costs and various welfare and rehabilitation services. The developmental approach to public assistance is enshrined in the new legislation; the objectives include prevention of poverty, amelioration of the effects of poverty, and the rehabilitation of the poor.

The change to the generalized needs test approach has been accompanied by improved levels of assistance and wider eligibility for benefits. There is also evidence that a more structured approach combined with the movement toward provincial administration has made assistance programs more acceptable, so that persons needing help are more willing to seek the support available. Perhaps, too, the amount of relative poverty may be increasing. In any case, the numbers of persons (including dependents) receiving assistance under the shared cost programs has increased greatly - from 620,000 in March 1959 to 1,260,000 in March 1969.⁽¹⁾ Total expenditures for financial assistance in the same period rose from \$200 million in 1958-59 to \$640 million in 1968-69.

A number of factors contributed to this trend. The movement from categorical to general assistance programs extended more adequate assistance benefits to many, among them the sick and partially disabled, some classes of needy mothers, the unemployed and, to a limited extent, fully employed persons. The recognition of need or budgetary requirements as the basis for

⁽¹⁾ The figures in the latter year include children in the care of child welfare authorities, mothers with dependent children, and some other groups not included in 1959.

setting assistance rates produced higher assistance payments and recognition of a wider range of special needs. Technological changes have increased the number of people handicapped by limited capabilities and lack of skills in competing for employment who are forced back upon social assistance for support. Advances in medicine and health services have extended the life span of older and disabled persons who are unable to be self-supporting.

(i) Blind Persons Allowances

The Blind Persons Act of 1951, as amended, provides for federal reimbursement to the provinces for allowances to blind persons age 18 or over who meet the ten years' residence and income requirements. For an unmarried person, total income including the allowance may not exceed \$1,500 a year; for a person with no spouse but with one or more dependent children, \$1,980; for a married couple, \$2,580. When the spouse is also blind, income of the couple may not exceed \$2,700.

The federal contribution may not exceed 75 per cent of \$75 a month or of the allowance paid, whichever is less. The province administers the program and, within the limits of the federal Act, may fix the amount of allowance payable and the maximum income allowed.

Under the terms of the Canada Assistance Plan a province may elect to aid needy blind persons under a general assistance program with costs shared under that Act. In accordance with this provision, provinces may discontinue acceptance of applications under the Blind Persons Allowance Act. They may also transfer current recipients of blind persons allowances to their general programs, provided that there is no decrease in benefits. To date three provinces (Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta) have discontinued receipt of applications for Blind Persons Allowances.

For March, 1969, a total of 5,267 persons received benefits under this program. The total cost to the federal government during the 1968-69 fiscal year was \$3,589,632, including payments received by Quebec.

(ii) Disabled Persons Allowances

The Disabled Persons Act of 1954, as amended, provides for federal reimbursement to the provinces for allowances paid to permanently and totally disabled persons age 18 or over who are in need and who meet the required definition of "permanent and total disability", the ten years' residence requirement and specified income limits. For an unmarried person, total income including the allowance may not exceed \$1,260 a year. For a married couple the limit is \$2,220 a year except that if the spouse is blind within the meaning of the Blind Persons Act, income of the couple may not exceed \$2,580 a year.

The federal contribution may not exceed 50 per cent of \$75 a month or of the allowance paid, whichever is less. As with blind persons allowances, the province administers the program and, within the limits of the federal Act, may fix the amount of allowance payable, the maximum income allowed and other conditions of eligibility.

As with blind persons allowances, a province may elect to aid needy disabled persons under a general assistance program with cost shared under the Canada Assistance Plan. Thus, provinces may discontinue acceptance of applications or transfer current recipients of disabled persons allowances to their general programs provided that there is no decrease in benefits. To date six provinces (Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, Ontario, Saskatchewan and Alberta) have discontinued acceptance of applications for Disabled Persons Allowance.

For March, 1969, a total of 30,663 persons received benefits under this program. The total cost to the federal government during the 1968-69 fiscal year was \$14,340,547, including payments received by Quebec.

The costs of allowances to persons with disabilities who are not being assisted under the Disabled Persons Act or the Blind Persons Act are shareable with the federal government under the Canada Assistance Plan. The costs of supplemental allowances provided on a needs test basis to recipients of disabled or blind persons allowances are also shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan.

(iii) Unemployment Assistance Program

The Unemployment Assistance Act was passed in 1956 with retroactive effect from July 1955. It authorized the federal government to enter into an agreement with any province to reimburse it for 50 per cent of the unemployment assistance expenditures made by the province and its municipalities to persons and their dependents who are unemployed and in need. Payments to both employable and unemployable persons are shareable, as are the costs of maintaining persons in homes for special care, such as nursing homes and homes for the aged, and the costs of supplementary aid to recipients of old age security pensions, old age assistance, blind persons' allowances, disabled persons allowances and unemployment insurance benefits where the amount of assistance is determined on the basis of need. Federal sharing was extended to mothers' allowances for April 1, 1966.

The costs of provincial assistance programs based on need are now shared by the federal government through agreements under the Canada Assistance Plan, which took effect from April 1, 1966. The Unemployment Assistance Act remains in effect in the Yukon and Northwest Territories (pending the implementation or signing of agreements with them under the Canada Assistance Plan) and, for a transitional period in a few provinces, to cover the costs of aid to residual groups of persons under certain means tests programs during the process of conversion to needs test programs.

In March 1965, under agreements in force with all provinces and territories, a total of 722,944 persons were assisted. Federal contributions during the fiscal year which closed at the end of that month were \$112,932,814. During March, 1969, a total of 69,378 persons were assisted in the Territories and three provinces (Quebec, Ontario and Alberta). The corresponding federal contributions were \$15,250,238. Of the 1969 figures, Quebec alone accounted for 65,549 persons and \$14,268,680.

(iv) Canada Assistance Plan - Provisions

Costs shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan, which were not shared under the Unemployment Assistance Act, include assistance to needy employed persons and mothers with dependent children,⁽¹⁾ maintenance of children in the care of provincially approved child welfare agencies, health care services to needy persons, and the extension of welfare services designed to prevent or remove causes of dependency or to assist recipients in achieving self-support.

Health care services may include medical, surgical, obstetrical, optical, dental, and nursing services; drugs; dressings, prosthetic appliances; and other items associated with the provision of such services. Welfare services may include rehabilitation services; casework; counselling and assessment services; adoption services; and home-maker, day-care and similar services supplied to persons in need or to

(1) This group was also included in the Unemployment Assistance Act as amended in 1966.

persons to whom the service is essential if they are to remain self-supporting.

The only eligibility requirement for financial assistance specified in the Canada Assistance Plan is that of need, which is to be determined through an assessment of budgetary requirements as well as of income and resources. Eligibility requirements for welfare services are somewhat broader, in that federal sharing may extend to such services, when provided, not only to persons in need, but also to persons who may become needy in their absence.

A province must not require previous residence as a condition of eligibility for assistance or for continued assistance. Rates of assistance and eligibility requirements are set by the province. The Plan thus enables the provinces to adjust their rates to local conditions and to take into account the needs of special groups. It requires that the provinces establish procedures for appeal from decisions that relate to the provision of assistance.

"Assistance" comprises any form of aid to or on behalf of persons in need for the purpose of providing basic requirements such as food, shelter and clothing; items necessary for the safety, well-being, or rehabilitation of a person in need, such as special food or clothing, telephone, rehabilitation allowance, or items necessary for a handicapped person; care in a home for special care such as a home for the aged, a nursing home, or a welfare institution for children; travel and transportation; funerals, and burials; health care services; welfare services purchased by or at the request of provincially approved agencies; and comfort allowances for inmates of institutions.

The cost of improving and extending welfare services may be calculated either (1) as the amount by which the cost of providing welfare services exceeds that of the period from April 1, 1964, to March 31, 1965, or (2) as the cost of employing persons who are engaged wholly or mainly in the performance of welfare service functions and who are employed in positions filled after March 31, 1965. No province has followed the second alternative. Included for shareable purposes are the costs of salaries and employee benefits, travel, research, consultation, fees for conferences and seminars, and certain costs of staff training.

There is no dollar limit on federal contributions to shareable costs. These may include expenditures of provincial and municipal funds made through provincially approved non-governmental agencies.

The sharing of costs of work activity projects and the extension of provincial welfare programs to Indians on reserves, on Crown lands and in unorganized territories is governed by special agreements. Work activity projects are designed to prepare for entry or return to employment people who have unusual difficulty in obtaining or holding employment or utilizing regular training or rehabilitative programs. The federal government contributes 50 per cent of specified costs of such projects. In recognition of the initially high costs of extending regular assistance and welfare programs to the Indian population, the Canada Assistance Plan enables the federal authorities to offer contributions based on the cost of welfare to Indians relative to the cost of welfare to the population as a whole. Under present circumstances, the contribution would range from around 85% to over 95% of such cost, with progressive reduction in those percentages as the per capita costs of services to Indians approach those for the general population.

Agreements with respect to general assistance and welfare service programs are in force with all provinces, and the Yukon, and are being negotiated with the Northwest Territories. The agreements with the provinces were all signed between March and August 1967, and that with the Yukon in

December 1969; all were made retroactive to April 1, 1966. No agreements have been concluded with respect to the extension of provincial welfare programs to Indians. Agreements relating to work activity projects have been signed with seven provinces. Federal expenditures under current agreements, to March 31, 1969, are shown in the following table.

TOTAL COST (FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL SHARES) UNDER
THE CANADA ASSISTANCE PLAN SINCE ITS INCEPTION
TO DECEMBER 31, 1969

P r o v i n c e	1966-67	1967-68	1968-69	1969-70 to Dec. 31/69	Total
	(\$000's)	(\$000's)	(\$000's)	(\$000's)	(\$000's)
Newfoundland	2,036	36,828	42,692	24,881	106,437
Prince Edward Island	811	3,527	5,344	3,332	13,014
Nova Scotia	6,598	19,432	22,407	16,001	64,438
New Brunswick	2,552	12,796	19,239	13,428	48,015
Quebec ^(a)	46,000	161,487	270,120 ^(b)	241,484	719,091
Ontario	39,054	184,654	236,111	151,581	611,400
Manitoba	7,808	24,276	30,984	21,609	84,677
Saskatchewan	9,784	26,547	26,982	16,229	79,542
Alberta	7,788	50,736	55,083	33,883	147,490
British Columbia	13,309	56,521	75,261	50,458	195,549
TOTAL	135,740	576,804	784,223	572,886	2,069,653

(a) Figures include tax abatement, equalization and adjustments paid to Quebec under the Established Programs (Interim Arrangements) Act.

(b) Compensation based on estimates.

(v) Canada Assistance Plan - Objectives

As an anti-poverty measure the objectives of the Canada Assistance Plan are:

- to assist the provinces in providing adequate levels of assistance to persons in need.
- to encourage the development and extension of welfare services designed to help prevent and remove the causes of poverty and dependency on public assistance.
- to strengthen efforts of public welfare departments to prepare and motivate assistance recipients to take advantage of opportunities for vocational training, rehabilitation services and other measures designed to return them to employment.
- to encourage the recognition of assistance as a right, under specified statutory conditions, and to remove any barriers in the form of provincial residence requirements.

- to encourage the progressive extension of provincial assistance and welfare service programs to Indians on the same basis as the general population.
- to encourage the development of integrated comprehensive provincial assistance programs which would enable them to meet the various requirements of different groups within a single program and administrative framework.
- to provide a basis for effective federal-provincial collaboration in the development of more effective assistance and welfare service programs across Canada.

Adequacy of Assistance: While provinces have made substantial progress toward the improvement of assistance levels, further movement is hindered by three major factors. One is the scarcity of financial resources, bearing in mind that 50 per cent of costs must be found within the province; the poorer provinces assert that they cannot afford to provide a desirable standard of assistance and services to eligible persons. A second is the absence of consensus about the standard of living that such programs should support. A third problem is the relationship of assistance levels to work incentives.

Budgetary needs now recognized as basic necessities include food, shelter, clothing, fuel, utilities, household supplies and personal requirements. While some programs provide reasonably adequate food allowances, the effect of these has been weakened by inadequacies in other areas, among them: clothing, household supplies, personal needs, and limitations on shelter allowances.⁽¹⁾ Assistance rates have not kept pace with rising living costs. Generally speaking budgetary requirements are limited to essentials, and recognize only under special circumstances elements which are necessary for meaningful family functioning and participation in the life of the community. Specific examples are costs of telephones, transportation, upkeep of household appliances and furnishings, reading and recreation.

There are obvious difficulties in the way of attempting a definition of minimum standards of living. Among these are differences in community and cultural standards and in spending patterns between regions and in urban as opposed to rural areas. Nevertheless, the establishment of such standards is essential, as the Economic Council of Canada has pointed out, if social policies are to be assessed from the standpoint of what they are really doing for those living in poverty.

Since poverty and sickness are often closely associated, adequate health care services are a necessary anti-poverty measure. The comprehensive provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan in this respect have enabled the provinces to strengthen significantly their health care programs for needy people. Costs of such care are shareable, not only when provided to persons receiving financial assistance, but also to others, such as many aged people, whose income from other sources may be sufficient only for the material necessities of life.

The Development and Extension of Welfare Services: Agreements with respect to general assistance and welfare service programs between the federal government and the provinces under the Canada Assistance Plan commit the latter to the development and extension of welfare services "as may be necessary and expedient." This means that the pace and

(1) For information on current rates of assistance, see Appendix IV, Monthly Budgets for Items of Basic Need under Social Assistance Programs.

direction of their evolution and the priorities to be assigned to various service areas are determined by the provinces. Broadly speaking, the growth of such services has been concentrated in areas for which the provinces are directly responsible. A major reason for this trend is the assumption by provincial departments of functions previously performed by municipalities and private agencies. In New Brunswick, for example, the municipalities have been relieved entirely of welfare responsibilities. Elsewhere most provinces have completely taken over from municipalities responsibility for long-term assistance cases, leaving the latter to deal essentially with short-term aid. Child welfare, at one time regarded mainly as a private agency concern, has become largely a public responsibility. These developments help to explain why most provinces have not used non-governmental agencies to a greater extent for implementing welfare service programs shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan. There is, however, a growing recognition of the importance of involving non-governmental agencies in the provision of services that prevent and reduce the need for public assistance. Examples of such services are family life education, family counselling, day care of children, homemaker services and family planning services.

Work Activity Projects: Work activity projects are designed to prepare for entry or return to employment, people who have unusual difficulty in obtaining or holding employment or utilizing regular training or rehabilitative programs. Agreements with respect to cost-sharing of work activities have been signed by seven provinces and experimental projects are in operation in Quebec and Saskatchewan. Discussions are under way with other provinces looking to the development of additional projects. This program constitutes a venture into a relatively unexplored area, and the governments concerned are likely to proceed with caution until they can evaluate the results of projects now in process. Close collaboration is being maintained between the Department of National Health and Welfare and the Department of Manpower and Immigration in administering this part of the Canada Assistance Plan. All projects are reviewed prior to approval by an interdepartmental committee which also reviews evaluation reports on projects in operation.

Appeal Rights and Residence Requirements: Agreements under the Canada Assistance Plan embody an undertaking by each province to ensure the provision by law of a procedure for appeals from decisions of provincially approved agencies with respect to applications for assistance or the granting of assistance by persons directly affected by such decisions. Each agreement also includes an undertaking by the province to provide for an adequate method by which that procedure is brought to the attention of applicants for and recipients of assistance. Since the coming into operation of these agreements, appeal procedures have been the subject of discussion and correspondence between the federal department and its provincial counterparts. Reference papers have been produced by the Department of National Health and Welfare as a basis for such discussions. Several provinces have significantly improved their appeal procedures since their agreements came into operation. There is, however, considerable variation in the scope and adequacy of such procedures. In addition, as noted by the Sixth Annual Report of the Economic Council of Canada, applicants for the recipients of assistance are often less than adequately informed of their right to appeal. The Department of National Health and Welfare is continuing to work with the provinces towards the improvement of this situation.

Agreements with the provinces further require that a period of residence in the province shall not be a condition of eligibility for assistance in any provincial program shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan. This requirement has effectively eliminated residence within a

province as a condition of eligibility under general welfare assistance programs. It does not, however, eliminate residence within a province as a factor in responsibility for the cost of assistance. Where the province takes complete responsibility for welfare, this problem does not arise. However, in provinces where municipalities are involved in the administration of such programs and contribute to the cost, local residence may be a determinant of responsibility for the municipal contribution to the cost of assistance, which is most often 20 per cent. Where a person applies for and receives assistance in one municipality and has residence in another within the same province, provincial law may provide for a "charge back" to the municipality of residence.

Extension of Provincial Welfare Programs to Indians:

There has been considerable discussion with the provinces on this subject but none have signed the type of special agreement provided for under the Canada Assistance Plan. This portion of the Act appears to be less likely to be utilized in view of the statement of the federal government policy on Indians made in June, 1969. It is assumed, however, that the assumption by the provinces of responsibility for providing welfare assistance and services to Indians on the same basis as to all other provincial residents will continue to be a long-term policy objective of the federal government. The Department of National Health and Welfare will continue to work closely with the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development toward the achievement of this objective.

Integration of Provincial Programs: The emphasis in the Canada Assistance Plan upon need as the sole criterion of eligibility for assistance has assisted the provinces to consolidate a number of predecessor programs into a single comprehensive measure. Parts of the federal statute were designed to facilitate the elimination of separate provincial programs, hitherto required by federal legislation, of assistance for the needy aged, blind, disabled and unemployed. Similar special programs formerly excluded from federal sharing, such as mothers' allowances and means test allowances for widows and spinsters under 65, have also been largely consolidated into revised provincial general assistance programs. The Canada Assistance Plan requires that when a recipient is transferred from a previous program shared by the federal government, he shall continue to receive benefits at an equal or higher level. This is not possible in some instances because of differences in allowable income and asset levels. In such cases the persons concerned must be retained, for sharing purposes, under the old program. The Department of National Health and Welfare is examining with the provincial governments possible means of overcoming this difficulty so that the former arrangements can be terminated, permitting the repeal of outworn statutes and a consequent saving in administrative costs to both provincial and federal governments.

Federal-Provincial Collaboration: The Canada Assistance Plan itself was the product of extensive prior consultations between the federal government and the provinces. This collaboration has continued and expanded in various ways. These include meetings of ministers, deputy ministers, and other officials concerned with the development of programs and administrative arrangements. The agreements provide, among other things, for the exchange of statistical and other information between the provincial and federal departments and the provision, at the request of the provinces, of a variety of consultative services to assist in developing and refining provincial programs. These services have been of significant value to the provinces but their development has been hampered by difficulties in recruiting personnel with the required experience and professional qualifications.

Within the current year, the task force has emerged as a promising means of federal-provincial collaboration toward improving the administration of welfare programs and making them more effective as means of preventing and reducing poverty. A federal-provincial meeting of welfare ministers in January, 1969, authorized the appointment of three joint task forces to study and recommend in specified areas. These task forces made interim reports to the next meeting of ministers in October, 1969, and will present further progress reports in September, 1970. Their major recommendations show a sharp awareness of current trends and needs in the social assistance field.

The Task Force on Costs of Welfare Programs was authorized to continue its work with concentration in two main areas. The first is the improvement of statistical data by both levels of government. The second is to devise means of applying cost-benefit analysis to welfare programs. The report also urged the provincial welfare departments to allocate more adequate funds to program administration with special emphasis on research and planning activities.

The Task Force on Alienation recommended three areas for further study. The first was how welfare recipients can be better included in the decision-making process relating to welfare policies. The second was how the formation of responsible organizations of welfare recipients and their inclusion in the administration of policy through active consultation can be best fostered. The third was how best to effect reform in the treatment of individual welfare recipients by administrators in order to reduce gaps of understanding and a sense of frustration.

The Task Force on a Developmental Approach to Public Assistance recommended the establishment of minimum adequate standards of living as a basis for evaluating the adequacy and effectiveness of assistance programs. It also made proposals to simplify the administration of public assistance and build into such programs greater incentives for recipients to supplement their income by earnings. The report further recommended that efforts be made to link the administration of assistance more closely with the provision of employment opportunities, and suggested that welfare authorities place more emphasis on identifying emerging economic and social trends that are creating the problems with which they have to deal and on working with other authorities in devising solutions. The most far-reaching was the recommendation that some alternative to public assistance be developed which would achieve more effective redistribution of income, particularly for persons who are fully employed but have inadequate incomes. It was recognized that further study in depth would be required before any decision could be taken on this subject.

Summary: In conclusion, it may be said that the Canada Assistance Plan permits the development of a wide variety of programs aimed at prevention, amelioration or rehabilitation of the poor, excepting services relating mainly to education, recreation and corrections. Most provinces have liberalized eligibility requirements and raised assistance levels, and a few have started to plan preventive and rehabilitative projects. More needs to be known, however, about the dynamics of poverty. and more needs to be done to secure such knowledge through experimentation. Closer integration with other programs, both federal and provincial, is needed. Staffing is a serious problem.

Nevertheless, the Canada Assistance Plan has made a significant contribution to improving the circumstances of the poor who are excluded from the labour market by factors such as age, illness, disability, and responsibility for the care of dependent children. It has been less effective in

relation to those who have partial earning capacity, because of the low level of earned income exemptions provided by provincial assistance programs. As several critics have observed, it has had virtually no impact upon the working poor--those unable to earn a minimum adequate living although fully employed. The reasons for this situation are complex, involving economic, social, psychological and ethical considerations over which experts as well as laymen are deeply divided.

IV DEPARTMENTAL HEALTH PROGRAMS

The fundamental objective of Departmental health programs is to reduce or eliminate the gap between health services and health needs. Since low income presents a financial barrier, programs must be designed to minimize the effect of financial considerations in the decision to seek health services.

Secondly, provision must be made to ensure that adequate health services of high quality are readily available and geographically accessible to the deprived elements of the population.

Thirdly, the delivery of services should be infused with the rehabilitation approach to health care with emphasis on the restoration and maintenance of employability or improved self care.

Fourthly, the importance of preventive services must be recognized and available measures must be implemented to the fullest extent.

Finally, psycho-social-cultural barriers to the full use of health services must be identified and means developed to motivate and promote an understanding of the value of good health practices.

The organization and delivery of health services are carried out mainly at the provincial and local levels, although the federal government provides services to certain special groups of persons within its area of jurisdiction. Except for its function of supplying health services to the native peoples and in the northern territories, the Department's principal role is to assist the provinces by means of grants-in-aid for health care programs, designated services and facilities, the training of health personnel, and public health research, establish standards and guidelines, extend technical consultant services on request and co-ordinate and evaluate the efforts made to ensure equality of opportunity for achieving adequate standards of health across the whole country.

(a) Indian and Northern Health Services

Over the past several years the Department has been strengthening its program of Indian and Northern Health Services. Under current arrangements the Medical Services Branch makes available medical and public health services to registered Indians and Eskimos who are not included under provincial services and who are unable to provide for themselves. The objective is to assist the responsible provincial agencies to improve the health of Indians living on reserves and to arrange treatment if unavailable due to lack of local facilities or because of inability to pay. Similar services are provided for residents of the northern Territories on a cost sharing basis with local governments.

(i) Health Profile of Native Groups

The effects of a marginal existence, which is the common experience of most Indians and Eskimos is apparent in related health statistics.

The infant mortality rate in 1968 was 21 per 1,000 live births for all Canadians, 49 per 1,000 for Indians, and 89 per 1,000 for Eskimos. Among Indians as a whole, infant mortality has declined during the past decade from three times the national rate to just over twice the rate. The following regional differences merit attention:

Province or Territory	Indian Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 live births (averaged over 1965-1968)	Provincial Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 live births (from "Vital Sta- tistics" 1967)	Ratio of Indian Rate to relevant provincial rate
Nova Scotia	42.77	22.78	1.9:1
New Brunswick	23.48	25.10	0.9:1
Quebec	38.97	23.13	1.7:1
Ontario	35.80	19.72	1.8:1
Manitoba	56.25	21.59	2.6:1
Saskatchewan	62.34	25.84	2.4:1
Alberta	47.61	20.04	2.4:1
British Columbia	63.98	21.37	3.0:1
Yukon	70.31	23.38	3.0:1
N.W.T.	51.80	61.98	0.8:1
Canada	51.89	21.98	2.4:1

Additional information available for the Northern Region indicates that in 1968, 56 per cent of all Eskimo deaths, and 35 per cent of all Indian deaths involved children under five years old. High death rates reported for Indian and Eskimo babies occurred in spite of the fact that 90.6 per cent of all births in the Northern Region took place in medical institutions under professional supervision. The chief causes of early mortality were respiratory infections such as pneumonia and bronchitis, followed by gastro-enteritis and associated disorders.

In all provinces and at all ages, except the older age brackets where little significant difference occurs, mortality among Indians who have left the reserves falls substantially below that of Indians remaining on the reserves. This observation has all the more interest in that Indians who have moved off reserves into towns and cities are generally noted as not engaged in the more affluent occupations or trades, nor for the excellence of the accommodation they can rent nor, for that matter, has city life generally been rated healthier than rural life:

Age group	Averaged age-specific death rates per 1,000 Indians		Ratio of "OFF" to "ON" Reserve rate
	ON Reserves	OFF Reserves	
0-4	14.6	9.9	0.7:1
5-9	1.4	0.9	0.6:1
10-14	0.9	0.7	0.8:1
15-19	2.5	1.6	0.6:1
20-24	4.8	3.1	0.6:1
25-29	6.3	3.2	0.5:1
30-34	6.4	4.4	0.7:1
35-39	7.1	6.7	0.9:1
40-44	8.5	7.0	0.8:1
45-49	9.6	8.4	0.9:1
50-54	12.5	7.6	0.6:1
55-59	16.5	17.4	1.0:1
60-64	21.6	23.4	1.1:1
65-69	30.3	30.4	1.0:1
70 & over	80.1	59.0	0.7:1

The causes of low health status are complex. In addition to serious financial deprivation, many Indians and Eskimos are affected adversely by cultural and educational deprivation, racial prejudice, and often, geographic isolation in undeveloped areas lacking natural resources or undeveloped for lack of capital and knowledge. The underlying condition is a deep-rooted social malaise. Its cure will require much more than adequate funds, good housing, or the best of medical care. What is needed is the restoration to the Indian of a sense of dignity, purpose and meaning, the elimination of his all too well justified suspicion of the white man, and free and full acceptance into the mainstream of Canadian society

(ii) Delivery of Services

Much of the service in treatment and health education is rendered through 30 departmental out-patient clinics and 93 health centres staffed by medical and other public health personnel. In remote areas, the key facility is frequently the departmental nursing station, a combined emergency treatment and public health unit usually having two to four beds under the direction of one or two nurses; 47 of these are operated throughout Canada. At present the Department maintains 14 hospitals at strategic points and co-operates elsewhere with community, mission, or company hospitals. Indians are included under all provincially prepaid insurance plans for hospitals care and other forms of insured medical care.

Underlying organization and delivery of services are many special problems not encountered in more settled areas. Chief among these special difficulties are:

Staff recruitment problems - including isolation and low pay scales, plus the lack of trained personnel with the necessary personal qualities required for work in isolation and without direct supervision.

Location of treatment centres - low population density makes the establishment and operation of large health centres unfeasible, while small units and transportation and communication problems present serious difficulties for more serious cases.

Separation of facilities for Indian and Eskimo patients from those provided for other citizens. Wherever specialized facilities are provided, the high cost of duplication of services, coupled with the shortage of trained personnel and the scattered native population, all serve to make it difficult to provide treatment facilities comparable to those provided for non-Indian and Eskimo patients.

(iii) New Developments

Where practicable, there has been an increasing integration of Indian provincial and municipal health services, so that the number of hospitals and other facilities provided specifically for Indians has been reduced accordingly. This is a necessary step towards a truly equitable system of health services for all citizens.

Further developments to improve delivery of health services in the North have recently been instituted as a result of the Department's negotiations with the medical faculties of a number of Canadian universities. For example, McGill University will provide the services of two doctors and two fifth-year medical students to the Baffin Zone. Assisted by a \$150,000 federal grant, these rotating health personnel will aid regular medical staff, while acquiring

valuable experience in northern health problems. In addition young Eskimos are to be trained to perform a major role in the expanded health care programs.

Other universities presently involved in similar services to outlying areas include the Universities of Toronto, Western Ontario, Manitoba, McMaster, Montreal, Queen's and Dalhousie.

An agreement has been signed by the National Indian Brotherhood and the Minister of National Health and Welfare to promote improved communications and joint participation in policy development. An Indian Health Committee of the Brotherhood will meet twice yearly with the Minister to discuss recommendations for improved policy and administration, and to direct attention to problems of poor or inadequate health services.

In order to bridge the communication gap between the native groups and medical staff, liaison officers are being appointed by the provincial Indian Brotherhoods. The Department of National Health and Welfare will pay \$10,000 to each Indian association to meet salary and other expenses.

The Community Health Worker Training Program which was instituted in 1962, will continue to train Indians and Eskimos to assist in providing health services to their own people. By 1967, the Community Health Training Program had graduated 75 Indians and Eskimos.

Additional training facilities to meet the special problems related to provision of health services in northern regions were established in 1966, when Dalhousie University offered a two-year diploma course related to the problems of outpost nursing. The second year of the course includes internship at hospitals and nursing stations in the northern regions.

Communication difficulties which complicate all problems to be coped with in isolated areas will be lessened somewhat with the announced appropriation of \$500,000 to be used to improve radio communication facilities in the North.

(b) Hospital and Institutional Care

The federal government shares approximately 50 per cent of the cost of active and chronic hospital care under the provincial hospital insurance programs through the provisions of the Hospital Insurance and Diagnostic Services Act. This legislation stimulated the development of provincial programs in all provinces and territories. About 99 per cent of the Canadian population is insured for hospital care benefits, and care is available without charge to all indigent residents. Among the major objectives of the program are: to make insured services available to all residents under uniform terms and conditions; to provide insured benefits that include basic in-patient and out-patient hospital services; to distribute the costs of insured benefits over all income earners in all areas of Canada in an equitable manner; to establish a systematic method of paying hospitals for services rendered; and to encourage the provision of high quality hospital care.

Federal contributions have also been made toward the cost of maintaining needy persons in "homes for special care" under the provisions of the Unemployment Assistance Act enacted in 1956 and under the Canada Assistance Plan since 1966. Included among these facilities are nursing homes, homes for the aged and child care institutions.

Support has also been available for the improvement of services in mental hospitals and tuberculosis sanatoria through financial assistance to projects provided by the Tuberculosis Control Grant and the Mental Health Grant as part of the National Health Grants Program.

The federal government has stimulated the construction of all types of hospital facilities through the Hospital Construction Grant initiated in 1948. Federal assistance, of \$2,000 per hospital bed and up to one-third of the cost of renovations, must at least have been matched by the provinces. The Hospital Construction Grant Program will be terminated on March 31, 1970, except for approved projects then under construction, but federal assistance will continue to be available under the Health Resources Fund Act. The sum of \$500 million will be available under this Act, during the period 1966-1980 inclusive, for sharing up to 50 per cent of the capital costs of health training and research facilities, including certain hospitals.

In summary it may be stated that large-scale financing by federal and provincial governments, together with the pre-payment feature under hospital insurance, has greatly improved hospital facilities and services and rendered them widely accessible to the low income group. With respect to long-term care, one emerging pattern has been the upgrading of levels of service in facilities approved for participation in the hospital insurance program, as well as in facilities approved as "homes for special care" under the Canada Assistance Plan. Elimination or reduction of the financial barrier to hospital or domiciliary care has facilitated better provision of care in accordance with real health and dependency needs, but has sharply increased the demand for service. Financial factors may have exerted pressure for inappropriate use of higher level facilities, for example, a chronic hospital providing free care is probably preferred to a nursing home where pension income must be used for payment. The increasing acceptance of institutional care has aroused much concern as to whether attention should be redirected back to the community and home care services that could extend the time and scope of independent living at home.

A brief description of provincial arrangements for the provision and financing of hospital and institutional care in general and allied special hospitals, mental hospitals, tuberculosis sanatoria, and "homes for special care" is contained in Appendix V.

(c) Medical Care and Related Services

Access to high quality medical and related services is a special problem for the poor. Low income is clearly a factor that affects the ability or the willingness of the individual or family to make full use of available services. It means frequently that a family lacks resources to purchase health care services directly or to purchase insurance. The alternatives are to go without needed care or to accept episodic services from practitioners on a basis of charity.

Two new programs have been developed by the federal government to remove the financial barrier to health care and render the services more accessible. These are the provision for federal sharing of the costs of health care for public assistance recipients under the Canada Assistance Plan implemented in 1966, and the Medical Care Program which came into effect in 1968.

(i) Public Assistance Recipients

Under the Canada Assistance Plan Act, enacted in June, 1966, the federal government undertook to pay half the costs incurred by provinces and municipalities, in respect of health care provided to recipients of cash assistance on a needs test basis. Other "medically indigent" persons not receiving cash assistance, may be supplied with health care on an episodic basis after having had a similar test of need. Modes of paying suppliers of services are left with the provinces. Health services are defined to include "medical, surgical, obstetrical, optical, dental and nursing services... drugs, dressings, prosthetic appliances and any other items or health services necessary to or commonly associated with the provision of any such specified services..."

All provinces now include physicians' services in their programs; in seven provinces these services are administered under their general medical care plans; five cover dental care; five include drugs; four provide optical appliances; several have additional benefits including prosthetic appliances, physiotherapy, home nursing, podiatry, chiropractic and transportation. Appendix VI shows in detail the variety of arrangements that exist to provide health care to categorical groups of public assistance recipients.

(ii) Medical Care Insurance

Proposals for a plan of comprehensive medical insurance for all Canadians, administered by the provinces and with federal fiscal contributions, found expression in the Medical Care Act, passed in December, 1966, and made effective from July 1, 1968.

Among the stated broad objectives of this federal legislation, two stand out as having special relevancy to the poor. These are first, to ensure that all Canadians have access to available medical care regardless of financial resources, and, second, to improve health by thus facilitating early diagnosis and treatment.

The federal commitment to contribute half the costs of insured services in participating provinces is contingent upon the medical care insurance plan of each province meeting certain minimum criteria related to the comprehensiveness of the insured services, the universality of coverage, portability of benefits, and public administration. Each provincial plan must:

- (a) be operated on a non-profit basis by a public authority subject to provincial audit;
- (b) make available all medically necessary services rendered by medical practitioners as insured services on uniform terms and conditions to all residents of a province;
- (c) cover not fewer than 90 per cent of the total number of insurable residents of the province during the first year of operation, with a commitment that coverage must rise to 95 per cent within three years;
- (d) provide for "portability" -- that is, full coverage of services after three months of residence in a province, and out-of-province coverage during the periods of waiting while a person establishes residence in another province.

The Medical Care Act, in addition, empowers the federal government to include additional health-care services provided by non-physician professional personnel, under terms and conditions specified by the Governor-in-Council. So far, such additional services are limited to specified procedures carried out by dental surgeons in a hospital setting.

Provinces can finance services in any manner they wish, but the Act contains a proviso the intent of which is that no insured person shall be impeded or precluded from reasonable access to insured services as a consequence of direct charges associated with the services received. A province may adopt any method it wishes of paying the providers of services, subject only to the proviso that the tariffs of authorized payments are on a basis that assures reasonable compensation for the services rendered.

The formula for calculating federal contributions to the cost of provincial plans is such that provinces with relatively low per capita costs would be assisted by something more than half their provincial costs. In general terms, the federal contribution to a participating province is an amount equal to (a) 50 per cent of the per capita cost for the year of all insured services in all participating provinces (b) multiplied by the number of insured persons in each province respectively. The federal government makes no contribution to administration costs incurred by the province.

Two provinces, British Columbia and Saskatchewan became participants in the federal plan from the date of its inception, July 1, 1968. Manitoba, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland entered on April 1, 1969, Alberta on July 1, and Ontario on October 1.* Provisions of these provincial plans are described in Appendix VII.

It should be noted that the federal government recognizes as an insured service towards the cost of which it will contribute, only that portion of the physician's charge that is actually paid by the provincial administering authority. Thus, co-charges and extra-billing which are direct patient responsibilities may continue as constraints, and could have important adverse implications for families on the margin of poverty. For families so poor that they are eligible for welfare assistance -- the constraints may not apply since they are typically relieved of any responsibility for payment of premiums or co-charges; and in most provinces the attending doctors do not extra bill, and accept the percentage of the authorized charge paid by the public programs as payment in full. For families on the margin of poverty, however, certain emerging developments may present possible hindrances to the early achievement of the two broad objectives of the federal legislation:

(1) High premiums -- Levies in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia are high enough to constitute a significant percentage of disposable income for families just above the cut-off lines entitling them to premium subsidies. Voluntary enrolment, as in British Columbia and for individuals not in employee groups in Ontario, can result in failure of some families to enrol because the demands upon them for food, shelter, transportation, and clothing may be even more

* It is hoped that the remaining jurisdictions will begin participation in 1970.

immediate. Compulsory enrolment in Alberta can result in a diversion of available funds from spending requirements that marginal-income families may believe to be even more pressing, such as food.

(2) Co-charges -- These are levied in Saskatchewan with a two-fold intent: first, to transfer some of the cost of service (from as low as 5 to 10 per cent up to 50 per cent) -- from the administering authority to the family obtaining service; second, to deter undue demands for medical care. The deterrent payment is mainly nominal for families of moderate to affluent means, but may represent a significant burden for low-income families just above the margin of poverty. Such charges could tend, then, to reduce accessibility to service among those who are poor.

(3) Modes of paying doctors -- The right of doctors to deal directly with patients as regards their accounts, could work a financial hardship on those marginal-income families who are not in the habit of keeping cash reserves on hand.

(4) Extra-billing -- A limited amount of extra-billing was anticipated when medicare plans got underway in 1968, but the Medical Care Act conveyed the thought that these additional charges upon the patient should not be so high or so extensive as seriously to hinder access to services. Notwithstanding, potentials exist in some provinces such as to suggest that extra-billing, beyond what the public authority is prepared to pay, could become a practice of significant dimensions. Two problems at least would be posed. Doctors would be in the position again of income-testing their marginally-low-income patients to decide if the charges should be imposed. And such patients could find that the charges, where imposed, would constitute a financial hardship.

(d) Rehabilitation Services

Physical and mental impairments that diminish earning power are major causes of dependency and poverty in Canada. These comprise congenital anomalies, conditions resulting from chronic physical disease or accident, and mental disorders. Recent analysis of the National Health Survey (United States) statistics has indicated that the proportion of the civilian, non-institutional population not employed or seeking work because of chronic conditions during the fiscal year, 1962, equalled seven per cent of the labour force.⁽¹⁾ Disabilities tend to be more prevalent among the lower income groups who ordinarily do not have protection against income loss, except for work-connected disability.

(i) Physical Rehabilitation

The goal of rehabilitation services is to enable the individual to develop his existing capabilities to the highest possible level. There is great variation in individual potential due not only to the severity and nature of the disability but also because of other personal factors and the social circumstances. Because of the progressive nature of many conditions, early detection and remedial treatment to prevent or limit disability and any resulting handicap is the most significant phase of rehabilitation. Consequently, all the health agencies, starting with the family doctor or medical officer of health, are concerned with casefinding, diagnosis and restorative treatment. Registries of the handicapped, which have been established by a number of provincial

(1) Public Health Reports, 84.4 (April, 1969), 291-298. The survey probably underestimates mental retardation, mental illness and alcoholism.

and local health services, afford a systematic method of casefinding, co-ordination of restorative, education and vocational services and follow-up of registrants. Research workers who study the distribution of impairments and diseases identify causes and develop preventive and ameliorative techniques in both the medical and social sciences, also contribute to improvements in services, prostheses and personal aids.

Full rehabilitation potential, however, can be achieved only through a continuous flow of counselling, treatment, training and social adjustment services, each carefully selected and timed for maximum effectiveness to the individual. Lengthy delays or interruptions can precipitate recurrent breakdowns and lead to chronic dependency. As has been often noted, the proper distribution and utilization of the numerous types of rehabilitation services in the community depends upon a high degree of administrative co-ordination, always difficult when services are fragmented among numerous agencies. The most effective programs, such as those for disabled workmen, integrate all needed services in the one system.

Among the problems that hinder effective results are shortages of qualified personnel. Also, the special clinics and rehabilitation centres in the larger cities are not easily accessible to persons living in outlying towns and rural areas. Beyond this there is a lack of awareness or unwillingness on the part of some physicians to make full use of available services on behalf of their patients. And finally there are factors of motivation and expectation which block some patients from obtaining maximum benefit from these services. It has been found that physical disability is accompanied frequently by mental disturbances.

The main objective of the Department's Rehabilitation Services, together with the General Health Grants designated for Rehabilitation, has been to assist provincial health departments and hospital services in planning and developing comprehensive rehabilitation services on behalf of the disabled and chronic sick. The activities of the Rehabilitation Services, which are medically oriented, are directed to four specific areas: consultant and advisory services in medical rehabilitation, blindness prevention activities, development and organization of disability assessment for blindness allowances, disabled persons' allowances and the Canada Pension Plan, and operation of a national prosthetic service.

Prosthetic services consist of 12 prosthetic centres across Canada and a national Prosthetic Centre at Sunnybrook Hospital in Toronto, which procures and manufactures prosthetic appliances for distribution to the local centres that carry out the fitting operations. Services are available to both veterans and non-veterans. The Prosthetic Services activity has been also concerned in the establishment and operation of four regional prosthetic and orthotic research centres in Fredericton, Montreal, Toronto and Winnipeg that are supported by health grants.

The Department assists the provinces financially through the Medical Rehabilitation and Crippled Children Grant. In 1968-69, about one million dollars were spent to assist out-patient rehabilitation centres and therapy departments, speech and hearing clinics, mobile diagnostic and treatment clinics, thalidomide patient programs and research studies. In addition, home care programs in the majority of provinces have been extended with Health Grant support. Additional financial aid to rehabilitation programs is provided through the federal share of the costs of hospital insurance plans in the provinces, which cover in-patient rehabilitation hospital units and separate centres, and in some cases out-patient care. Encouragement and advice have been given to university teaching programs in physical medicine and allied therapies and in community health and chronic diseases.

(ii) Mental Health

Because mental disorders tend to be widespread, chronic and incapacitating, they may serve as contributory factors in precipitating a condition of poverty for a patient and his family. For this reason, prevention, early detection and expansion of existing treatment and aftercare services are essential components of a successful war on poverty.

There can be little doubt that better understanding of the environmental and psychological stresses that affect behaviour has improved the therapeutic outlook. It is now believed that, if recognized and treated early enough, the majority of persons affected by mental disorders can recover to lead useful and satisfactory lives. With respect to chronic impairments such as mental retardation, much can be done to promote an improved level of self-care and independent living.

However, major barriers to the delivery of mental health services to the poor prevent successful implementation of many programs. The high cost of treatment and aftercare is somewhat less of a problem with the development of comprehensive hospitalization and medical care programs and improvements in the public mental health services. However, shortages of trained personnel are severe. The ability to work effectively with persons affected by mental disorders requires long and expensive training; this type of personal service is not always pleasant and is often unrewarding, particularly in relation to low-income groups. Personnel shortages may be expected to continue until higher financial rewards in this area are offered to general practitioners, psychiatrists, clinical psychologists, psychiatric nurses, social workers and others for this type of work.

The social distance which exists between many professionals and the poor also creates real difficulties in comprehension. For example, treatment is defined by the poor in relation to medical and surgical procedures with which they are familiar. A psychiatric patient who receives psychotherapy will not necessarily understand that this is a particular type of treatment. The placebo and real effects of medical care may be lost to him. In addition, the psychiatrist may feel that lack of response to treatment indicates the severity of his patient's disability. Differentials in treatment are then not always a product of the patient's inability to pay for services, but arise out of this social distance which limits the effectiveness of many services available.

The function of the Department's Mental Health Division is to provide consultation and assistance to the various local and provincial agencies in order to improve and extend services in the field of mental health. Included

in the duties of the Division are the development and maintenance of standards of care and treatment, the stimulation and support of mental health research, the provision of consultant services, the publication of survey and technical reports, and the operation of a public information service which includes the publication of a bimonthly journal, "Canada's Mental Health."

Expenditures under the Mental Health Grant in the fiscal year ending March 31, 1968, reached \$8.4 million. An additional sum allocated under the General Health Grants, amounting to \$200,000 per year for five years, starting in 1967-68, has been designated for special health studies in the field of mental retardation. Funds allocated for mental health research under the Public Health Research Grant in 1968-69 amounted to \$783,100.

Under federal-provincial cost sharing agreements, patients receiving treatment in general hospitals are covered by hospitalization insurance plans. Also, through federal-provincial agreements under the Medical Care Act, there is coverage of psychiatrists' services.

In response to the mounting evidence of drug abuse, especially among the young, the Minister has formed a Drug Abuse Secretariat and an Interdepartmental Committee on Drug Abuse, under the Mental Health Division. In addition, in May, 1969, a Commission of Enquiry into the Non-Medical Use of Drugs was established by Order-in-Council. Its hearings are now being held in various centres across the country to receive briefs from concerned citizens as well as professionals.

(e) Preventive Health Services

Public health measures are designed to protect the health of the community and to prevent disease. Demographic and social changes as well as varying disease patterns and scientific advances have greatly influenced the range and complexity of public health activities. Local health departments have traditionally carried out the basic preventive health services, but increasingly, the joint action of provincial health departments, the hospitals and voluntary agencies is required to cover the whole field.

The main thrust of community health services continues to be maintenance of a sanitary environment including supervision of water, food and milk supplies, control of communicable diseases and other preventable illnesses, disabilities and premature deaths, and promotion of maternal and child health. This last activity extends to health counselling and services in family planning, nutrition, mental health, dental health, accident prevention and other aspects, for example, the prevention of crippling conditions in children. Early detection and treatment of children with hearing and vision defects and other congenital abnormalities is an important objective. Genetic counselling services, although not widely available, can contribute significantly to prevention of many disabilities.

The health problems of adults have also demanded more attention, especially to treatment of mental health, alcoholism and other drug addictions, dietary deficiencies, and to community and institutional care and rehabilitation of the handicapped and chronically ill. The use of preventive measures is limited but mass screening programs, with medical follow-up to detect tuberculosis, syphilis, diabetes, glaucoma, cervical cancer and other chronic conditions is becoming more widespread. Altogether, many pressures, besides population increases and shifts, are placing unprecedented demands on the community health agencies for more and better service.

Much more symptomatic pathology is being diagnosed - for example, battered children, suicide attempts and drug dependency. Also better recognized are the health needs of working mothers and their children, youth, the aged and homebound who require appropriate delivery of services in order to prevent health breakdown.

The majority of preventive health services in Canada are administered by city health departments and regional or county health offices accountable to the provincial health departments or district health boards. In most urban areas and large health regions, many direct service and control functions are delegated to subsidiary local or district health units. Responsibility for comprehensive treatment programs for mental illness, mental retardation, alcoholism, venereal disease and tuberculosis has been mainly provincial, with services decentralized to local offices or facilities where population density warrants. Other provincial operations, the public health laboratories, vital statistics, evaluation, research and personnel training functions are usually centralized.

The imminent threat of environmental health problems to human and other forms of life has led to joint federal-provincial as well as provincial action in an enlarging sphere of preventive activities that depend upon the co-operation of local health authorities. Examples of these are measures to reduce water pollution such as proper sewage disposal, to prevent air pollution, to control pesticide use, to regulate waste disposal, and to develop accident safety programs of various types.

The scope of the consultant divisions of the Department's Health Services Branch parallels the fields of interest of the provincial and local health services. The federal role, vis-à-vis the provinces, has been to provide grants-in-aid to the provinces in support of public health programs, the training of health and hospital personnel and research in public health, and to extend consultant and advisory services for health planning. One of the advisory functions has been to assist in the review of projects submitted by the provinces under the National Health Grants Program.

(i) Environmental Health

A total approach to a satisfactory living environment, encompasses numerous aspects: firstly, the broad fields of water supply, sewage and waste disposal, pollution and noise control; secondly, housing that will satisfy the physiological and psychological needs of men, women, and children, including provision for specialized groups such as the handicapped, the aged and the young family; thirdly, public transportation to enable ready access to places of work, institutions and services; and lastly, the provision of schools, day care centres, hospitals, clinics and care facilities, recreational centres, libraries, etc., nearby so as to best serve the residents. Since human health requirements enter into all these aspects, public health has a specific part to play in community planning in developing standards for housing and environmental health generally, together with the architects, engineers, sociologists, and others.

A number of Departmental divisions grouped under environmental health engage in programs to improve the environment as it affects the health of Canadians. The Department's activities are centralized at the Environmental Health Centre in Ottawa.

The Public Health Engineering Division carries out four broad programs, one of which is to provide consultant services on water supply, sanitation problems and industrial waste abatement to federal and provincial agencies and departments. It also carries out water pollution investigations and other research as well as responsibilities to the International Joint Commission on water problems.

The Occupational Health Division is interested in all aspects of the health of workers and air travellers, and the effects of air pollution, and pesticides on the health of all Canadians. Its extensive advisory, research and teaching services, which are made available to health agencies and universities, cover environmental and clinical surveys; physical, chemical, and biological laboratory services; consultative services on medical, nursing, engineering and other aspects; and publication of educational materials. Its responsibilities in air pollution involve special studies conducted for the International Joint Commission and others related to developing standards of air sampling and air quality criteria and improving methods for air pollution control.

The Radiation Protection Division protects the health of radiation workers in industrial, medical and research facilities and monitors the exposure of the general population from all sources of ionizing radiation including fallout from nuclear tests. As principal health advisor to the Atomic Energy Control Board, the Division assesses all radioisotope licence applications and carries out a personnel monitoring service and field inspections to ensure their safe use; it has also established standards for commercial x-ray machines and other devices and safety guides for their operation.

The Laboratory of Hygiene which has operated as the national reference and typing laboratory for public health and research since 1919, provides diagnostic and technical advisory services to the provincial laboratories and health departments and other agencies. Under the authority of the Food and Drugs Act, it also establishes standards for biological products such as sera, vaccines, toxoids, and antibiotics, and inspects and controls their manufacture. The Laboratory's research activities are directed to improving vaccines for protection against infectious diseases, new diagnostic and control methodology in bacteriology, surveys of the incidence and importance of zoonoses and other areas.

(ii) Nutrition

There is universal recognition that nutrition is a critical factor in poverty. Dietary inadequacies and under-nutrition combined with the other deprivations, attendant on poverty, cause health deterioration. This sets up the cycle of decreased performance of all activities, mental apathy, and incapacity for initiative or self-help. Medical research has linked malnutrition to anemia, low resistance to infectious diseases, mental retardation and mental illness. The risk of malnutrition is greater for specific population groups, regardless of income, due to certain life styles, such as itinerant workers, and also to increased needs at certain stages of the life cycle. Particularly vulnerable are pregnant and nursing women, infants, adolescents, the aged and the disabled.

Undernourishment may reduce the ability to acquire the education necessary for escape from the poverty cycle. Quite apart from impairment of mental development arising from deficiencies of nutrition during foetal life and early infancy, the complex of mental and physical lassitude

attendant on undernourishment, the distraction of attention caused by the distress of nagging hunger, and unfitness because of recurring illness all can stultify the education of a child of even normal mental endowment(1) (2) (3).

A broad ranging investigation in the United States, as reported to the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, suggests that malnutrition occurs to an unexpectedly high degree in the sample population under study. Estimates from that country are that about two-thirds of the poor are malnourished, especially older persons over 60 years and children under 16. Several Canadian studies suggest that a comparable situation may exist among the Canadian population. A survey of the diet of members of a Nova Scotia fishing community lists 37 per cent of the population with only fair diets, and 39 per cent with either poor or very poor diets(4). Barsky reports an increase in the incidence of rickets in children's Hospital of Winnipeg from 1962-67(5). The situation is considered serious in Quebec where fluid milk is used in feeding; a yearly average of 50 cases have been admitted for treatment in Montreal Children's Hospital over the past five years with estimated annual bed care expenditures for rickets by the province reaching \$350,000(6).

These reports emphasize the need for definitive data on the nutritional Status of Canadians. A proposal for a National Nutrition Survey(7) has been considered as the best means of providing basic information on the incidence of nutritional diseases and disorders and dietary intake among groups of the Canadian population, characterized by income, age and sex groups. The proposed sampling of a total population of 21,000 persons (1 per 1,000), would be distributed proportionately among the provinces. Studies of communities considered to have nutritional problems have also been suggested. Preliminary cost estimates are \$90 per person sampled or roughly \$1.9 million.

The Nutrition Division of the Department recommends food consumption practices among Canadians that will promote health, fitness and well-being. To achieve these objectives, the Division has developed recommended levels of nutritional intake as guidelines for studies of food consumption and the nutritional status of Canadians. In furthering its concern about the ability of Canadians to obtain nutritious foods, the Nutrition Division's program, which is effected primarily through its consultant function, includes activities in the areas of nutrition research and education, which stress the practical application of scientific knowledge. It works closely with the Canadian Council on Nutrition, a co-ordinating body representative of the health professions most concerned with nutrition, that advises the Minister of National Health and Welfare.

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- (1) Nevin S. Scrimshaw & J.E. Gordon. "Malnutrition, Learning and Behaviour", 1968.
 - (2) Report on International Conference, National Academy of Sciences, Washington, D.C., 1966, Pre-school Child Nutrition.
 - (3) D.B. Jolliffe, in Proceedings of Western Hemisphere Nutrition Congress, 1965, "Effect of Malnutrition on Behavioural and Social Development".
 - (4) D.E. Waddell. "A Nutritional Survey of a Small Fishing Village in Nova Scotia". Can. J. Pub. Health, Vol. 59:425 (Dec. 1968)
 - (5) Percy Barsky, "Rickets: Canada: 1968" Can. J. Pub. Health, Vol. 60:29:31 (January 1969).
 - (6) Reported to the Dominion Council of Health, April, 1969.
 - (7) See Appendix VIII, National Nutrition Survey Feasibility Study Report to Dominion Council of Health, April 10, 11, 1969.

(iii) Communicable Disease Control

The most prevalent communicable diseases, tuberculosis and the venereal diseases, persist as threats to the public health. In addition, scarlet fever, streptococcal sore throat, infectious hepatitis, dysentery, whooping cough, influenza, and food poisoning are the other chief infections. Several preventable diseases believed to have been eradicated, such as diphtheria, have recently occurred in several provinces. Because the communicable diseases are more prevalent where there is substandard housing and sanitation and poor nutrition and personal hygiene, concerted approaches to eliminate these conditions are needed as well as specific measures.

The Epidemiology Division in the Department has a special co-ordinating role to help develop programs that prevent or lessen the burden of diseases. Its activities include disease surveillance, the study of causal factors of genetic, social or environmental origin, and the analysis of such data in relation to community programs for the prevention and control of disease. The Division provides advice on disease control programs and epidemiological studies to federal and provincial health agencies, and through its field unit, directly assists provincial health departments in dealing with epidemics.

(iv) Child and Maternal Health

The Child and Maternal Health Division promotes the optimum health of mothers and children in Canada in co-operation with provincial health departments, other health agencies and professional groups. It has developed criteria for assessing the health status of mothers and children and standards of services, and provides a national consultant service and educational materials to all interested health agencies, the universities and voluntary agencies. Generally, the Division supports the study and evaluation of problems in maternal health and child development through the Maternal and Child Health Advisory Committee, which is representative of provincial and professional interests. By means of technical advice regarding administration and utilization of federal health grants, the Division stimulates and supports service, demonstration and research programs of benefit to mothers and children, and the training of needed personnel.

(v) Dental Health⁽¹⁾

Dental public health specialists testify to the extremely high prevalence rate of dental diseases among all age groups of Canadians. Although almost all the population is affected, the available data suggest that a majority of the population do not seek dental care except for the relief of pain. There is also evidence that persons having the least income and education are least likely to seek a dentist and have the poorest teeth. There is no doubt that poor dental health decreases employability, especially when personal appearance is affected.

All provinces are co-operating with the Department in a nationwide dental health survey of a representative sample of 30,000 children, started in 1966. Using the data received for each province, it is planned to develop a

(1) For a more detailed report, see Appendix IX, "Poverty and Dental Health: General Observations", prepared by the Dental Health Division.

National Dental Health Index on a continuing basis, while each province can use the data to establish its own provincial dental health index; they will provide the first reliable tool for evaluating the various dental programs in operation.

The objective of the Dental Health Division is to improve the dental and oral health of Canadians by supporting programs for the prevention and reduction of dental problems. It provides consultative services on dental health programs and research studies, prepares and distributes dental health information and educational materials, conducts an active intramural research program and carries out certain functions relating to dental manpower, research studies, etc. With respect to research supported by the General Health Grants, the Division appraises service and research projects of dental pertinence. It also advises on applications to the Health Resources Fund relating to the building of dental facilities for training and research, and is concerned with the education, supply and distribution of dental health personnel, especially dental hygienists and other auxiliaries.

V. RESEARCH, TRAINING AND CONSULTATION

The Department from its beginning, has recognized the great importance of a vigorous program of research, of making available resources for the training of manpower, of demonstrating the value of particular innovations and of consultation.

In general the health of the Canadian population--and this includes Canadians with low incomes-- has continually improved. One must keep in mind, however that such improvement as has taken place has not been equally distributed--just as there are differences in general health between the poorer and the richer provinces (note for example, differences in infant mortality rates) so there are differences in the improvement in general health between the poorer Canadians and the more affluent Canadians. Further, as certain illnesses (for example, smallpox and tuberculosis) are virtually eliminated through vigorous public health programs, other illnesses take their place. That is to say the quest for the improvement of the health of all Canadians is a never-ending one.

While it has been established that the health of poor people is not as good as that of the rest of the population, there is at the same time irrefutable evidence that it has greatly improved. A combination of factors has led to this encouraging result which, of course, cannot simply be attributed to Health Services; they include a general rise in the standard of living, including that of the poor, as a result of general economic growth and the income redistribution as a result of income security measures discussed earlier. Poverty, however, has not been eliminated, because the causes of poverty are many and not as well-known as is often believed. While we have a fairly good idea about the characteristics of people who live in poverty, we know very little--except in terms of broad generalizations--when it comes to the dynamics of poverty. The complexity of a modern industrial society makes the isolation of the ultimate causes of poverty an extremely difficult task.

The Department has, however, some research capability in the area through the Research and Statistics Directorate. Extramural research is encouraged and financed under the National Welfare Grants Program established in 1962. Under this same program training grants and fellowships are provided to encourage and support the development of professional skills in the field. Compared to ongoing social science research, particularly that of an applied nature, the amounts made available for research under this program are considerable. In view of the needs for high quality research into the dynamics of poverty the program is, however, still a modest one.

Since programs such as Welfare Grants develop in response to expressed needs, it may be inferred that there has not existed a great interest in research on poverty on the part of social scientists. While it would be impossible to provide a comprehensive picture of the reasons for this lack of interest, one may isolate an important one, namely, the mistrust which has existed and still exists on the part of social scientists when it comes to research which is aimed at providing quick answers to disturbing questions. Another reason which may be singled out is the fact that much applied social research has been done by those who are immersed in social welfare. Keen observers have noted for some time that this leads to research which tends to confirm that what these practitioners have been doing all along is adequate and that required changes are not of a qualitative nature but rather of a quantitative one.

It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that research in the area of poverty be conducted by those who are not committed to a particular solution of the problem. Such research should be of two different kinds: (a) longitudinal studies which isolate those factors which contribute to people getting into poverty, those which keep them in poverty and those which get them out of poverty; (b) studies based on comprehensive conceptualizations of the problem which can be translated into testable propositions. The first kind of study is imperative in order to come to grips with the actual facts that determine the life of people in poverty, the second type in order to develop, not just means of ameliorating the problem nor yet of rehabilitating the poor, but rather to develop models which would make the prevention of poverty possible.

The Department also provides consultative services to the provinces in health and welfare matters of common concern or shared responsibility. For example, consultants in family and child welfare, welfare institutions, community development, welfare services and work activity and public assistance standards are attached to the Canada Assistance Plan administration and a consultant on aging is attached to the Research and Statistics Directorate; they are available for consultation to the provinces and for participation in conferences, seminars and training programs.

Two recent developments which are most interesting from a research point of view are the establishment of the National Council of Welfare which advises the Minister on matters related to welfare and the agreement reached with the National Indian Brotherhood which will establish an Indian Health Committee which is to make recommendations for the improvement of health services for Indians. In both cases channels of communication have been established which will permit a continuous flow of relevant data to the decision-making centres. The National Council of Welfare is a practical application of the findings of small groups and education research. These findings have demonstrated the importance of participation in group activity for the development of several important skills, skills which are greatly needed in the attack on certain problems of the poor by the poor themselves.

In the following sections this program and programs of research supported under health and welfare grants are outlined and a brief description of the activities of the Research and Statistics Directorate is provided. Additional information on these topics is contained in Appendices III, X and XI.

(a) NATIONAL COUNCIL OF WELFARE

As part of the Government Organization Act, 1969, the National Council of Welfare, which had previously been a largely governmental body patterned after the Dominion Council of Health and including in its membership the deputy ministers of welfare of each of the provinces, presided over by the federal deputy minister, was reconstituted as a citizens advisory council and its terms of reference broadened. The role of the Council is to advise the Minister of National Health and Welfare on such matters related to welfare as it deems appropriate.

The new National Council of Welfare consists of 21 private citizens, roughly half of whom are drawn from organizations of consumers of welfare services and half from institutions involved, directly or indirectly, in the provision of welfare services. In the former category are representatives of low income and welfare rights groups (four of whom are presently recipients of social assistance) and spokesmen for organizations of economically disadvantaged minority groups such as Indians, Métis and Black people. In the latter category are persons involved in the social service delivery system, at both the staff and volunteer levels, and representatives of institutions of social work education.

The new Council was constituted in January of this year and held its first meeting earlier this month. The particular constituency which it will seek to represent is that of the consumers of welfare services. To this end it will invite submissions from organizations of low income citizens and disadvantaged minority groups and consider and report on the views advanced by these groups.

The creation of this Council with its special mandate to seek out the views of the poor reflects an awareness that the social service system, while designed to service those in need, has historically failed to involve the people it sought to serve in the definition of their needs and the development of programs to meet these needs. It is intended that this Council will provide a vehicle through which the poor can make their views known to government and a forum in which these views can be considered by a body which encompasses all elements in the social service spectrum and on which the poor will have substantial representation.

The program of the Council is expected to involve additional representatives of low income and disadvantaged minority groups, through their participation in Council committees. A division has been established in the Department of National Health and Welfare to act as a secretariat for the Council and to provide a continuing link between the views expressed to the Council by consumers of welfare services and the program activities of the Department.

(b) NATIONAL HEALTH GRANTS

General Health Grants. - The General Health Grants program of federal grants-in-aid to the provinces was started in 1948 and had the objective of strengthening public health services and hospital services in those areas where provincial authorities recognized the need. Prior to fiscal year 1961-62, the health grants program included Hospital Construction Grants, but since then it has been separated under two Parliamentary votes, General Health Grants and Hospital Construction Grants (see below).

Since January 1, 1965, with the exception of the Public Health Research grant and demonstration projects, federal contributions to Quebec under the health grants program have been made by the Department of Finance under the terms of the Established Programs (Interim Arrangements) Act.

The grant structure has been modified several times but the basic objectives have remained unchanged. The individual health grants now in effect assist the provinces in the principal fields of public health as follows:

Professional Training Grant - to train additional health and hospital workers;

Mental Health Grant - to aid in prevention of mental illness by improving and extending facilities for treatment and rehabilitation, the training of mental health personnel, and the progressive extension of free treatment;

Tuberculosis Control Grant - to extend programs of prevention and case finding, rehabilitation and free treatment, aimed at eradication of the disease;

Public Health Research Grant - to encourage and assist public health research including the conduct of surveys and studies;

General Public Health Grant - to develop new and extended public health organization facilities and services in both rural and urban areas;

Cancer Control Grant - to assist programs for the detection and treatment of cancer and the maintenance of specialized treatment and research centres;

Medical Rehabilitation and Crippled Children Grant - to assist in the provision of medical and ancillary rehabilitation facilities and services and programs for the prevention and correction of crippling conditions in children and adults, including the training of personnel;

Child and Maternal Health Grant - to assist in reducing infant mortality and to improve maternal, infant and child health services and facilities.

Hospital Construction Grants. - Formerly included in the general Health Grants program (see above), these grants have been administered since 1961-62 under a separate Parliamentary vote. Their purpose is to aid in new hospital construction and renovation for general treatment and allied classes of care and for mental and tuberculosis treatment beds. These grants may also be used for the construction of other health facilities, such as community health centres and residences for nurses and interns.

Health Resources Fund. - This forms one of three closely-related parts of the Health Resources Program, the main purpose of which is to help meet the increasing need for trained people to provide more and better comprehensive health services. The other two parts of the program are (a) health resources studies and (b) the provision of a consultative service in the fields of health, manpower and education.

The Health Resources Fund Act was enacted in July 1966 and supporting regulations were passed in February 1967. A sum of \$500 million has been appropriated for the Fund, the purpose of which is to provide assistance to the provinces of up to 50% of the capital costs of constructing, renovating, acquiring and equipping health training and research facilities, which include schools, hospitals or the institutions or any portion thereof. Although planning and

designing costs are eligible for support, the costs of land, interest charges and residential accommodation are excluded. The \$500 million is to be expended over a 15-year period ending in 1980.

The Fund is divided into three parts: \$300 million to be distributed among the provinces in proportion to their populations, \$25 million as a special additional allocation to the four Atlantic provinces for joint projects and the remaining \$175 million to be allocated by the Governor-in-Council.

(c) NATIONAL WELFARE GRANTS

The National Welfare Grants program was established in 1962 to help develop and strengthen welfare services in Canada through a general welfare and professional training grant and a welfare research grant. For the year ending March 31, 1970 \$2,500,000. has been allocated to the program. The variety of provisions within the program, along with associated consultative and technical services, allow it to operate as a flexible instrument in the development of welfare services and to give a major emphasis to experimental activities in the welfare field. By assisting with the strengthening of welfare and related services, by stimulating self help approaches by citizen groups, by helping to increase the supply of social welfare manpower, and by supporting research designed to develop greater understanding of social problems and the effectiveness of services, the program relates directly or indirectly to various aspects of social or economic deprivation.

Under the program matching and non-matching grants are made available to provincial and municipal departments, national provincial and local voluntary welfare agencies and organizations, schools of social work and research institutions for projects submitted and approved in accordance with the terms of the annual Welfare Grants Rules, and to individuals for scholarships and fellowships provided for in the Rules. Consultative services are made available to assist with the initiation, implementation and evaluation of projects.

The National Welfare Grants program complements other federal and provincial programs restricted in their financial support to services directed to specific categories of people. In its experimental role assistance is given to research and demonstration projects that contribute to the growth of knowledge in the welfare field, that make possible the collection of comprehensive and reliable data essential to program development, or that lead to the practical application of knowledge and experience to welfare services for the purpose of improving those services, encouraging their wider use and by building new qualities or innovations into them.

The basic purpose of the demonstration project component is to assist and strengthen the welfare field through the funding of experimental activities that are new or innovative in nature. Despite the limited resources available the program has been able to assist with a wide range of projects in the established social services field and in areas where new problems are emerging. In the past year an increasing priority has been placed on social development activities concerned with an involving citizens groups living in underprivileged socio-economic circumstances. The project activities are aimed at developing the capacities and skills of such citizen groups through their involvement in the identification of these problems and in the implementation of such programs and activities. Demonstration projects currently being supported are listed in Appendix III.

Grants on a matching basis are made available to provincial departments of public welfare to assist those departments in undertaking a number of staff development and training activities, and to assist them in strengthening or extending certain services or programs not eligible for federal sharing under the Canada Assistance Plan. Bursaries are provided for full-time graduate training in Canadian schools of social work. Training and staff development grants are available for personnel employed, or to be employed in public and non-governmental welfare agencies where such costs are not shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Welfare scholarships are awarded for graduate study in Canadian schools of social work and fellowships for advance study in Canadian and foreign universities. Planning and organization grants exist to stimulate the development of new departments or schools of social work in Canada, and teaching and field instruction grants support certain program activities of existing schools.

Grants are made to national voluntary welfare agencies for a wide range of projects. While particular attention has been given in the past to staff development and training programs sponsored by those agencies, increasing emphasis is being given to projects designed to assist national agencies in carrying out planning and coordinating functions.

The welfare research component of the National Welfare Grants program has been developed with three objectives in mind - to encourage the greater use of research in program planning and development - to support research projects of potential national significance - (and by so doing) to increase the supply and capability of research personnel working in the social welfare field. A wide variety of projects have been assisted including research design, survey and experimental projects whether undertaken by public or voluntary welfare agencies, universities and schools of social work or research institutions. Particular attention has been given to projects designed to produce new knowledge of general interest to the welfare constituency and wide application to welfare services, and to projects which advance the methodology of social research applied to welfare problems or services. The 86 projects supported since the program was inaugurated in 1962 are listed in Appendix X.

Expenditures under the National Welfare Grants program for the year ended March 31, 1969 totalled \$1,999,014. Details appear in Appendix X.

Effective April 1, 1967, a special Mental Retardation Grant was established for a five year period. A portion of this grant is being administered in conjunction with the National Welfare Grants program. With the need to emphasize prevention in this field support is being given to research and demonstration projects designed to expand knowledge and to demonstrate new ways in which knowledge can be applied to the provision of services for the mentally retarded. In the year ending March 31, 1969, \$272,483. was expended for projects in this field.

(d) RESEARCH PROGRAM OF THE RESEARCH AND STATISTICS DIRECTORATE

Statutory Basis for Departmental Research
and Statistical Services

Authority for the departmental research and statistical service was specifically provided in the Department of National Health and Welfare Act which assigns to the Department responsibility for:

5. (b) investigation and research into public health and welfare; and
- (h) subject to the provisions of the Statistics Act, the collection, publication and distribution of information relating to the public health, improved sanitation and social and industrial conditions affecting the health and lives of the people.

In exercising these responsibilities, the Department established its Research and Statistics Division in 1945, which for the last 23 years has acted as the principal federal agency for socio-economic research in the fields of health, welfare and social security, and has provided a statistical service for the Department.

Other acts administered by the Department make specific reference to the statistical data required by the Minister for the proper administration of the statutory programs. The Department requires detailed statistical information in order to evaluate and report on these departmental programs.

The departmental authority is of course circumscribed by the provisions of the Statistics Act, which allocates the major responsibility for routine data collection to the Bureau of Statistics. The Department therefore makes a distinction between the specialized information it needs to fulfil its responsibilities, and the comprehensive statistics on the health and welfare of the people that can be more effectively gathered through the Dominion Bureau of Statistics facilities. The statistical research of the Department is problem-oriented or program-oriented. The Department conducts research to find answers to problems in the fields of health, welfare and social security. It conducts research to evaluate the effectiveness of its programs in these fields, and to enable it to plan new programs. Naturally, in the conduct of research in sociological, economic, epidemiological, and administrative questions, the tools used are frequently statistical tools, and the observations made are statistical observations. In exercising its statutory responsibility, therefore, the Department is careful to distinguish between the application of statistical methods to diverse problems on the one hand and the routine collection and analysis of data for the publication of annual statistical series, where the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has a primary role to play.

A portion of the general authority given the Department to carry out investigations and research into public health and welfare by Section 5 of the Department of National Health and Welfare Act was specifically delegated to the Research and Statistics Directorate most recently in a memorandum from the Deputy Ministers dated February 9, 1968,

which set forth general guidelines on the allocation of responsibilities for the collection of health and welfare statistics and for the planning and conduct of research on the economic and sociological implications or facets of health and welfare problems and developments. Included were the following specific guidelines:

a) All branches are encouraged to seek the advice and, if required, the services of the Research and Statistics Directorate, with respect to any needs that are identified for the collection and analysis of statistics needed to evaluate or monitor the consequences of current policies and programs.

b) All economic, statistical, and sociological studies and surveys involving the analysis of statistics required by more than one program branch and all innovative studies to be undertaken in these fields are to be assigned solely to the Research and Statistics Directorate.

c) The Research and Statistics Directorate is responsible for the Department's official liaison with the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Within these guidelines, officers of the Directorate provide advice and help in problem-solving, in new program planning, and in evaluation of existing programs, to the directors of the various programs operated by the Department. On request, they initiate, plan, and execute research studies and surveys of an economic, sociological, or statistical nature.

Role of the Directorate

The Research and Statistics Directorate is primarily a service-oriented organization established to assist the Department in meeting its responsibility for "investigation and research into public health and welfare". Its functions include the collection, analysis and evaluation of basic information on the socio-economic aspects of health, welfare, and social security.

In carrying out these functions, research is conducted on three levels. A number of senior research officers serve as consultants to the health and welfare management of the Department, in the planning and development of new programs, and in the evaluation of existing programs. To this end, research is conducted which entails testing various assumptions regarding development of future programs or modification in existing programs. A second level of research deals with the collection, preparation, and dissemination of scientific information relating to health and welfare. A third level is concerned with the conduct of applied research in the health and welfare fields. This involves testing specific hypotheses, analyzing and evaluating data collected, and reporting on findings or conclusions to be drawn from the study.

Organization of the Directorate

Headed by a Director, who is directly responsible to both the Deputy Ministers, the Deputy Minister of National Health and the Deputy Minister of National Welfare, the Directorate is organized into four divisions and a unit on International Welfare and Special Projects. Each division is composed of several sections as listed below.

- (1) Health Research Division
 - i) Medical Care Section
 - ii) Hospital Care Section
 - iii) Public Health Section
 - iv) Health Expenditure and Resources Section
- (2) Welfare Research Division
 - i) Social Assistance and Family Welfare Section
 - ii) Community Studies Section
 - iii) Welfare Economics Section
- (3) Social Security Research Division
 - i) Income Maintenance Section
 - ii) Canada Pension Plan Section
 - iii) Financial Analysis Section
- (4) Biostatistics Division
 - i) Medical Statistics Section
 - ii) Hospital Statistics Section
 - iii) Program Statistics Section
- (5) International Welfare and Special Projects
 - i) Special Projects
 - ii) Consultant in Aging

Scientific Data Collection

Within the Directorate, the responsibility for scientific data collection largely rests with the Biostatistics Division. A number of statistical reporting systems have been developed during recent years. One of the largest systems deals with the Hospital Insurance Program, and serves in the preparation of a Preliminary Annual Report and the final Annual Report tabled by the Minister in Parliament. The data for the disability allowances program for a number of years have been processed to provide an Annual Report on this program. The data provided from the Poison Control Program of the Food and Drug Directorate have been processed annually to provide a comprehensive administrative and epidemiological report on poisonings occurring in Canada. The Admission/Separation forms for the Yukon and Territorial Hospital Insurance Plans have been processed annually to provide the ten standard morbidity tables approved by the Advisory Committee on Hospital Insurance. Annual statistics are prepared for the Virus Isolation Reporting System for the Virus Laboratory, the reports of radiation exposure by film monitoring are processed routinely, and periodic reports are prepared providing a comprehensive statistical analysis of the program.

Traditionally information is collected routinely from the voluntary medical care insurance programs in Canada. With the advent of a national medical care program, however, emphasis is on the development of a provincial statistical reporting system.

Scientific and Technical Information

The Directorate provides scientific and technical information regarding health and welfare in response to inquiries made by national and international agencies, governments of other countries, research workers and students. Information is obtained from the provinces concerning the organization and administration of health and welfare services. Provincial legislation is also reviewed annually to up-date legislative changes in provincial programs. The information provides the basis of our annual publication, Health and Welfare Services in Canada, which is incorporated into the Canada Year Book.

The Directorate conducts research studies and surveys, and provides consultation services with regard to economic, statistical and scientific research related to the health and social services. It publishes a substantial amount of original data on health and welfare services and resources. Unpublished studies are completed for use in departmental planning or are carried out at the request of individual agencies or persons. Other publications, however, are prepared for the use of the general public.

The services provided by the Directorate are used by various divisions and branches of the Department, Royal Commissions, Members of Parliament, committees of the House of Commons and of the Senate, agencies or individuals engaged in specialized studies, provincial and voluntary agencies, universities, and such international bodies as I.L.O., I.S.S.A., and W.H.O.

The Directorate has instituted the publication of inventories of research projects in health and welfare fields compiled from returns provided by research workers responsible for the projects. Three publications are published and distributed periodically: Inventory of Welfare Research, Research Projects and Investigations into Socio-Economic Aspects of Health, and Research Projects and Investigations related to Hospitals.

Statistical Services

The main purpose of the statistical services operated by the Department is to provide management with valid information necessary:

- (a) to discharge its statutory responsibilities relating to the promotion or preservation of the health, social security and social welfare of the people of Canada; and
- (b) to meet its regular obligations through participation in international health and welfare programs.

Statistical services are defined as those activities concerned with the collection, analysis and interpretation of quantitative data, and the application of statistical methods in problem-solving, in order to meet the Department's responsibilities and obligations. Statistical information is a basic requirement for all phases of the administrative process in the Department. It consists of answers to specific questions obtained through the application of statistical methods, regular reports on program operations indicating degrees of success and failure in achieving program objectives, or the product of a scientific investigation which will be disseminated to those members of the public who can use it to promote or preserve the health and social welfare of our people.

The planning and evaluation of major programs in the health, welfare and social security fields are an essential responsibility of the Department. (see Appendix XI) Evaluation entails analyzing provincial programs in these fields, or shared-cost programs like hospital insurance, medical care, and welfare assistance. For this purpose, the statistics needed are obtained from a variety of sources.

The provinces report such data to the Department on a uniform, standardized basis, and these statistics are passed to the Research and Statistics Directorate for analysis and program evaluation. Departmental statisticians, economists, and sociologists are responsible for consolidating national statistics on the costs and operations of each program for analyzing the caseloads of each program, and for evaluating the services provided, the extent and nature of the protection provided, and the effectiveness of each program in achieving its objectives.

Grants in Aid of Research

The Directorate provides technical assistance and advice in the development of research projects which are supported by departmental grants, and contributes to the appraisal of proposed projects, particularly for welfare research grant applications. It also provides on request consultation to outside agencies on research design and methodology of collecting, examining, analyzing and evaluating data.

Volume and Cost of Research

The Directorate does not finance any extramural research projects. Its total budget, amounting to \$890,000 in the current year and a forecast \$1,050,000 for the next year, is committed to intramural research projects. For the last departmental inventory, a total of 65 health research projects were identified. To this sum should be added another 20 to 25 welfare and social security research projects. No separate financial accounting for these individual projects is yet available.

APPENDICES

HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF CONCEPTS AND MEASURES
OF MINIMUM LIVING STANDARDS*

By the end of the 19th century, many countries in Europe had enacted poor laws but these statutes failed to define the degree of poverty which gives claim to relief. In fact, one of the early researchers on the subject, Louise Twining, *The Guardian of the Poor at Kensington*, wrote in 1881 about this difficulty in defining poverty "Destitution is everywhere stated to be the definition and the test, but as far as we are aware, the exact understanding and interpretation of this term has yet to be given". (1) She compared the legislation on poverty of most European countries and found that nearly everywhere distress from incapacity for work, mental imbecility, sickness or old age had a legitimate claim to public support. Thus the poor were considered eligible for assistance outside the work house only when they were disabled or elderly but not when they were able-bodied. Louise Twining was not too much concerned about defining and studying a minimum living standard. Her main purpose was to criticize the English "outdoor relief system" i.e. (relief given to persons outside the work house) which she thought would have disastrous effects on the country. Reflecting the thinking of her time she thought that this practice would have catastrophic results because "the dread of poverty is diminished and he who is half poor works less instead of more so that he speedily becomes a complete pauper". She was also concerned about the country's morals and said "The morality of the poor man suffers, for he looks upon his provision as a right, for which he therefore need not be thankful. And the morality of the rich man suffers, for the natural moral relation between him and the poor man has become completely severed, there is no place left for the exercise of his benevolence, being obliged to give, he gives with reluctance and thus is the highest principle of charitable action, Christian love, exposed to great danger of destruction." (2)

The first attempts in defining poverty were undertaken by Engel in Germany, Seeborn Rowntree, and Charles Booth in England towards the end of the 19th century.

ERNST ENGEL

Ernst Engel (1821-96), a disciple of the German liberal school, was one of the first statisticians who believed in the application of the quantitative method to the study of social phenomena. He was the first to demonstrate the fruitfulness of the use of statistics in the study of consumption. He calculated and examined the proportions of the types of expenditures in the family budgets of workmen and deduced the law of consumption known as Engel's law which still is used by economists as a quick way to assess the relative well-being of dissimilar groups. As generally formulated, that law states: that as income increases, families spend more money for food, but this larger amount takes a smaller share of income, leaving proportionately more funds for other things. Accordingly, a low percentage of income going for food can be equated with prosperity and a higher percentage with deprivation. Expressed in more technical terms the law simply states that income elasticity of demand for food is less than one. He also devised a new measure of consumption taking unity as the value of consumption for a child of up to one year of age and adding 0.1 for every further year up to the age of 20 for women and 25 for men at which time they measure 3.0 and 3.5 respectively. (3) He used this

* Prepared by Dr. Otto Wayand, Research and Statistics Directorate.

- (1) Louise Twining: Poor Relief in Foreign Countries and Outdoor Relief, London 1881, pp. 19-23.
- (2) Ibid.
- (3) Ernst Engel, Der Werth des Menschen (Berlin, 1883).

method in a comparative study of Belgian workmen's budgets and found a considerable increase in the living standard between 1853 and 1891. He attempted also to establish a standard of living called "Volkswohlstand" which he stated to be that level of well-being at which people spend a maximum of 80 per cent of their income for "reasonable" satisfaction of physical needs with the remainder to be spent for higher cultural satisfaction. This form of standard of living was taken over and used in a modified form by many studies dealing with standards of living and poverty lines. After the general acceptance of Engel's law, a number of unsuccessful attempts were made to find similar laws for other categories of necessities such as shelter and clothing. However the demand for these two separate categories is subject to so many factors that regular patterns of demand are difficult to determine.

While Engel was the first social scientist to derive meaningful relationships from seemingly arbitrary observations of family budgets, his theories could not be developed in his day. It was not until social researchers began to understand the significance of results that can be obtained from analysis of budget data and until more sophisticated statistical techniques became available that studies could be undertaken to investigate the relationship on how the expenditure on or the consumption of a particular commodity varies with the income level of families. By using econometric analysis a number of consumption studies are being made which are based on Engel's law. Such studies are particularly useful for social and economic development programs, the construction of cost of living index numbers and the comparison of living standards.

CHARLES BOOTH

In England, Seebohm Rowntree and Charles Booth did pioneering work in defining poverty lines. Both Rowntree and Booth recognized that there is no universal and absolute definition of poverty and that its meaning was relative as to place and time. They agreed that poverty must be related to some minimum standard of economic welfare based on provision of the primary needs of the people concerned. Charles Booth defined poverty in terms of income, "By the word 'poor' I mean to describe those who have a sufficiently regular though bare income, such as 18s. to 21s. per week for a moderate family".⁽¹⁾ He added that the incomes of the poor are nearly always exceeded by their admitted expenditure. The explanation may lie in the understating of regular earnings, the use of credit met either by final evasion of repayment or by some windfall of income received outside regular earnings.

B.S. ROWNTREE

Rowntree was the first to attempt a more adequate determination of poverty. In his first study of poverty in York in 1899⁽²⁾ he estimated the cost of buying those goods and services which at that time were absolutely necessary for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency.⁽³⁾ To do this he drew up a list of necessities under the headings of food, clothing, fuel and household sundries and estimated how much it would cost to buy these. His estimates were based on interviews with a number of working class families. Families whose incomes were too low to enable them to purchase these necessities were said to be living in primary poverty. People said to be living in secondary poverty were those who had adequate income to purchase these necessities but who through mismanagement could not make ends meet and who were in the judgement of the interviewers living in visible poverty.

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- (1) Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London, Series 1, Volume 1, page 33 (London 1889-91). There is no evidence as to the bases for this poverty line.
 - (2) Rowntree: A Study of Town Life, London 1901.
 - (3) Rowntree does not define the expression "merely physical efficiency".

To estimate a required subsistence income, Rowntree made an inquiry into the quantity and kinds of food necessary to maintain families of various sizes in a state of physical efficiency. In order to do this he used a number of food studies prepared by experts in nutrition. His estimates were based upon the assumption that the necessary diet is selected with a careful regard to the nutritive values of various food stuffs and that these are all purchased at lowest current prices. To limit the quantity and quality of the food to a minimum he allowed for a diet less generous in quality and variety than that supplied to "the able-bodied paupers in work houses".(1) He limited the clothing allowance to that absolutely necessary for health. In order to determine rents he ordered a survey of rents paid by working classes. His minimum weekly budget for a family of two adults and three children was the following:

Food	12s 9d	59 per cent
Rent	4s	18 " "
Clothing	4s 11d	23 " "
	<u>21s 8d</u>	100 per cent

Rowntree conducted two subsequent surveys at York, one in 1936 and one in 1950. In each of these studies he adopted progressively more liberal yardsticks and extended his budget to include new components.

(a) Food Budget

In establishing a minimum food standard Rowntree anticipated that the work of nutritionists would be used increasingly in social services. In his first two surveys he leaned heavily on the work of the American nutritionist Atwater(2) who in 1895 published a nutrition study which was based on the number of calories found to be required at different periods of physical development under varying requirements for muscular activity in varying types of occupation.

In his latest study of 1950 Rowntree based his survey on the report of the British Medical Association dealing with nutritional needs.(3) Having obtained nutritional requirements Rowntree then translated these into the cheapest possible diet. Rowntree also assigned certain factors representing the nutrients required by children of different ages and women as compared with adult men. The various factors which he has adopted are as follows:

Men		10/10
Women		8/10
Boys	14 to 16	= 8/10
Girls	14 to 16	= 7/10
Children	10 to 13	= 6/10
Children	6 to 9	= 5/10
Children	2 to 5	= 4/10
Children	0 to 2	= 3/10

He was of the opinion that by the use of these factors the food consumed by any given family can be readily expressed and the nutrient required for families of varying sizes can be easily compared.

(1) Rowntree: Study of Town Life, London 1901.

(2) W.O. Atwater: Dietary Studies in New York City in 1895 and 1896.

(3) Report of the Committee on Nutrition, London, British Medical Associates, 1950.

In establishing the cost of food he investigated cash prices paid for various food stuffs by the working classes.

He took into account that the poor buy their food in small quantities and thus pay a higher price for it. The average of these prices had been adopted in estimating the cost of the standard diet except in those cases where the articles could be purchased at lower prices in co-operative stores.

(b) Rent

In estimating the necessary minimum expenditure for rent, Rowntree would have preferred to take some reliable standard of the accommodation required to maintain families of different sizes in health and then to take as the minimum expenditure the average cost of such accommodation. This method however would have assumed that every family could obtain the needed minimum accommodation which was far from being the case. In view of the difficulty of estimating the rent of standard accommodation, Rowntree chose to use current rental payments as the basis for the necessary minimum expenditure. By choosing this latter method, he accepted the then current conditions instead of developing a minimum standard for shelter.

(c) Household Sundries

Expenditures involving clothing, fuel and light were estimated on the basis of information collected from a number of working people. In 1936 and 1950, 29 families were interviewed to ascertain how much they spent on clothing and various other items. The poverty line was then based on the average expenditure of the three families whose expenditures on these items were the lowest.

(d) Personal Sundries

Provision was made to include personal sundries in the 1936 and 1950 budgets, and included insurance premiums, trade union dues, newspaper subscriptions, transportation, reading and writing materials and radio. The estimates as to what should be included and their costs were based on a number of interviews but the final results reflected Rowntree's decisions and value judgements.

Evaluation of the Rowntree Method

While on the face of it, the method used by Rowntree seems to be well founded, his approach has several limitations. The reports of the British Medical Association indicate that calculations of nutritional requirements are rough estimates and that calculation of protein and vitamin requirements as well as desirable intakes of calcium and iron are still a matter of guess work. (1) In addition, later social researchers point out that the determination of the income needed to purchase nutrition for the maintenance of physical efficiency is at best a risky exercise since nutritional content of certain food stuffs varies from place to place and from season to season.

It is also doubtful whether poor families have the knowledge or opportunity to purchase a diet that gives adequate nutrition at the lowest possible cost.

The main shortcoming of Rowntree's budget was that his value judgements were arbitrary in the determination of basic needs.

The fact remains, however, that Rowntree did much to awaken Britain's social conscience and to reveal the deprivations of the poor. The principles developed by Rowntree at the end of the last century are still broadly followed by contemporary social scientists and governments. When devising a new system of social security in England, Lord Beveridge recognized Rowntree's "subsistence" standard, with the result that the rates paid under National Assistance after the second World War bore a close resemblance to the standards which Rowntree had used in his 1936 survey.

(1) Ibid.

PETER TOWNSEND

Peter Townsend wrote a number of articles on the development of a minimum living standard. The aim of his first article 'Measuring Poverty'(1) is to consider how detailed knowledge can be acquired about the living conditions for the poor. First, he examined the past standards developed for measuring poverty especially those developed by Rowntree. He found Rowntree's standard too arbitrary.

If clothing, money for travel to work and newspapers are considered to be necessities in the conventional sense why not tea, handkerchiefs, laundry, contraceptives, cosmetics, hair dressing, shaving and life insurance payments? Are we indeed so sure that the list of necessities must exclude cigarettes, beer, toys for children, Christmas gifts and cinema entertainment?(2)

The question of what was regarded or what ought to have been regarded as necessities was very rarely raised in any of Rowntree's surveys. In Townsend's opinion the only defensible constituent of a poverty budget is the amount allocated to food, but even with this approach there is a lack of relationship of the budget to the customs and habits of the working people.

How those on the border line of poverty ought to spend their money is a very different thing from how they do spend their money. It would be unrealistic to expect them, as in effect many social investigators have expected them to be skilled dieticians with marked tendencies toward puritanism..... In considering the spending habits of poorer people, it seems that due regard must be paid to the conventions sanctioning membership of their community, to the influence of economic and social measures currently adopted by society as a whole, such as rationing, welfare, food services, food subsidies and indirect taxes and to the standards encouraged by advertisers, the press, the BBC and the church.(3)

Townsend suggests the following procedure for new studies:

1. The collection of data relating to the food consumption and expenditure as well as the income of working class people.
2. The comparison of these data, assembled according to constitution of household and income group, with a scale of nutritive needs.....
3. The isolation, from all those securing minimum nutrition of, say, the 25 per cent in the various household groups who achieve it on the smallest incomes, or rather, the smallest incomes less one or two fixed involuntary overheads, such as rent and compulsory insurances. The average total expenditure of these households, less the overheads, according to their different sizes, can be taken as the poverty line.(4)

He justified the resulting standard on the ground that it is attained by a fair proportion of working class people and therefore realistic. He thinks that the application of the method would obviate

(1) Peter Townsend, 'Measuring Poverty' British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 53 (1954) pp. 130-137.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid.

the need for subjective decisions about money required for clothing and other budget components. He agrees that the method suggested is basically one of measuring the extent of malnutrition "not attributable to wasteful spending" but he thinks that if the results given were correlated with findings based on housing standards, education etc. it would yield a realistic picture of poverty.

In another article written in 1962 "The Meaning of Poverty"(1) Townsend restated his main thesis that both poverty and subsistence are relative concepts and that they can only be defined in relation to material and historical resources available at a particular time to the members of a particular society. He repeated his criticism on the subsistence concept as used by earlier writers, mainly Rowntree, and even questioned the approach he (Townsend) had suggested in his earlier article based on the calculation of nutritional requirements. He now points out that it is important to remember that the estimation of income needed to purchase minimum nutrition is a hazardous exercise.... "calculations of nutritional requirements are rough estimates subject to wide margins of error"(2). In recommending new approaches to solve the problem of measuring poverty, he suggests the return to the relative concept of defining "necessaries" as done by Alfred Marshall(3) and Adam Smith(4). He also suggests the studying of expenditure patterns of those who suffered a reduction in income in relation to the previous standards of living to find out what individuals actually treat as expendable and as necessities.

Using Galbraith's quotation from his *Affluent Society*: "People are poverty stricken when their income, even if adequate for survival, falls markedly behind that of the community", Townsend suggests that a possible definition of poverty could be developed on the basis of measuring how many households have a total income of less than 50 per cent of the average.

He suggests other measures of poverty such as the differential enjoyment of housing standards and educational resources by different classes and types of households. His concluding remarks are "our general theory then should be that individuals and families whose resources, over time, fall short of the resources commanded by the average individual or families in the community in which they live, whether that community is a local, national or international one, are in poverty."(5)

A joint study(5) was constructed by Townsend and Abel-Smith to find out the number and characteristics of persons with low levels of living from family expenditure surveys, carried out in 1953-54 and 1960 by the Ministry of Labour. Another purpose of this study was to examine

(1) Peter Townsend, "The Meaning of Poverty" *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. 13 (1962), pp. 210-227.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Alfred Marshall said in 1890 "...differences in climate and differences in custom make things necessary in some places, which are superfluous in others.... But.... a careful analysis had made it evident that there is for each rank of industry, at any time and place, a more or less clearly defined income which is necessary for merely sustaining its members; while there is another and larger income which is necessary for keeping it in full efficiency.... Every estimate of necessities must be relative to place and time." A. Marshall, *Principles of Economics*, London 1946, pp. 68-70.

(4) Adam Smith wrote two centuries ago, "by necessities I understand not only the commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without." A. Smith, *The Wealth of Nations*, Book 5, Ch.2, Part 1, 1776.

(5) B. Abel-Smith and Peter Townsend, *The Poor and the Poorest*, Occasional Papers on Social Administration, No. 17, S. Bell and Sons, Ltd., London.

the differences in levels of living that existed among households of similar size and composition. The principal measure of poverty used is the level of living of National Assistance Board applicants in each of these years. Townsend's usage of this measure did not imply that this level of living was an appropriate measure or that the households of different composition living at national assistance standards have comparable levels of living. He did indicate that regardless of what could be said of the adequacy of this measure, it did have the advantage of being an official operational definition of a minimum living at any particular time.

In this study Townsend repeats his criticisms on the subsistence standard used by earlier writers. "Saying who is in poverty is to make a relative statement - rather like saying who is short or heavy. But it is also a statement of a much more complex kind than one referring to a unilineal scale of measurement".⁽¹⁾ He does not make any suggestions about how to define poverty nor does he recommend new methods for its measurement.

In talking about implications for government information and research, he mentions the need for social information about the poorest section of the population. He says that no government can expect to pursue national policies in social security and welfare unless information about living conditions, particularly the living conditions of the poor, is regularly collected, analyzed and reported.

In Townsend's opinion the government should develop various standards to indicate need. This applies to nutritional as well as environmental requirements such as housing. The government should also collect information regularly from family expenditure surveys. The purpose of these surveys should be not only to show general trends, but also to indicate particular circumstances of poor families as compared to those of middle and high income classes. Information should also be collected on those groups who usually do not respond to surveys. Complementary reports to family expenditure surveys should be published showing sources of income, incomes and expenditures of families receiving social benefits and of families with special problems. Finally the government should attempt to improve family expenditure surveys to the extent that they can be reliably used to describe the socio-economic conditions of particular groups of the population.

Evaluation of Townsend's Proposals

Summarizing Townsend's views in developing a minimum living standard we find that he develops two main thoughts. One is that in drawing poverty lines, the budget maker has to avoid arbitrary decisions about people's basic needs. The second is that since poverty is a relative concept it should be measured in relative rather than absolute terms.

In his first article "Measuring Poverty" he criticizes the subsistence level used by earlier writers. His main criticism is directed against the arbitrary method of determining necessities. However, he appears to accept their basic approach, namely: to base the calculation of the poverty line on food requirements because "nutritional needs are more susceptible of measurement than clothing, fuel and other needs". In his second article "The Meaning of Poverty" he questions his basic approach mentioned above and recommends "that instead of seeking the minimum cost of adequate nutrition and finding how many families do not have an income sufficient to meet this cost, we could study random samples of the population to find which and how many families and at what level of total income, only just achieve or fall short of a certain level of nutrition". He does not give any explanation about how the studying of random samples of the population would give an indication of the number of people falling short of a certain level of nutrition nor does he define this level of nutrition. In this article he also suggests other relative concepts such as the level of education as possible approaches.

In his third paper The Poor and the Poorest he did not define poverty. Instead, out of necessity, he used the level of living of National Assistance Board applicants to indicate the poverty line. In the same paper he also

(1) Ibid.

recommended the development of various standards to indicate need but does not indicate how this should be carried out.

DEVELOPMENT OF A MINIMUM LIVING STANDARD
IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States a number of studies have been prepared recently to define a minimum living standard. A poverty formula was advanced by the President's Council of Economic Advisers in their 1964 Annual Report. This formula classified as "poor" a family if its annual income was under \$3,000 and a single person if his annual income was below \$1,500. Because of regional differences in the cost of living and other factors the Council noted that these were crude and approximate measures. Another yardstick which could be used in defining and measuring poverty is based on the "market basket" approach in terms of food, clothing, shelter and services. This kind of yardstick gives a more precise definition of poverty than an income bench mark because it forces the community to spell out a minimum standard of living for different groups and individuals. It leads to the identification of goods and services that compose the market basket, and the people living in poverty can be defined as those whose incomes are too small to acquire the market basket. Among the studies prepared to develop such a market basket, Mollie Orshansky's approach described in her paper "Counting the Poor"⁽¹⁾ can be considered one of the most important. It was her method that was adopted by the Office of the Economic Opportunity as a working tool pending completion of further research.

The Orshansky Approach

In developing a minimum living standard, Miss Orshansky based her calculations on the amount of money needed to purchase the food for a minimum adequate diet as determined by the food consumption studies made by the Department of Agriculture. This food budget is the lowest that could be devised to contain all essential nutrients using foods readily available in the U.S.A. The minimum standard or poverty line was then calculated at three times the amount needed to purchase the components in this food budget.

The food budgets are based on food plans prepared by USDA. These plans represent a translation of the criteria of nutritional adequacy into quantities and types of food compatible with the preference of families as revealed in food consumption studies. The food budgets and the derivative poverty incomes were estimated in detail for families of differing size and composition. Allowances were made for the lower cash requirements of families on farms who can produce some of their own food.

To solve the problem of translating food costs into total income requirements Miss Orshansky used the principle of Engel's law which states that the smaller the family income the greater the proportion of income spent on food. She assumed that the equivalent levels of adequacy were reached when one-third of total income was sufficient to purchase an adequate diet. This assumed proportion of income required appears to be subject to an arbitrary decision. Her decision was based partly on a value judgement and partly on a study made in 1960-61 which revealed that families with incomes of \$6,000 and more spent on the average 23.5 per cent of their aggregate income for food. Miss Orshansky estimated the food budgets and the derivative income cut-off points in detail for families of different size and composition with a farm - non-farm differential for each type.

Similarities in the Orshansky and Townsend Methods

Miss Orshansky, as mentioned earlier, in establishing her method took advantage of the existence of a minimum food standard with regional variations as established by USDA. Townsend has indicated in his booklet *The Poor and the Poorest* that he too favours the collection and usage of similar information. It is also assumed that he would take into account

(1) Mollie Orshansky: "Counting The Poor, Another Look at the Poverty Profile" Social Security Bulletin, Washington, Vol. 28, No. 1, Jan. 1965.

family size and composition when measuring poverty as well as the differences in the cost of living in urban and rural areas, in the same way as developed by the Orshansky method. It appears then that the main difference in the two methods used is that Miss Orshansky calculates poverty line incomes by multiplying the actual cost of the food budget by three, a factor based partly on the actual relationship between food and total expenditures indicated in expenditure surveys and partly by value judgement. Townsend on the other hand proposes to isolate data on incomes of 25 per cent of those working class families who achieve or live up to the minimum food budget on the smallest incomes. He takes, then, the average total expenditure of those households, according to their different sizes and compositions as the poverty lines.

Both methods contain a number of value judgements. For the Orshansky method this is in the assumed one-third food-income relationship. In the Townsend method on the other hand the value judgement lies in the selection of lowest spending average of 25 per cent of the working class people, probably representing the lower one-third of all income groups whose average spending will determine the poverty line.

While the Townsend method appears to be less arbitrary than most other approaches, it will be recalled that he moved away from his original proposal of defining poverty in absolute terms because he feels that poverty is a relative concept and should be measured in relative terms.

Redefining poverty in relative terms (Victor R. Fuchs)

Victor R. Fuchs(1) in an article on "Redefining poverty and redistributing income" proposes that we define as poor any family whose income is less than one-half the median family income. He suggests that in implementing such measures it would be necessary to modify the national standard to take account of family size and composition, regional variations and other relevant variables. The author agrees that the use of any fraction of the median income is an arbitrary decision, but he points out that the selection of the actual proportion should be established openly through the political process and as a national value judgement. He thinks that such a process would be preferable to the present approach "which is subject to political manipulation under the guise of technical budget studies".(1) The main advantages of the method is that it provides a poverty standard that changes with the growth of real national income instead of static subsistence budget based on contemporary standards which will be soon out of date. It focuses attention on the distribution of income and provides a realistic basis for appraising the success or failure of government anti-poverty programs. The proponents of the income distribution approach also maintain that there are powerful arguments of different nature in favour of redistributing income especially from raising the productive ability of the poor. Thus "if we define poverty as having much less than anybody else, then we must measure progress by the extent to which we have been able to alter distribution of income at the lower end of the scale. By this standard.... we have not made any progress at all in the post war years".(1) From a quite different point of view the main advantages of the method is its simplicity and its relatively low development cost, since most of the data needed on incomes is being collected regularly.

Those who favour the market basket method point out that this approach concentrates too much on income distribution, per se, and leads to the promotion of income guarantee programs. They also think that the method would not show with certainty who are the poor since they would be lumped together in the lower fraction of the income distribution. Professor Oscar Ornati(2) says that "if we define the poor as making some part of the bottom of the income distribution, some kind of lower fifth, eighth, tenth or whatever fraction you will, their actual permanence is guaranteed."

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- (1) Victor R. Fuchs: "Redefining Poverty and Redistributing Income", Public Interest, No. 8, Summer 1967, pp. 88-95.
 - (2) U.S. Congress, Resolved that the Federal Government should guarantee a minimum annual cash income to all citizens, 1967, Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, p. 25.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MINIMUM LIVING STANDARD IN CANADA (J.R. Podoluk)

In Canada Miss J.R. Podoluk prepared a paper on the "Characteristics of Low Income Families"(1) in which she estimates the number of low income families and provides information on the characteristics of families living in poverty. In defining poverty she follows Miss Orshansky in adopting some modified version of Engel's law. As did Ernst Engel and Mollie Orshansky, she too measures the well-being of families by the discretionary income left after expenditures on basic necessities. She considers families as being poor if they allocate more than 70 per cent of the family income to expenditures on necessities. She bases her judgement on the examination of data derived from the 1959 Family Expenditure Survey which indicates that, on the average, families of different sizes and incomes allocate about half their incomes for buying shelter, food and clothing.(1) "It has been assumed that where expenditures on these components were well above average and accounted for 70 per cent or more of family income available these families might have difficulty in managing to meet all of their needs out of their incomes." She found that unattached individuals with incomes below \$1,500, a family of two with less than \$2,500, and families of 3, 4, 5 or more with less than \$3,000, \$3,500 or \$4,000 respectively spent more than 70 per cent of their incomes for basic necessities. These income levels which determine the poverty line are very close to those arrived at by the Orshansky method in the U.S.A. The basic difference between the two methods is of course that, the Orshansky method is based on a minimum food standard arrived at by comprehensive and highly reliable food studies and surveys, while Miss Podoluk's method lacks the basis of a scientifically designed food budget and represents a value judgement based on observation of existing spending patterns.

CONCLUSION

From the end of the nineteenth century to the present a considerable change in the concept and measurement of "Minimum Living Standards" took place. In the days of Louise Twining at the end of the last century the poor were generally considered eligible for outdoor relief only if their distress originated from incapacity for work, e.g. sickness, mental imbecility and age. As a result of more progressive thinking this concept changed in the beginning of the twentieth century to a concept of poverty defined solely in terms of subsistence criteria. Thus, Rowntree defined the poor as those "whose total earnings were insufficient to obtain the minimum necessities for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency". Even though he did not explain what he meant by "merely physical efficiency," his concept was useful in the earlier phases of industrialization. However, it appears to be of less use in today's modern industrial communities as they exist in Canada, U.S.A. and the Western World. In these countries with increasing industrialization, a considerable affluence emerged which liberated large segments of the population from subsistence levels of living. As subsistence poverty declined in these countries social and economic inequalities continued to prevail. It became evident that poverty was a consequence of such inequalities and that it became a relative condition in that the improved standard of living of the poor is now related to a much higher general standard of living. This development led to the Townsend concept of poverty which states that people living in poverty are those whose resources over time fall seriously short of the resources commanded by the average individual or family in the community in which they live. This definition comes close to Fuchs' definition of poverty stating that the poor are those families whose income is less than one-half of the median income. However the view suggesting that poverty is entirely a relative matter appears to be too extreme to be accepted generally. A workable compromise method had to be developed which combines absolute and relative measurement. This has been achieved by rediscovering Engel's law and by attempting to measure the well-being of families by the discretionary income left after expenditures on food and the basic necessities. This method has been adopted in the United States by Miss Mollie Orshansky and by Miss J. Podoluk in Canada.

(2) J.R. Podoluk, Characteristics of Low Income Families in Canada, unpublished paper prepared for the Federal-Provincial Conference on Poverty and Opportunity held in Ottawa, December, 1965.

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FAMILY BUDGETS IN CANADA*

Family budgets have been developed and published in four cities of Canada: Toronto, Montreal, Winnipeg and Halifax. It appears however that original research on the subject has been limited to that conducted by the Montreal and Toronto councils of social planning agencies. The budgets published by these two agencies serve as the basic studies for the other reports. Thus The Minimum Financial Needs Investigation(1) published by the Age and Opportunity Bureau of Winnipeg is based on a study by Montreal Diet Dispensary, while the Halifax Family Budgeting Guide is based on the Guides for Family Budgeting(2) prepared by the Social Planning Council of Toronto. Both the Winnipeg and the Halifax budgets were adjusted to local conditions. Of the four budgets only three relate to families of all types while the Winnipeg budget is limited to retired couples only.

TORONTO'S "GUIDE TO FAMILY BUDGETING" (3)

Among all studies, Toronto's budgeting is the most comprehensive and will be discussed first.

The main purpose of the Guide is to provide "a reference on adequate standards of living for specific categories of family expenditure and to serve as a statement of costs in meeting special categories of family need".

Concept

Basically the Toronto budget is a "moderate" budget. The level of living reflected is sufficiently above the subsistence survival level to secure good health and a sense of self respect. On the other hand it is well below any level that could be called luxurious. Thus, the budget includes goods and services identified as bare or conventional necessities and a selection of those commonplace wants which are so important to the well-being of families that they rank with necessities.

Methods

Selected budget items were allocated to four technical committees (food, housing, clothing and miscellaneous family needs) consisting of experts in the respective fields and social workers with considerable knowledge of patterns of family life. Committee members determined the quantity and quality of goods and services needed, and arranged for their pricing. Pricing was done by the Prices Division of DBS and volunteers who priced goods and services in outlets throughout Toronto. In updating prices the Consumer Price Index was used to revise cost categories where possible. Other categories were repriced in stores.

Development of the food budget

The five food groups of Canada's Food Guide were expanded to eleven categories to provide the complete range of food generally in use.

Studies of family food purchases provided guidance and judgements on the individual foodstuffs to be included in the food budget and on their relation, importance, or frequency of use.

* Prepared by Dr. Otto Wayand, Research and Statistics Directorate in the Fall of 1968.

A normative food budget was developed based on theoretical quantities of foods for individual consumption and then tested using the Canadian Dietary Standard (4) and Canada's Food Guide(5) as references.

Nine families carried out a one-week test with regard to quantities. Where amounts warranted revision in the light of actual experience, changes were made.

(i) Elderly people

The study points out that food needs of the older person differ from those of the average adult. The differences arise from the lower calorie requirement of the aged on one hand and the need for high protein food on the other. In terms of food prices these two factors tend to offset each other and in the respective budgets, food allowances for the aged are the same size as those provided for other adults with light employment.

(ii) Employed Mothers

The food budget includes sufficient convenience foods (prepackaged and frozen foods) to reflect current patterns of usage. With careful planning, employed mothers need spend no additional money on food.

Clothing

When developing clothing standards, the clothing committee was considering hygienic requirements, growth needs for children and teenagers, and social acceptability.

The clothing budget represents average annual expenditures required to purchase sufficient clothing to maintain an adequate stock. The annual replacement rates are shown for specified age-sex groups and by employment status. Costs of dry cleaning and shoe repairs are included in the clothing budget.

Housing

Housing costs are based on the results of a telephone survey of 200 different apartment advertisements appearing in daily newspapers and involving a minimum of 429 unfurnished units. This information is presented as a general guide only since costs for unfurnished flats and houses were only approximately determined.

The following table gives a range of housing costs for Toronto:

		\$
Bachelor	95	- 115
One bedroom	118	- 135
Two bedroom	145	- 158
Three bedroom	170	- 185

Utilities and Fuel

Average quantities of gas and electricity for cooking, water, heating(a), lighting and operating household appliances

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- (a) Apartment rents in Toronto usually include the cost of heating, while the rent paid for other types of accommodation do not.

were supplied by utility companies. As there are no accurate means available to develop quantity standards, by family size, the quantities shown for electricity consumption by family size are estimated or adjusted to local average consumption.

Miscellaneous Family Needs

These needs include home furnishings, household operation, medical care, personal care, transportation, communication, reading, school and leisure time needs, insurance, gifts, contributions and relative personal needs.

None of the categories can be considered necessary for physical survival (except medical care). Those that were considered as conventional necessities were identified as such by the committee using as guides, studies of family expenditures and other budget standards.

Commonplace wants were identified, where possible, by application of a statistical norm: if 90 per cent or more of the reference population possessed or purchased a given good or service, it was assumed that it was of major importance to a sense of social acceptability and self respect and was included (television set). One exception to this rule was made: an article possessed by less than 90 per cent of the reference population was included if, in terms of practicality and economy, in the judgment of the group it was necessary: e.g. a washing machine for families of four and more.

The standard for house furnishings and equipment was developed through three sources: studies of family expenditures and possessions, examination of other budget standards, and the inclusion of what seemed to be reasonable requirements for families meeting the minimum standard. The budget for home furnishings and equipment assumes gradual replacement of these items over the years, or depreciation over the expected period of use. Thus the average costs shown really represent savings required to maintain basic inventories of furnishings and equipment. The replacement rates shown reflect the expected life durability of the article. Thus if a chair expected to last 10 years is shown, one-tenth of the cost is included in the annual budget.

Personal

This item represents articles and devices ordinarily needed by individuals, according to age, sex and employment status. The standard for personal care was developed through the use of existing budget standards and consumption studies and guides.

Transportation

The transportation budget for travel within Metropolitan Toronto is based on current fares of the T.T.C. For outside Toronto, the budget has made provision for an annual total of 200 miles (round trip) outside Metropolitan Toronto.

Communication, Reading and School Needs

The budget covers the costs of a telephone and nominal amounts of writing paper, greeting cards, postage and related supplies. The budget for reading includes the cost of an annual subscription to a local newspaper and a Canadian magazine.

Special School Needs

Expenses incidental to schooling vary from school to school and costs were estimated according to the situation in various areas.

Household expenditures

Amounts required for all items of household operation were developed through analysis of other budget standards, in addition studies of family consumption and expenditures were consulted.

Health and Medical Care

Ontario hospital insurance has been adopted as the standard on which to compute individual hospital care costs.

To compute medical care costs Ontario's Medical Services Insurance Plan premiums have been taken as a basis.

Dental costs were computed with the assistance of specialists in the field. Premiums of Blue Cross prepaid dental care plan were used to determine average yearly dental costs. Costs represent an average yearly cost in the long run.

Costs of other medical care needs including prescription drugs were estimated by adding a proportion to medical, dental and hospitalization costs. This proportion is derived from percentage of expenditures on personal health care in Canada for 1961(6) for the same services.

Gifts, Contributions, Leisure Time
and Related Personal Needs

Extreme variability in individual practices marks this area and costs shown are intended only as general guides in family budgeting. These costs were developed by assuming expenditures for certain items although the actual use to which these amounts will be put will vary with individual customs.

BUDGET PREPARED BY THE MONTREAL COUNCIL OF SOCIAL AGENCIES(7)

The agency prepared in 1963 a minimum and a moderate cost family budget. The minimum cost budget relates to elderly persons living alone, retired couples and families of 3 to 6 persons. The moderate living cost budget deals with newly married couples and families of 3-6 persons with a monthly income from \$300 to \$600.

Only the minimum cost family budget is being updated, and hence is discussed here. This budget includes the commodities and services required to meet basic needs for the maintenance of a minimum standard. It does not provide for new furniture or furnishings, savings, medical and dental care or drugs, gifts, recreation and telephone.

Methods

A budget committee was formed which began its work with an examination of various budgets being used by local welfare agencies. Contents and scales of these were studied in relation to the philosophy and objectives of welfare programs. Based on the results of this study the committee then developed a desirable minimum budget for families and individuals who are in need of financial aid in the Montreal area.

Eight components were selected by the Committee and priced by volunteers and students under the supervision of various committee members. They are as follows:

Food

Kinds and amounts of foods as required for each individual according to age and sex were selected by experts to meet nutritional requirements recommended by the Canadian Council on Nutrition in the Canadian Dieting Standard of 1948. These items were priced and are being repriced in a number of food markets and at least one independent store. Pricing takes place in January, May and September. Its purpose is not only to keep up-to-date with market conditions but also to keep track of new products. A copy of pricing instructions is shown in Appendix 1.

Clothing

The allowances were based on a survey of homemakers who were asked about the kinds and amounts of clothing which are required for individuals according to age and sex to meet minimum clothing needs for health and self respect. The results were then modified and corrected. In doing so the agency took advantage of relevant information published in Annual Price Survey of Family Budget Costs by the Budget Standard Service of the Community Council of greater New York ⁽⁸⁾

Housing

The standard of housing adopted by the Agency is relatively low. Allowances for rents are based on the survey results of low cost housing in Montreal in 1963. Only cold water unheated flats were selected for this survey, as the rent of this type of accommodation even after adjustment for cost of fuel is considered as much cheaper than heated apartments.

In addition to the survey conducted in 1963, the agency is also informed on current rents by the provincial housing authority which provides rent data on both controlled and market rents.

Rents for single persons were derived from a survey on allowances paid by the various welfare agencies in the area.

Personal care

In determining a standard for minimum adequate personal care the Family Budget Standard of New York was adopted as a guide. The kinds and amounts of goods and services selected for the individual schedules represent the minimum necessary for the care of teeth and hair and personal cleanliness.

Household supplies

The Committee selected the kinds and amounts of goods which in their opinion would provide minimum supplies for cleanliness and effective operation of a household.

Utilities

Quebec Hydro and one of the fuel companies acted as consultants in providing consumption data for cooking and heating. Schedules for electrical power consumption are calculated according to family size and fuel consumption according to number of rooms to be heated.

COMPARISON OF THE TORONTO AND MONTREAL FAMILY BUDGETS

The two budgets as seen in the table below are not quite comparable. The Toronto budget, being more liberal in concept includes allowances for a number of items, not provided for in the subsistence level Montreal budget. Thus, medical, dental and nursing care as well as life insurance and union fees are excluded from the Montreal budget. It should be noted however that the Quebec Hospital Plan provides in- and out-patient services for all persons and together with other provincial and municipal health programs provide some of the services needed.

An item by item comparison of these budgets as reflected in the table below, indicates that Toronto's food allowances are slightly higher than those of Montreal for adults and much larger for growing children. Allowances for clothing are also larger in Toronto. While allowances for shelter are not yet finalized, indications are that shelter allowances in Toronto will be higher because of the higher housing standard adopted and the method used in determining rents. Montreal shelter allowances are based on two bedroom unheated flats. This choice reflects the thinking that the heating of a dwelling unit with a space heater is considered more economical than central heating adopted in Toronto. Toronto makes allowance for the usage of a telephone while in Montreal no such allowances are made, not even for the aged. Replacement costs in the Toronto budget include annual replacement rates required to maintain adequate inventories of house furnishings and equipment to operate the household. No allowances for replacement of furnishings are made in the Montreal budget. Allowances for personal care are also much lower in Montreal.

MONTHLY COSTS OF FAMILY BUDGETS IN TORONTO AND
MONTREAL DESIGNED FOR A FAMILY OF FOUR (WITH
TWO CHILDREN A BOY AGE 4 AND A GIRL AGE 6) (1)

	<u>Toronto</u>	<u>Montreal</u>
	\$	\$
Food	98.59	84.55
Rent (2)	150.00	101.00
Clothing	36.40	32.67
Personal Care	14.00	7.47
Household Supply	8.51	4.88
Replacements	7.41	3.79
Transportation	13.93	18.00
Communication and reading and school needs	9.62	3.15
Recreation and Gifts	<u>20.93</u>	<u>19.30</u>
	359.39	274.81
Life insurance	5.00	
Medical Care	12.50	
Dental Care	16.80	
Hospital Care	6.50	
Other Medical Needs	<u>4.90</u>	
	45.70	
Total	405.09	
Annually	\$4,861.08	\$3,297.72

(1) Data relate to 1967, the latest year for which Toronto data are available.

(2) Estimated, includes fuel and utilities.

MONTHLY COSTS OF FAMILY BUDGETS IN TORONTO AND
MONTREAL DESIGNED FOR A RETIRED COUPLE 1967 (1)

	<u>Toronto</u>	<u>Montreal</u>
	\$	\$
Food	57.99	61.27
Rent	130.00 (2)	79.28
Clothing	15.94	12.07
Household supplies	5.27	2.44
Personal Care	7.77	5.57
Replacement	5.17	3.79
Transportation	5.20 (3)	5.00
Newspapers		2.82
Other	<u>16.00</u>	<u>13.46</u>
	243.34	185.70
Life insurance	5.00	
Medical Care	10.00	
Dental Care	9.60	
Hospital Care	6.50	
Other Medical Needs	<u>3.57</u>	
	34.67	
Total	278.01	
Annually	\$3,336.12	\$2,228.40

(1) Figures reflect averages and are not quite comparable.

(2) Estimated.

(3) Within Metropolitan Toronto only

A comparison of budgeting for retired couples indicates differences of the same nature as for families. There is one exception however, the food allowance for retired couples in Montreal is higher.

After deducting federal and provincial contributions and allowances the net income needed to cover the budget for an old aged couple amounts to \$43 in Montreal. No such calculation was prepared in Toronto.

On the whole, budgeting methods used in both cities were rather similar. There was one exception however, the determination of rents. Toronto conducted a rent survey limited to vacant dwellings, while Montreal relied on statements of the City's Housing Authority. In normal circumstances housing authorities have more reliable data on rents since they have information on rents of both occupied and vacant units. Also they themselves must conduct rent surveys in order to price their own rental units. A rent survey on vacant units as conducted by Toronto on the other hand may result in overstatement of rents especially in a rapidly increasing rental market.

Other differences in budgeting may be the result of basing the calculation of the cost of various budget components on different U.S. budget studies. Ideally such calculation should be based on data derived from Canadian surveys which should show regional and intercity variations. However because of the lack of reliable data for low income families on city basis this is at present impossible. Unless adequate data are produced by DBS, agencies will have to continue to base their calculations on data derived from U.S.A. surveys.

COMPARISON OF BUDGET METHODS USED IN CANADIAN
CITIES AND BY THE BUREAU OF LABOUR STATISTICS OF THE USA

In 1966, the Bureau of Labour Statistics constructed family budgets to translate a generalized concept of a moderate living standard into a list of commodities and services which were then priced. Two kinds of data were used, (a) nutritional and health standards based on laboratory experiments or derived from scientific observation, (b) data based on spending practices of representative samples of urban families of the same type as that for which the budget was to be prepared. These latter data were derived from the Bureau's survey of Consumer's Expenditure and related consumption studies.

The two kinds of data represent two different concepts. Scientific data are based on the studies of the relation between consumption and health and are expressed in form of normative statements. Spending practices on the other hand as shown in expenditure surveys represent the choices made by consumers. In the BLS method of budgeting, the two concepts are blended to the extent that scientific standards are used where available and applicable, supplemented by the analysis of statistical data on family spending.

The two concepts were combined in the following way. For food, the National Research Council had developed scientific standards which were translated in food plans at different cost levels. Regional consumption patterns for specific foods were used in estimating costs. The data were taken from the 1965 Food Consumption Survey of the Department of Agriculture. For shelter, rents were derived from a rental survey of standard dwellings. The standards were those established by the American Public Health Association and the U.S. Public Housing Administration. For transportation and medical care as well as for the remainder of the consumption total, the prevailing practices based on analytical studies of the Bureau's Survey of Consumer Expenditures were used in developing allowances.

In the light of the BLS approach the Canadian method of determining budget quantities and qualities can be easily criticized as being normative and not based on the collective judgement of the consumer families. However, it should be kept in mind that the BLS budgets are for middle income people whose spending habits can be easily adopted in moderate budgets. The Montreal and Toronto budgets on the other hand are designed for low income people whose spending habits will not conform in certain aspects to prevailing customs.

The question arises, then, to what extent should budgets be determined by scientific or normative judgements and to what extent by current consumer patterns. It appears that the closer budgets are to a mere subsistence level the more scientific judgement should be used for developing a "standard to maintain health and self respect". This applies mainly to those budget components which represent basic necessities. For components representing commonplace wants, results of family expenditure surveys and other budget studies may be used. Unfortunately adequate Canadian data are scarce and both the Toronto and Montreal budgets have had to resort to American studies rather than to current Canadian data derived from national or regional surveys.

CONCLUSION

The foregoing examination of family budgets in Toronto and Montreal and the contrast of these budgets with each other and with family budgets developed by the Bureau of Labour Statistics represents a preliminary examination of family budgets which may be suitable for determining a minimum living standard for low income families in Canada. The two low income budgets developed for Toronto and Montreal are the most comprehensive that we have in Canada, and were designed to provide a living standard adequate to preserve health and decency. These two budgets have their limitations because they are essentially normative budgets and do not take into consideration the spending patterns of low income families. While the Bureau of Labour Statistics combines the normative and empirical approaches to budgeting, they do so for persons with moderate living standards. In our study on minimum living standards, we are concerned with persons with low incomes. In Canada there are no adequate data on the consumer spending patterns for low income families. The DBS consumer expenditure and food expenditure surveys essentially concentrate on middle income families. Even when DBS takes low incomes into account, it is felt that the low income families and individuals are not adequately represented in the Labour Force sample used by DBS for these surveys.

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Special Senate Committee

DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL HEALTH AND WELFARE

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

currently supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program

Project TitleOrganization

P.E.I. Half-way House Alcoholic Treatment Centre (551-1-3) Department of Public Welfare,
P.E.I.

Purpose: Demonstration of half-way house services with particular emphasis on the use and co-ordination of other appropriate community resources where practical for chronic alcoholics.

Halifax Neighbourhood Centre (552-1-6) Halifax Neighbourhood Centre

Purpose: This is a combined co-ordinated services and community development project administered from a neighbourhood house in a depressed area of Halifax City. Project will terminate October 31, 1969 and will receive continuing assistance through the city, province and United Appeal.

Catholic Home Finder (552-1-11) Department of Public Welfare,
N.S.

Purpose: Project designed to demonstrate new approaches to increasing the available supply of potential adoptive homes among Roman Catholic Families.

Black United Front of Nova Scotia (552-1-18) Black United Front of
Nova Scotia

Purpose: A citizen's action project designed to help black people in Nova Scotia achieve a level of self-determination which will enable the community to have a major role in identifying the nature of its social and economic problems to plan for approaches to solving these problems, and to organize in a way that will make maximum use of available community resources including the inner resources of the black community.

Field Practice Centre, Carleton School of Social Work (555-1-17) Department of Social and Family
Services, Ontario

Purpose: The development of a model field practice unit based on the use of a teaching centre concept. Cases are selected from agency caseloads but administrative control and services are provided under the auspices of the school.

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

currently supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program

Projects Title

Organization

Yorkville Diggers (55-1-19)

Yorkville Diggers Inc.

Purpose: This project will provide long term residential treatment for alienated youth some of whom have drug involvement and in addition provide information and referral service, and work with existing agencies and resources to coordinate the existing service network on behalf of alienated youth.

Mayor's Committee on Youth (555-1-20)

Ottawa

Purpose: This project is focused on coordinating existing service and resources, modifying existing resources where necessary, and generating and supporting new resources where needed and carrying on a general public education program about the needs and characteristics of alienated youth.

Family Day Care (555-1-21)

Ottawa Day Nursery

Purpose: This project is focusing on the use of family day care for children of a variety of ages as an alternative to institutional day care and is focused on reducing dependency of social assistance families and developing the standards and supervision necessary for the development of a potential program of licensing family day care homes.

Activity Programs for Mentally
Impaired Aged (555-1-22)

Jewish Home for the Aged,
Toronto

Purpose: This project conducted in the Jewish Home for the Aged in Toronto will use a variety of physical activities and recreational activities of a restorative nature to improve the functioning of aged and the atmosphere in the wards in which the senile group are cared for. Primary emphasis is on the training and use of volunteers in the development of such a service program.

Regent Park Community Improvement
Association (555-1-26)

Regent Park Community Improvement
Association, Toronto

Purpose: This project will concentrate on developing citizens action and citizens organization in a large public housing project to initiate activities, projects and social action initiatives which will help improve the quality of life and the facilities and resources available within the project to families, youth and children.

Special Senate Committee

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

currently supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program

Projects TitleOrganization

Neighbourhood Improvement
Project (555-1-27)

Neighbourhood Improvement Committee
(Dalhousie Ward) Ottawa

Purpose: This is a citizen's action project in an urban renewal area. The major emphasis will be on restoration and rehabilitation of present facilities and resources. The Neighbourhood Committee is evolving a program designed to give them a greater voice and role in determining the nature and scope of services to be provided to neighbourhood residents and the manner in which they will be provided.

People's Opportunity Services
(556-1-1)

Manitoba Department of Health
and Social Services

Purpose: A comprehensive integrated services and community development project based on the use of the neighbourhood drop in centre, the team approach to welfare services and the extensive use of indigenous workers as part of the welfare team.

Employment of Indigenous Workers
as Welfare Fieldmen (557-1-9)

Saskatchewan Department of
Welfare

Purpose: The use of workers indigenous to Indian and Metis communities to help interpret the services of the welfare department to the native population and the needs of the native population to the Welfare Department.

Resources Mobilization for
Employment (558-1-17)

Department of Public Welfare,
Alberta

Purpose: The provision of intensive services to unemployed workers including job counselling, job placement, training, job finding, family and group counselling etc.

Regional Development
Project (559-1-21)

Department of Social Welfare,
British Columbia

Purpose: This project is developing into a general community development program which is focusing on work with existing citizens groups around specific problems and on generating youth services and other resources such as group living homes, receiving homes.

DEMONSTRATION PROJECTS

currently supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program

Projects TitleOrganization

Tell It As It Is
(554-1-1) (pending)

Tell It As It Is, Montreal

Purpose: This project will concentrate on providing information and referral services to alienated youth, working with existing organizations, and resources in the community to help coordinate and modify their services where necessary and to work toward the generation of such new services as may be required.

Mile End West
(554-1-2) (pending)

Y.M.C.A., Montreal

Purpose: This is a citizen's action project which will be concerned with demonstrating how an existing organization can initiate citizen's groups and citizen's actions in a neighbourhood where none exist and help them focus on specific problems and activities and work with them toward assuming independent responsibility for carrying through and pursuing such activities.

Vancouver Inner-City Service
Project (559-1-26) (pending)

Vancouver Inner-City
Services

Purpose: This will be a citizen's action project working with citizen's groups in a mixed ethnic and cultural inner area of the city where there are social and economic problems as well as urban renewal problems. The focus will be on helping citizen's groups organize themselves around problems which they have identified and to develop activities and projects appropriate to the solution of these problems. The aim being that the citizens groups or other existing organizations would eventually assume responsibility for the new services or specific projects which are involved.

Cool Aid (559-1-25) (pending)

Greater Vancouver Youth
Communications Centre Society

Purpose: This project is built around a hostel residence and drop in centre and makes extensive use of young adults who have initiated contact and received services through the house as volunteers and indigenous staff and is also aimed at providing a channel of referral and communication with community organizations both in terms of bringing services to the youth and in terms of modifying existing services and generating new services where necessary.

Special Senate Committee

DEMONSTRATION' PROJECTS

currently supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program

<u>Projects Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>
Residential Treatment Centre for Chronic Offenders (557-1-11) (pending)	John Howard Society Saskatchewan

Purpose: This is a continuation of a developmental phase.
The project will concentrate on developing a
community residential setting into an intensive
treatment resource for chronic offenders who
are not considered suitable for release into
the community without close supervision and
direction.

MONTHLY BUDGETS FOR ITEMS OF BASIC NEED
UNDER PROVINCIAL
SOCIAL ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS*

Federal-Provincial Responsibility

With the exception of certain special groups, (1) the responsibility for the administration of aid to needy persons comes within the jurisdiction of the provinces.

The federal government shares with the provinces the cost of assistance to persons in need under the Canada Assistance Plan administered by the Department of National Health and Welfare (2). The Canada Assistance Plan requires that need be determined on the basis of a test established by the provincial authority that takes into account the applicant's budgetary requirements and the income and resources available to him to meet such requirements. The provinces determine who the persons in need are and the level of assistance required to relieve need.

Provincial Assistance Programs

All provinces now use the budget deficit method of determining need. Needs of the applicant and his dependants are calculated according to a prescribed schedule or budget in which specified amounts are allocated for the various items of need. These include items of basic need, that is, those items required by all persons - food, clothing, personal care, shelter, fuel and utilities - and items of special need, that is, those items which are required only by some recipients because of their particular or individual needs. The difference between the amount which the individual or family needs determined according to the provincial schedule, and the amount of the family's income available to meet these needs is the budget deficit or amount of the allowance.

Municipalities administering assistance are required to use the budget standards and the schedule of allowable income set by the province in calculating the amount of an allowance, except in two provinces, Alberta and Manitoba, where municipalities set their own rates. Amounts granted are subject to any ceilings established (see below).

Determination of Allowances

A number of factors affect the amount of the allowance granted to cover items of basic need. These include: the family size; the age of the children and in one province, sex; income available; and the policy in regard to an overall ceiling on the total allowance payable.

* Prepared by Miss R. Brown, Research and Statistics Directorate

- (1) The federal government is responsible for social allowances to veterans, Indians and Eskimos. The federal government also administers the Guaranteed Income Supplement program under which allowances are paid to certain recipients of the old age security pension whose eligibility is determined by an income test.
- (2) Assistance to needy persons is also shared under the Blind Persons Allowances Act and the Disabled Persons Allowances Act. These are means test programs under which the maximum shareable allowance is \$75 a month. The old age assistance program disappeared in January 1970 when the qualifying age for old age security pensions was reduced to 65 years.

Size of Family. Allowances for families vary by family size, since the budget deficit method of determining need takes the number of dependants of the applicant into account.

Allowances for food, clothing and personal care are usually specified for each adult and child in the schedules for the various budget items. The allowance for the family for these items is the sum of the individual allowances, but some adjustment may be made for family size. For example, a number of provinces increase the food allowance for the smaller assistance units by a specified percentage or amount for a single person and for a two- or three-person family unit, and reduce the total by a specified percentage or amount for larger families, usually those of five or more persons. Adjustments for family size are incorporated in pre-added budgets, which combine the individual rates for food, clothing and personal care for families of varying size and composition as in Ontario. In a number of provinces the basic allowances for rent, utilities or fuel are increased for families whose members exceed a specified number.

Ages of Children. The age of children is a factor in the food and clothing rates in most budget schedules. Except in Alberta where rates are specified by single year of age, in British Columbia where no differentiation is made between adults and children, and in Newfoundland where a single rate applies to children under eighteen, rates are specified by age group.

Sex. Alberta is the only province in which there is a variation in allowances by sex. Rates for food and clothing vary by sex for both adults and children.

Income. The amount of income considered available to meet the needs of the applicant will reduce the amount of the allowance otherwise payable. Although the definition of "income" (other than assistance) varies by program, in all provinces there are specified exemptions which include such items as casual earnings up to a specified amount, (1) a proportion of income from roomers and boarders, earnings of school children, and family and youth allowances. These exemptions constitute allowable income, which does not affect the amount of the allowance given.

Ceiling on Allowances. Allowances are limited by the dollar amounts allocated to certain items of basic need in the predetermined schedule of rates. Allowances may be further limited by the setting of a family maximum which may be less than the sum of the individual budget items for each member of the family, or by setting the allowance at a fixed percentage of the budget deficit, or by limiting allowances to an amount considered to be a reasonable standard in the community.

Allowances for Items of Basic Need

The following tables for nine provinces (2) cover monthly budget standards set for food and clothing for adults and children, and monthly allowances based on these cost standards covering items of basic need for selected types of families with no other income as defined above.

-
- (1) In a number of provinces, the amount permitted for casual earnings varies between \$20 and \$30 a month, and in some this amount is increased if there are dependants.
 - (2) Major changes are in process in the social assistance program in Quebec and therefore rates for that province are not included.

The rates shown represent amounts allocated to the various items of basic need and the total for such items. However, most of these totals do not include the cost of fuel, some do not include utilities, and none include the extra allowances that may be granted for items of basic need such as special diets or an extra fuel or rent allowance given under special circumstances. Maximum monthly allowances for items of basic need may therefore exceed the amounts shown.

Also, it must be emphasized that in addition to the amounts indicated items of special need such as an allowance for special clothing, school expenses, essential household equipment, etc. are available in most provinces. It should be noted also that all provincial schedules exclude the costs of health care. Recipients are covered under the hospital insurance programs and medical care programs, and various arrangements are made for other health needs.

Food and clothing are the items most readily comparable among provinces. Children's rates vary in most provinces by age of child, and in Alberta, also by sex. In one province (Ontario) food and clothing rates are combined with other basic items (household and personal needs and in the provincial schedule, utilities) in a pre-added budget, in one (British Columbia) the clothing allowance is combined with fuel and personal items, and in another (Newfoundland) clothing is combined with personal care items.

Personal care items, where these are specified, usually vary for children by age group. The allowances granted for food, clothing and personal care also have some limitations in any comparison: in some provinces they incorporate an allowance for household supplies or for other items; in Alberta, allowances for items other than food and clothing are paid in accordance with community standards; and in New Brunswick the amount paid may not exceed an amount considered to be a reasonable standard in the community.

Comparisons among provinces for fuel and utilities and shelter are difficult because of the variables involved, including differences in methods of allocating dollar amounts to these items and regional variations in costs.

A fuel allowance may cover only certain months of the year and be paid only during those months or payment may be spread over the year. In some provinces it may be paid on the basis of actual cost, or on the basis of cost up to a specified maximum. A schedule of fuel rates may vary by number of rooms in the house, by the number of persons in the family, or by location (rural, town or urban area), and may also vary by type of fuel (wood, coal, gas, electricity). If fuel is included in the rent, a higher rental allowance may be allowed.

Utilities may be included in the rent allowance, a separate allowance may be specified, or the actual cost (with or without a specified maximum) may be paid. In some provinces, the allowance for utilities varies by size of the family unit and may also vary by location (rural, town or urban area). In British Columbia utilities are included in the allowance which also covers clothing and in Newfoundland utilities are combined with an allowance for household maintenance.

Shelter includes a rental allowance or an allowance to cover the cost of mortgage payments and taxes. Rental allowances vary in some provinces between urban and rural areas, and in others, by size of family unit, or rent may be paid on the basis of the actual cost to the recipient with or without a specified maximum. The amount allowed for mortgage payments and taxes is usually limited to that authorized for rent.

Assistance Levels

Provincial allowances for a single adult living alone for basic necessities are in the \$75 to \$117 range. These amounts compare with \$75 a month under the federal-provincial programs of DPA, BPA, and \$109.20 to recipients of the Guaranteed Income Supplement. For a married couple the range is \$125 to \$181 (Table 1).

The amount allocated for children under provincial programs, represented by the difference between the allowance for adults without children and that for families with children, indicates an approximate range of \$20 to \$35 a month for children in the two-parent families. The upper range for children in the one-parent families, particularly for the first child, is higher than that in the two-parent families and reflects a higher increment for a second person in the family, although in most provinces the total allowance for a parent and one child is less than the allowance for two adults.

The following table indicates the range in provincial allowances for children by type of family.

<u>Type of Family</u>	<u>Range of Monthly Assistance for Child(ren) (approximate)</u>	<u>Range of Average Monthly Assistance per Child (approximate)</u>
One parent with		
girl 8	\$ 20 - \$ 68	\$ 20 - \$ 68
boy 8, girl 13	44 - 102	22 - 51
boy 16	24 - 82	24 - 82
Two parents with		
one child 6	20 - 39	20 - 39
girl 8, boy 13	44 - 80	22 - 40
boys 6, 11, girl 9	59 - 103	20 - 34
one 4, boys 7, 9, girl 12	81 - 137	20 - 34

Family and Youth Allowances

Family and youth allowances are specifically excluded from the calculation of income in most provinces. Family allowances are payable by the federal government at the rate of \$6 a month for children under 10 years of age and at \$8 a month for children 10 years and over but under 16. Youth allowances, payable by the federal government (in Quebec by the provincial government) are \$10 a month for each child of 16 or 17 years attending school or who is prevented from doing so by mental or physical disability. In Quebec, supplements to the federal family allowances program are also paid.

Comparison with Wage Rates

Minimum wage rates are designed to protect the unorganized and unskilled workers. They are intended to establish the minimum that a worker can legitimately be paid with the implied assumption that this amount is sufficient at least to cover basic needs. The minimum wage is not necessarily the prevailing wage in a particular area or jurisdiction but constitutes a floor above which trade unions or individuals may bargain for a higher standard.

In point of fact, many low-income workers, particularly women, are employed in industries such as the retail trade and the service industries where wages are at, or close to,

the minimum wage level and where there are the fewest fringe benefits. In September, 1968, the average weekly wage was \$76.59 in retail trade, \$70.65 in recreational services and \$58.67 in personal services.(1)

Almost all employment is now covered by federal or provincial legislation governing minimum wages. General minimum rates vary by province and in some provinces vary by zone or sex. These rates range from 85 cents an hour to \$1.35 an hour.

The following table gives weekly and monthly earnings at varying hourly rates of pay.

Earnings of an Employed Person
At Varying Hourly Rates of Pay

Rate Per Hour	Earnings Per Week (5 days - 8 hour day)	Earnings Per Month (4 1/3 weeks)
\$ 1.00	\$ 40	\$ 173.33
1.25	50	216.66
1.50	60	260.00
2.00	80	346.66
2.50	100	433.33

It can be seen from the above that an hourly wage of \$1.50, equivalent to \$260 a month, is required to approximate in most provinces the social allowance budget covering items of basic need for a family consisting of two parents and three children (See Table 1).

The wage earner's income, however, is not adjusted to family size and must cover not only items of basic need but other needs such as insurance, recreation, unemployment insurance, Canada Pension Plan contributions, work-related costs such as transportation and work clothes, and for families headed by women, the cost of child care services. Unless provided for in the wage contract, workers are also expected to assume full or partial responsibility for health needs. In many areas, low-cost housing for low-income workers is in short supply or not available.

Before any valid comparisons can be made of the relative positions of welfare recipients and low-income workers in any area, some estimate has to be made of the value of the free services granted the former and the imputed value of any subsidized services available to the latter.

In any case, it is clear that the minimum wage provides less for most families than is considered adequate by provincial budget standards for welfare recipients. It must be borne in mind, however, that the budget standards set by the provinces for welfare recipients often do not correspond to the actual amounts paid, which may be subject to a specified ceiling or limited to amounts considered reasonable in the community.

(1) Labour Gazette, March 1969.

1. MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF BASIC NEED
BY TYPE OF FAMILY BY PROVINCE DECEMBER 1969

Type of Family	Ntd. 1/	P. E. I. 2/	N. S. 3/	N. B. 4/	Ont. 5/	Man. 6/	Sask. 7/	Alta. 8/	B. C. 9/
ADULTS									
Single living alone	\$ 90	\$131	\$ 41.80	\$117.00	\$105	\$101.60	\$ 88.60		\$ 75
Married Couple	165	175	78.80	143.33	181	166.80	132.35	Not	125
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN								Specified	
One parent with									
girl 8	150	158	72.40	137.00	173	165.40	121.00		133
boy 8, girl 13	175	190	118.20	161.33	207	200.30	161.30		166
boy 16	150	163	85.20	141.33	187	175.70	130.35		133
Two parents with									
one child 6	190	202	103.20	163.33	206	205.30	166.70		158
two children: girl 8, boy 13	215	234	148.00	187.66	245	246.10	202.20		191
three children: boys 6 and 11, girl 9	240	255	159.00	202.33	274	267.40	235.00		224
four children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	265	285	195.50	224.66	303	303.40	258.10		257

Note: Actual allowances granted may be subject to ceilings (see text and footnotes) and do not necessarily correspond to the budget standards. Municipalities which administer assistance may supplement provincial allowances.

Table 1 - Footnotes

- 1/ Exclusive of fuel allowance (\$15 a month).
- 2/ Exclusive of fuel allowance, which may be paid on basis of actual cost.
- 3/ Exclusive of rent, fuel and utilities which together may not exceed \$115. Provincial maximum allowances are set as follows: \$75 for women 60-65 years who are single, widowed, deserted, divorced or unemployed; \$100 for disabled persons and persons 65 or over; \$175 for families.
- 4/ Exclusive of fuel allowance which may be paid on the basis of actual cost. Amounts specified for the various items of basic need are maximum amounts and the total allowance may not exceed an amount considered to be a reasonable standard in the community.
- 5/ Rent for heated premises.
- 6/ Exclusive of fuel and utilities which are paid on the basis of actual cost.
- 7/ Exclusive of fuel allowance which may be granted according to provincial schedule or on the basis of actual cost.
- 8/ Amounts for provincial allowances are specified for food and clothing only; other rates are set at community standards. Rates are not specified for municipal allowances.
- 9/ Includes fuel.

2. NEWFOUNDLAND: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF
BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Long Term Assistance)

Type of Family	Food	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities	Fuel	Shelter		Total ^{1/}
							Urban	Rural	
<u>ADULTS</u> Single living alone	\$ 35	\$ 15	\$ 20	\$ 105	\$ 15	\$ 20	\$ 20	\$ 105	\$ 105
	65								
Married Couple		25	25		15	50	25	180	155
<u>FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN</u>									
One parent with									
girl 8	55	20	25		15	50	25	165	140
girl 8, boy 13	75	25	25		15	50	25	190	165
boy 16	55	20	25		15	50	25	165	140
Two parents with									
1 child 6	85	30	25		15	50	25	205	180
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	105	35	25		15	50	25	230	205
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11	125	40	25		15	50	25	255	230
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	145	45	25		15	50	25	280	255

^{1/} Additional assistance up to \$50 a month may be granted in special circumstances.

3. PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969

Type of Family	Food	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities	Fuel	Shelter		Total ^{1/}
							Urban	Rural	
<u>ADULTS</u>									
Single living alone	\$ 30	\$ 15	\$ 6				\$ 80	\$ 40	\$ 131 \$ 91
Married Couple	60	25	10				84	40	175 135
<u>FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN</u>									
One parent with									
girl 8	45	25	8				80	40	158 118
girl 8, boy 13	65	35	10				80	40	190 150
boy 16	50	25	8				80	40	163 123
Two parents with									
1 child 6	75	35	12				80	40	202 162
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	95	45	14				80	40	234 194
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11	105	55	15				80	40	255 215
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	125	65	15				80	40	285 245

1/ Exclusive of fuel and utilities.

4. NOVA SCOTIA: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF BASIC
NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Provincial and Municipal Rates)

Type of Family	Food	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities ^{1/}	Fuel ^{1/}	Shelter ^{1/}	Total
<u>ADULTS</u>								
Single living alone	\$ 28.80	\$ 9.00	\$ 4.00					
Married Couple	52.80	18.00	8.00		Electricity up to \$12	Up to \$20	Actual amount paid up to \$100	Provincial: up to \$75 for women 60-65; up to \$100 for other single persons; ^{2/} \$175 for families with children.
<u>FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN</u>								
Mother with girl 8	48.40	16.00	8.00		Water up to \$4			
girl 8, boy 13	79.20	26.00	13.00					
boy 16	57.20	19.00	9.00					
Two parents with 1 child 6	68.20	24.00	11.00					
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	96.00	35.00	17.00					
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11	102.00	38.00	19.00					
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	123.50	48.00	24.00					Municipal: no ceiling specified

^{1/} The total of rent or mortgage payments, taxes, fuel, electricity and water may not exceed \$115 per month except for recipients of provincial supplemental allowances for whom there are no specified ceilings on rent, fuel, electricity and water. In lieu of rent, 50 per cent of mortgage payment is allowed for a recipient of municipal assistance and 100 per cent for a recipient of provincial assistance, together with the actual amount of taxes and \$12 per month for home maintenance.

^{2/} Persons 65 years of age and over not in receipt of an old age security pension and disabled persons.

5. NEW BRUNSWICK: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF
BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969

Type of Family	Food ^{1/}	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities	Fuel	Shelter		Total ^{2/}	
							Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural
ADULTS										
Single living alone	\$ 26.00	\$ 10	\$ 15	\$ 6			\$ 60	\$ 40	\$ 117.00	\$ 97.00
Married Couple	43.33	15	15	10			60	40	143.33	123.33
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN										
One parent with										
girl 8	39.00	15	15	8	On basis of actual	On basis	60	40	137.00	117.00
girl 8, boy 13	56.33	20	15	10	cost		60	40	161.33	141.33
boy 16	43.33	15	15	8			60	40	141.33	121.33
Two parents with										
1 child 6	56.33	20	15	12			60	40	163.33	143.33
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	73.66	25	15	14			60	40	187.66	167.66
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11	82.33	30	15	15			60	40	202.33	182.33
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	99.66	35	15	15			60	40	224.66	204.66

^{1/} Four and one-third times the specified weekly rate. May be increased for special diets on medical recommendation.

^{2/} The allowance granted may not exceed an amount considered to be a reasonable standard in the community.

6. ONTARIO: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF BASIC
NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Provincial Rates under The Family Benefits Act)

Type of Family	Pre-added Budget ^{1/}				Fuel ^{2/}	Shelter ^{3/}	Total ^{4/}
	Food	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities		
ADULTS							
Single living alone			\$ 62		-	\$ 43	\$ 105
Married Couple			96		-	85	181
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN							
One parent with							
girl 8			88		-	85	173
girl 8, boy 13			117		-	90	207
boy 16			102		-	85	187
Two parents with							
1 child 6			116		-	90	206
2 children: girl 8, boy 13			150		-	95	245
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11			174		-	100	274
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12			198		-	105	303

1/ Amount for the pre-added budget covers food, clothing, utilities, household supplies, and personal requirements. An increase may be authorized for special diets.

2/ A fuel allowance may be authorized for unheated accommodation for the period October to April, or if the recipient resides in a territorial district, September to May, in a monthly amount up to a maximum of \$32 based on the local cost of coal calculated according to the number of rooms and number of pounds of coal per month required. This allowance may be increased by 20 per cent if necessary.

3/ Heated premises. Rates for unheated premises are \$10 less for married persons with or without children.

4/ The maximum allowance payable is \$300 up to four beneficiaries, and is increased by a further \$10 monthly for each beneficiary in excess of four. Supplementary aid of up to \$20 a month may be paid by the municipality under the General Welfare Assistance Act to recipients who require assistance to meet shelter or extraordinary needs.

7. ONTARIO: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF
BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Municipal Rates Under The General Welfare Assistance Act)

Type of Family	Pre-added Budget ^{1/}			Household Maintenance	Utilities	Fuel ^{2/}	Shelter ^{3/}	Total ^{4/}
	Food	Clothing	Personal Care					
ADULTS								
Single living alone								
Married Couple		\$ 47 80		\$ 7 7	\$ 8 9	- -	\$ 43 85	\$ 105 181
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN								
One parent with								
girl 8		72		7	9	-	85	173
girl 8, boy 13		100		7	10	-	90	207
boy 16		86		7	9	-	85	187
Two parents with								
1 child 6		99		7	10	-	90	206
2 children: girl 8, boy 13		132		7	11	-	95	245
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11		156		7	12	-	100	275
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12		179		7	12	-	105	303

1/ Amount for the pre-added budget covers food, clothing and personal requirements. May be increased for special diets.

2/ If accommodation is unheated, a fuel allowance is authorized for the period October 1 to April 30 and where the recipient resides in a territorial district, September 1 to May 31, based on the cost of coal locally calculated on the basis of the number of rooms and number of pounds of coal per month required. Amounts may be apportioned over 12 months.

3/ Heated premises. Rates for unheated premises are \$10 less for a family.

4/ The maximum allowance in which the Province will share is \$300 to a recipient with 3 dependants or less, with a further \$10 for each dependant in excess of three.

8. MANITOBA: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF
BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Provincial Rates)^{1/}

Type of Family	Food	Clothing	Personal Care ^{2/}	Household Maintenance	Utilities	Fuel	Shelter ^{4/}	Total ^{5/}
<u>ADULTS</u>								
Single living alone	\$ 34. 10	\$ 7. 50	\$ 12	\$ 3			\$ 45	\$101. 60
Married Couple	63. 80	15. 00	24	4	On basis of actual cost	On basis of actual cost	60	166. 80
<u>FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN</u>								
One parent with								
girl 8	59. 40	15. 00	12	4			75	165. 40
girl 8, boy 13	85. 80	22. 50	12	5			75	200. 30
boy 16	68. 20	16. 50	12	4			75	175. 70
Two parents with								
1 child 6	80. 30	21. 00	24	5			75	205. 30
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	111. 10	30. 00	24	6			75	246. 10
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11	125. 40	36. 00	24	7			75	267. 40
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	152. 90	43. 50	24	8			75	303. 40

1/ Rates are not set by the Province for municipal aid.
2/ For adults only.
3/ Consists of a basic rate of \$3 per household plus \$1 for each person after the first.
4/ At the discretion of the Director of Public Welfare, the actual rent may be paid.
5/ For persons 65 years of age and over an additional \$4. 10 a month may be added.

9. SASKATCHEWAN: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF BASIC NEED
BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Provincial and Municipal Rates)

Type of Family	Food	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities ^{1/}	Fuel	Shelter ^{2/}	Total ^{3/}
ADULTS								
Single living alone	\$ 28.50	\$ 10.00	\$3.25	\$ 1.60	\$ 10.25	Based	\$ 35	\$ 88.60
Married Couple	54.00	20.00	6.50	1.60	10.25	on	40	132.35
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN								
One parent with								
girl 8	48.50	16.80	3.85	1.60	10.25	actual	40	121.00
girl 8, boy 13	73.50	24.30	4.70	2.45	11.35	cost or	45	161.30
boy 16	55.50	18.00	5.00	1.60	10.25	according	40	130.35
Two parents with						to		
1 child 6	74.00	26.80	7.10	2.45	11.35	provincial	45	166.70
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	95.00	34.30	7.95	2.45	12.50	schedule	50	202.20
3 children: boy 6; girl 9, boy 11	113.00	41.10	8.55	3.75	13.60		55	235.00
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	124.50	46.10	9.00	3.75	14.75		60	258.10

1/ City rates. Includes two items: water, and light and cooking.

2/ The rent allowance may be based on actual amount paid.

3/ The maximum allowance which may be granted an employable person is 90 per cent of his normal earning capacity, except in special circumstances.

10. ALBERTA: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF
BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Provincial Rates)^{1/}

Type of Family	Food ^{2/}	Clothing	Personal Care	Household Maintenance	Utilities	Fuel	Shelter	Total
ADULTS								
Single living alone	\$ 36.10	\$ 8.10						
Male	31.60	8.50						
Female	62.04	16.70						
Married Couple								
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN								
One parent with								
girl 8	52.47	17.30						
girl 8, boy 13	80.01	26.60						
boy 16	67.54	19.30						
Two parents with ^{1/}								
1 child 6	75.92	24.70						
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	106.30	34.80						
3 children: boy 6,								
girl 9, boy 11	116.40	42.80						
4 children: girl 4,								
boys 7 and 9, girl 12	142.80	52.60						

^{1/} Rates are not set by the Province for municipal aid.

^{2/} An additional food allowance for special diets may be granted on medical recommendation.

Amounts shown in this table for a mother and one child are calculated on rates for adult living with others.

No rates set - may be paid in accordance with
community standards

None
Specified

11. BRITISH COLUMBIA: MONTHLY BUDGET STANDARDS FOR ITEMS OF
BASIC NEED BY TYPE OF FAMILY, DECEMBER 1969
(Provincial and Municipal Rates)

Type of Family ^{1/}	Food	Clothing ^{2/}	Personal Care ^{2/}	Household Maintenance	Utilities ^{2/}	Fuel ^{2/}	Shelter ^{3/}	Total ^{4/}
ADULTS								
Single living alone	\$ 35			\$ 10			\$ 30	\$ 75
Married Couple	60			20			45	125
FAMILIES WITH CHILDREN								
One parent with								
girl 8	60			20			45	133
girl 8, boy 13	70			30			50	166
boy 16	60			20			45	133
Two parents with								
1 child 6	70			30			50	158
2 children: girl 8, boy 13	85			35			55	191
3 children: boy 6, girl 9, boy 11	100			40			60	224
4 children: girl 4, boys 7 and 9, girl 12	110			50			65	257

^{1/} There is no differential in rates between adults and children. Separate standards for purposes of supplementary aid apply to recipients of Old Age Security, Blind Persons Allowances and Disabled Persons Allowances.

^{2/} Allowance covers clothing, fuel, operating and sundries.

^{3/} Basic rate. An additional amount up to 50 per cent of the basic rate may be granted under special circumstances, or if necessary, the actual rent paid may be allowed.

^{4/} The amount shown for families includes the supplementary children's grant of \$8 a month for each dependent child in the family unit. In addition, the following allowances may be made for children: a supplementary community recreation program grant of \$15 a year for children over 6 years of age; and a supplementary school supplies grant of \$15 a year for each school child. Also, the allowances specified in the provincial schedule may be exceeded in special circumstances.

PROVINCIAL PROGRAMS FOR HOSPITAL
AND INSTITUTIONAL CARE*

Mental hospitals now are operated mainly by provincial governments; the provinces pay the cost of indigent care although an element of local contribution remains in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Some provinces provide free care to all residents, but the majority charge patients to the extent that their families or relatives can afford to pay. The small proportion of revenue derived from paying patients -- less than 4 per cent for Canada in 1967 -- may indicate a generous means test but also suggests the possibility that a large number of persons of low income status may be housed in these institutions.

Tuberculosis sanatoria, too, are operated mainly by the provinces, most of which have introduced free care to remove any possibility that financial deterrents might interfere with effective control programs. Municipal financial responsibility for a share of the cost has been retained only in Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

The development of other types of long-term care facilities for the chronically ill and physically infirm has been mainly under voluntary and proprietary auspices, although some facilities are maintained by local authorities and provincial governments. Types of facilities include geriatric chronic and convalescent hospitals, nursing homes and infirmary sections of homes for the aged. All provinces in varying degrees make capital grants toward the construction of homes for the aged. Prepaid public-ward hospital care in approved chronic hospitals and some high standard nursing homes forms a part of the hospital insurance program in all provinces. Nursing home care as a benefit with co-insurance charges is available for qualified residents in Alberta without a test of financial need, outside the provisions of the hospital insurance program. In all provinces maintenance payments are made on behalf of needy persons in nursing homes and homes for the aged as part of provincial social assistance programs; municipalities contribute a share in most provinces.

In the realm of active treatment hospital care, comprehensive hospital insurance with universal coverage was preceded in some provinces by free hospital care for certain diseases and free care for public assistance recipients, as well as by prepayment for part of the general population in Alberta and Newfoundland. Comprehensive prepayment schemes for the whole population were introduced by Saskatchewan in 1947, British Columbia in 1949, Manitoba, Alberta and Newfoundland in 1958, Ontario, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island in 1959, the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory in 1960, and Quebec in 1961.

In seven provinces and two territories where programs are financed through the general tax system as well as in Manitoba where premiums are payable, coverage is automatic and universal for all residents. In Saskatchewan and Ontario, eligibility for benefits is dependent upon payment of a premium in addition to residence qualifications. Compulsory premiums in Manitoba and Saskatchewan finance about one-quarter of hospitalization costs. In Ontario, the premium payment, which is compulsory for residents employed by firms with 15 or more employees and voluntary for others, is expected to finance about one-third of the cost of the plan.

* Prepared by W. Arrowsmith, Research and Statistics Directorate.

In Saskatchewan, persons in need may be nominated under the Saskatchewan Assistance Plan and receive immediate free hospital insurance coverage. In Ontario beneficiaries under provincial public assistance programs receive free hospital insurance coverage. Municipalities may pay premiums on behalf of resident indigents. Resident indigents for whom the premium has not been paid, together with normally self-supporting persons who have not paid the premium and are deemed unable to pay for specific hospital care, are termed "hospital indigents". This group received episodic care free of charge subject to a means test and is considered to be insured under the plan; however, entitlement to services is established in each case after the need for care arises. Substantial numbers of local relief recipients are covered in this way.

Benefits in all provinces include basic public ward care in general and allied special hospitals, inclusive of psychiatric units in general hospitals and approved chronic hospital facilities. Co-insurance charges are levied in Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia and the Northwest Territories, but are paid by the province on behalf of public assistance recipients. The range of outpatient benefits has been increased in most provinces in recent years, and fairly comprehensive coverage is now provided by the majority of provinces. It may be added that in addition to insured services, many hospital outpatient departments and clinics, particularly teaching hospitals have provided medical care at no charge or at a reduced charge on a means test basis; such medical care is now a benefit under provincial medical care plans functioning in seven provinces.

HEALTH CARE PROGRAMS FOR
PUBLIC ASSISTANCE RECIPIENTS*

Provincial programs providing certain medical care and other health care benefits to recipients of welfare allowances were in operation in each province prior to the introduction of province-wide medical care insurance. Organized provincial schemes providing stipulated health services were introduced in Ontario in 1942; Saskatchewan in 1945; Alberta in 1947; British Columbia in 1949; Nova Scotia in 1950; Manitoba in 1960; Quebec in 1966; Prince Edward Island in 1966; and New Brunswick in 1967. Newfoundland has for many years operated a plan that provided care as required for persons in need. The total number of persons eligible for benefits under such programs are estimated to have reached 1,150,000 in the fiscal year 1967-68.

Hospital care insurance programs in every province provide automatic coverage to welfare allowance recipients without payment of premiums or co-charges by them.

Physicians' Services

Following the implementation of public medical care insurance plans in the provinces of Saskatchewan, Alberta, British Columbia, Ontario, Manitoba, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland provincial welfare recipients became automatically enrolled and without premium payment, where applicable. Additionally, old age security recipients may be enrolled without premium payment in Ontario on the basis of a special means test, and in Saskatchewan on the basis of a needs test; in Alberta any person unable to pay may be enrolled without premium payment. Under such programs, benefits and payment rates to physicians in respect to recipients of welfare are identical to those applicable to the general population. Co-charges and extra-billing are usually waived.

Programs expressly covering welfare recipients and providing a virtually comprehensive range of physicians' services continue to operate in Quebec, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, with costs shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Provision of other health care benefits on a cost shared basis continues to follow a variety of patterns established under provincial or municipal programs.

Prescribed Drug Benefits

In British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, New Brunswick, and Newfoundland virtually all provincial public assistance recipients are enrolled under schemes providing prescribed drug benefits. In Manitoba a drug program covers persons designated as aged and infirm, recipients of mothers' allowances and their dependants, government wards and indigent persons in unorganized territory. A variety of systems of drug benefit and non-benefit lists are employed and payment rates to pharmacies or dispensing physicians are negotiated by provincial governments. Under several schemes co-charges are levied on patients.

Drugs provided at local initiative in Ontario, Nova Scotia and Quebec are shareable under provincial legislation as well as under the Canada Assistance Plan.

* Prepared by G. Plet, Research and Statistics Directorate.

Dental Care Benefits

Dental benefit plans are operated for selected recipients of welfare in the four western provinces and in Ontario. In British Columbia, special means tests are applied to public assistance recipients in order to qualify them for enrolment. A separate program is operated in that province for the children under 13 years of age of all welfare recipients. The Ontario program provides dental benefits to persons in receipt of mothers' allowances and dependent fathers' allowances. This includes parents and their children under the age of 18. All provincial public assistance recipients qualify for dental benefits in schemes operated in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Benefits under these dental plans typically exclude specified services and require prior authorization for some services. In the three westernmost provinces, posterior bridgework, prophylaxis and paedodontics are excluded. Prior authorization is required in British Columbia and Saskatchewan for dentures, relines, gold inlays, orthodontia and periodontia. Payments to dentists are at negotiated fixed rates under each of these plans. The patient is required to pay a co-charge of approximately 50 per cent of the cost of dentures in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

All dental care expenditures by municipalities in Ontario in respect to welfare recipients are shared by the province and through the Canada Assistance Plan.

A limited range of in-hospital dental surgery performed by physicians and dentists is a benefit under provincial medical care insurance plans.

Optical Care Benefits

Health benefit schemes for welfare recipients included certain optical care services and eyeglasses in the four westernmost provinces.

With the implementation of public medical care insurance schemes in those provinces, Ontario, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland refractions performed by physicians became general benefits under these schemes, and refractions by optometrists were also included except in Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. Thus previously existing special authorization requirements for refractions in respect to welfare recipients were removed.

Frames, lenses and fittings continue to be benefits of the provincial health benefit schemes in the western provinces. Certain restrictions typically govern the amount which will be paid for frames, e.g. for cosmetic purposes.

Other Health Care Benefits

Other health benefits which are provided under programs in some provinces include home nursing, appliances, physiotherapy, podiatry, chiropractic, and emergency transportation usually at the discretion of the provincial authority. All such payments are shareable under the Canada Assistance Plan including those initiated by municipalities. Some of these benefits are now included under provincial medical care insurance plans.

Federal Programs

Traditionally the federal government has provided a range of health benefits to needy war veterans, Indians and Eskimos.

These groups are now covered under provincial public hospital and medical insurance plans where such programs have been set up. In the remaining provinces the Federal Government continues to provide services directly and continues to provide such extended health care as is necessary where it is not among benefits of provincial health insurance programs.

PROVINCIAL MEDICAL CARE PROGRAMS*

Traditionally, and up to a couple of decades ago, most self-paying patients in Canada paid directly for personal health care services. In recent years, and for the services of physicians, especially, prepaid insurance has been replacing direct payment. At the end of 1966, the most recent year for final figures, about 12.0 million Canadians or 60 per cent of the population had some private voluntary insurance protection against the cost of physicians' services. When plans of all types, private and public, are considered together, the total with some form of protection was about 16.4 million persons or 82 per cent of the population.

Under the provisions of the Federal Medical Care Act, 1966, seven provincial governments have introduced programs intended to ensure that all residents can have physicians' services insurance. Coverage of all residents is automatic or compulsory in Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta; in Ontario enrolment is partially compulsory and partly voluntary; in British Columbia enrolment is voluntary.

Most of these plans, in addition to the comprehensive range of physicians' services and specified oral surgery in hospital that can be cost-shared under the Medical Care Act, also make provision for other health-care benefits to be included as part of the basic contract. Typically, refraction services by optometrists are now included (i.e., in all provincial plans except Nova Scotia and Newfoundland). Additionally, a restricted volume of services by chiropractors, podiatrists, osteopaths and naturopaths may be insured.

Residents may if they wish continue to seek insurance protection for additional services -- i.e., dental care, prescribed drugs -- from private voluntary agencies both commercial and non-profit.

Five of the seven plans employ premiums to help finance their portions of total costs. Two plans, in Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, finance the provincial portion of costs from general revenues only. In these provinces there is, of course, virtually no direct cost to low-income families apart from extra-billing that doctors may in some instances impose. The premium levy is kept low in Saskatchewan and in Manitoba (effective November 1) to minimize the financial burden to low-income families, although in Saskatchewan this effect may be offset somewhat for certain physician-visit services by provision for "utilization fees", i.e., direct payments to the doctor by the patient of \$1.50 to \$2.00 for certain services as they are rendered. The problem of minimizing the financial burden is approached differently in Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia: premium-levies are substantial in these provincial programs, but premium subsidies are available to reduce the cost of premiums to families and individuals with little or no taxable income in the preceding year (see below for details).

Modes of paying doctors can also have an effect upon how much of the total cost of physicians' charges continues to be borne directly by patients. In three provinces, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and Newfoundland, an undertaking by the doctor to submit his bill directly to the insuring authority for payment carries with it a requirement, usually, that the amount paid (i.e., typically, 85 or 90 per cent of the approved fee for the claim) represents payment in full

*Prepared by L. Williams, Research and Statistics Directorate.

for the service. In the other four provinces the direct-billing-to-public-authority mode of seeking payment does not preclude extra billing provided the doctor indicates his intention to the patient beforehand. In Nova Scotia and British Columbia the physician is also required to obtain prior written agreement from the patient, and to notify the public authority of the extra charge.

In all participating provinces a doctor electing, alternatively, to submit his bill to the patient, rather than to the public authority, for payment may legally charge the patient any amount. The patient will be reimbursed by the insuring authority only on the basis of what the authority defines as the approved fee. It must be remembered, however, that under these arrangements doctors typically waive the right to collect extra amounts from low-income patients.

Each of the seven plans is described briefly in the paragraphs that follow:

Saskatchewan -- This program which was introduced in July, 1962, requires enrolment of the entire eligible population. The premiums are compulsory and are for a family, \$24 per year and for a single person, \$12. These premiums cover only a small portion of the costs of the program. Welfare recipients are automatically covered and no premium payment is required.

Among the medical services insured are home, office and hospital visits, surgery, obstetrics, psychiatric care outside mental hospitals, anaesthesia, laboratory and radiological services, preventive medicine, and certain services provided by dentists. There are no waiting periods for benefits and no exclusions for reasons of age or pre-existing health conditions. Refractions by optometrists are also an insured benefit but the costs are not shared under the Medical Care Act.

The Medical Care Insurance Commission pays for approved services on the basis of 85 per cent of the listed fee, except for certain classes of services where a utilization fee applies. These fees are \$1.50 for each office visit and \$2.00 for each home and out-patient call and are payable by the patient to the attending physician. In these instances the financial responsibility of the public authority is reduced by the amount of the applicable fee. To avoid financial hardship to patients in exceptional cases there is provision for a family maximum on the total amount of such fees that must be paid. Welfare recipients are not required to pay utilization fees: instead, the medical profession by agreement accepts 85 per cent as payment in full for all services rendered to welfare patients. The co-charges are thus paid by the public authority.

Physicians may elect to receive payment in three ways. First, the physician may receive payment directly from the public authority of 85 per cent of the tariff in the current fee schedule of the medical association less the utilization fee, and accept this payment, along with the utilization fee to the patient, as payment in full. Secondly, patients and physicians may enrol voluntarily with an "approved health agency" that serves as intermediary, with respect to payment, between the public authority and the

physicians; here also the physician receives 85 per cent of the tariff less the utilization fee. Thirdly, a physician may elect to submit his bill directly to the patient who pays him either before or after seeking reimbursement from the public authority; the physician may bill the patient directly for amounts over and above what the public authority has paid. No physician is compelled to confine himself to one or the other of these modes of payment.

Alberta -- Alberta became a participating province on July 1, 1969, under the federal Medical Care Act with administration by a Health Care Insurance Commission. Registration, as in Saskatchewan, is compulsory for all eligible residents (except that failure to pay premiums is not a barrier to receipt of insured services) and the levels of benefits are similar to those in Saskatchewan for the services of doctors and oral surgeons. Additionally, the plan provides limited coverage for such paramedical services as refractions by optometrists, podiatry, chiropractic and osteopathy. Doctors are paid at 100 per cent of the 1968 fee schedule of the medical association. Physicians can elect several modes of submitting claims for payment. In all instances, though, the Alberta doctors retain the right to extra-bill patients if they wish, subject to prior agreement by the patient.

Premium structures are \$5.00 per month for single persons, and \$10.00 per month for families. No premium payment is required from welfare recipients. Premium subsidies for low-income earners reduce premiums to the following levels: \$2.50 per month for single persons if taxable income in the previous year did not exceed \$500, and \$5.00 per month for families if the combined taxable income in the previous year did not exceed \$500. Additionally, there is a temporary provision that the provinces will pay up to full premiums for those residents who can prove financial need.

British Columbia -- The province became a participant under the federal Medical Care Act on July 1, 1968. The plan is governed by a public commission with jurisdiction over a number of "licensed carriers", that is non-profit agencies charged with responsibility for day-to-day management of the separate components of the program. In addition to physicians' services and a limited range of oral surgery in hospital, the benefits include refractions by optometrists, some orthoptic services, limited physiotherapy, special nursing, chiropractic and naturopathy.

Participation in the program is voluntary. Premiums are \$5.00 per month for single persons, \$10.00 per month for 2-person families, and \$12.50 per month for families of 3 or more. For eligible residents, the government offers subsidies totalling 90 per cent of the premium for persons with no taxable income and 50 per cent of the premium for persons with taxable income from \$1 to \$1,000. Welfare recipients are automatically covered and no premium payment is required.

Payment is made at 90 per cent of the current fee schedule. Physicians either accept all payments directly from a licensed carrier or elect to bill all their patients for services rendered. In the latter case the physician has to notify the patient in writing before rendering a service that he is a non-participating physician, and the patient has to agree in writing that he is prepared to pay more than the amount of reimbursement from a licensed carrier to which he is entitled. In the former case, the physician may also charge a fee in excess of the tariff provided the

patient has been duly notified, agrees in writing to the extra charge, and the amount of the extra charge is made known to the Commission.

In British Columbia, by agreement between the Plan and the medical profession, fees have been adjusted on the basis of a formula that takes into account changes in price and wage levels in the consumer and industrial sectors.

Manitoba -- Manitoba began participating under the federal Medical Care Act on April 1, 1969. Enrolment is compulsory for all eligible residents but failure to pay the required premiums is not a barrier to receipt of insured services.

The insured benefits cover all medically-required services provided by medical practitioners and limited dental surgery in hospitals. There is provision also to include, with limitations, the services of chiropractors and refractions by optometrists.

Physicians may elect to participate in the Plan, and to accept all payments for the public authority, or they may elect to receive payments direct from all their patients. In the former case the amount received (85 per cent of the fee schedule) must be accepted as payment in full. A non-participating physician must give a patient "reasonable notice" if he intends to extra-bill.

Premium levies are \$4.90 per month (\$0.55 per month after October 31) for single persons and \$9.80 per month (\$1.10 per month after October 31) for families. Coverage of welfare recipients is automatic and no premium payment is required. There are no premium subsidies because the premiums themselves are nominal.

Ontario -- Ontario began participating on October 1, 1969. Enrolment is compulsory for persons in specified employed groups and voluntary for others. The insured benefits cover all medically-required services of medical practitioners and of oral surgeons in specified hospital settings, and refractions by optometrists.

Payments are made at 90 per cent of the current fee schedule. Physicians may choose various modes of payments, but they are not required to enter into a formal commitment to confine themselves to any given mode. Regardless of the mode of payment selected, a physician is required to advise the patient of any intention to charge more than is provided under the Plan.

Premiums are \$5.90 per month for single persons, \$11.80 per month for 2-person families, and \$14.75 for families of 3 or more. Coverage is automatic for welfare recipients and no premium payment is required. Premium subsidies for low-income families modify premium-requirements as follows:

- (1) No taxable income in the previous year -- full premium assistance;
- (2) Some taxable income --
 - \$2.95 per month (i.e., 50%) for single persons if taxable income in previous year was \$500 or less;
 - \$5.90 per month (i.e., 50%) for 2-person families if combined taxable income in previous year was \$1,000 or less;

- \$5.90 per month (i.e., 40%) for families of 3 persons or more if combined taxable income in previous year was \$1,300 or less.

There are two additional provisions relating to financial aid. Three month's coverage is paid for families qualifying for temporary assistance, and recipients of Old Age Security pensions are entitled to full subsidy of premiums at permissible income levels higher than the ceilings set under the general subsidy program.

As in British Columbia, the public authority in Ontario makes use of administering agencies. In Ontario these agencies can be non-profit, or commercial insurance companies handling this component of their activities on a non-profit basis. Agencies can be "designated" or "participating" depending upon their degree of involvement in enrolment and claims processing functions. Most of their enrolment is of employee and other groups. Additionally, the government itself administers the Health Services Insurance Plan, which also enrolls members and processes claims and covers the majority of non-group and subsidized beneficiaries.

Nova Scotia -- Nova Scotia became a participating province on April 1, 1969. All eligible persons are covered by virtue of residence. Registration is required but there are no premiums, the entire amount of the provincial portion of the costs of insured services being obtained from general revenues.

The insured services include all medically necessary procedures by practitioners, plus a limited range of oral surgery procedures in hospitals. Refractions by optometrists are not a benefit.

Benefit payments by the Plan are made at 85 per cent of the current fee schedule. Physicians must elect to either participate, that is accept all payments directly from the Plan, or not to participate. In either case physicians may extra-bill, but they must obtain written consent from the patient prior to rendering the service, and the amount of the extra charge has to be made known to the Commission.

The Nova Scotia plan is administered by a non-profit carrier which has been designated by the public authority as its sole agent. This agency carries out all functions relating to eligibility checking and the processing and payment of claims, all subject to review and audit by the public authority.

Newfoundland -- This province, like Nova Scotia and Manitoba, became a participant on April 1, 1969. The plan covers all medically-required services by doctors, plus a limited range of oral surgery in hospital settings. Refractions by optometrists are not a benefit.

All eligible residents are covered and there are no premium levies, the provincial portion of total costs for insured services being met from general revenues.

In this province benefit payments are limited to 90 per cent of the fee schedule. Physicians must formally select, and use exclusively, one of the modes of payment available. A participating physician must accept 90 per cent of the fee schedule as payment in full. A non-participating physician may impose additional charges provided he informs the beneficiary that he is not a participating physician and that he reserves the right to charge in excess of the amount payable by the Plan.

NATIONAL NUTRITION SURVEY*

In November, 1968, it was pointed out that there was considerable doubt that Canadians were as well fed as has been assumed. The need for definitive data on the Canadian situation was stressed. Since November, 1968, additional information on the nutritional status of groups of individuals in North America has become available. Dr. A.E. Schaefer, reporting to the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Related Human Needs on January 22, 1969, stated that their "studies to date indicate clearly that there is malnutrition, and in our opinion it occurs in an unexpectedly large proportion of our sample population". Seven cases were found of what was diagnosed as severe malnutrition. Thirteen per cent of the population had blood serum levels of vitamin A considered to place the subjects on a high risk category. Five per cent of the population had goitre, and 15% had anemia.

These preliminary findings have resulted in a broad ranging investigation of the incidence and treatment of malnutrition in the U.S. An expert panel of consultants to the U.S. Public Health Service has already made proposals for a continuing programme for the evaluation and treatment of the various aspects of the problem. They have suggested that a 5 year programme for this work would cost \$150,000,000.

In Canada, Barsky has reported (Can. J. Pub. Health, 60, 29, 1967) that the incidence of rickets in children from 3 months to 2 years of age has increased from 1962 to 1967. A review of the incidence in Quebec and other provinces (Med. Post, Feb. 25, 1969) suggests that the situation is much more serious in Quebec where fluid milk is used in infant feeding. Over the past five years an average of 50 patients per year, with rickets, were reportedly admitted to the Montreal Children's Hospital. The province estimates that bed care expenditure for rickets amounts to \$350,000 per year.

The above data serve to emphasize again the need for detailed information on the nutritional status of Canadians.

Objectives of the Survey

The objectives of the survey have been re-examined in the light of discussions by the Expert Panels as follows:

To provide basic information on the nutritional well-being of Canadians for the planning of public health programmes and the development of Food and Drug Regulations. In order to accomplish this it has been agreed that a survey be undertaken:

1. To estimate the incidence of nutritional diseases and disorders in groups of the Canadian population, characterized by such factors as geographical location, type of community, income level, and the age, sex and physiological state of the individuals. This will be accomplished by assessing clinical evidence, anthropometric measurements, biochemical determinations and dietary intakes.

* Prepared by Food and Drug Directorate.

2. To identify the types of foods and estimate the quantity normally ingested by individuals in these groups in order to determine the levels of ingestion of nutrients, food additives, non-nutritive substances and pesticide residues.

Progress with Feasibility Study

As indicated at the previous meeting of Council, Dr. Sabry had been employed as a consultant to the Food and Drug Directorate to carry out a nutrition study. He has visited all provincial Departments of Health, all interested University departments and other interested organizations. Expert groups were set up on specific subjects which would be the basis of the survey. These were:

1. Survey Design and Sampling
2. Dietary Studies
3. Clinical Examinations
4. Biochemical Measurements

An overall Coordinating Committee on Standards and Data Interpretation was set up to coordinate the activities of these groups.

Results of the deliberations of the Expert Group on Survey Design and Sampling have been circulated for comment to officers of the Department and to a group of 25 outside experts for comment.

All groups met jointly and together on March 9, 10, 11, and 12, 1969, in Ottawa. The results of their deliberations were collected and edited to form a document describing a proposed plan for the Survey. This document was then circulated to a wide group of consultants who are knowledgeable in the various phases of the study. Representatives of all provincial governments as well as all University departments interested in nutrition were included in this group.

The following points summarize present thinking regarding the survey.

1. It is proposed that the population will be sampled at the rate of 1 person per 1000 for a total sample of 21,000.
2. Plans call for sampling of individuals in provinces in proportion to provincial population. This will result in approximately equal precision of estimates from most economic regions of the country.
3. It is proposed to divide the population into groups on the basis of physiological (age and sex groups) and income characteristics (two groups - low and others).
4. It is considered desirable to estimate each of the measurements of interest (incidence of nutritional disease and food consumed) with equal precision in each of the groups. We are, therefore, recommending that an approximately equal number of observations be taken in each of the groups.

Special Senate Committee

5. Consideration will be given to the addition of communities which are considered to present particular nutritional problems. Additional funds would be required for this purpose.
6. Preliminary estimates of cost suggest a figure of \$90.00 per person sampled.

Proposed Plans For Organization of Survey

Dr. Sabry has now been appointed as National Coordinator and Dr. Bray as Associate Coordinator for the Federal Department of National Health and Welfare. There will also be three facilities to be developed nationally.

1. Data Processing Centre
2. Central Laboratories
3. Training Programmes

All methods used in the laboratory, computer programmes, survey forms and short courses for training programmes will be published as a reference book for field use.

In preparation for the Survey at the provincial headquarters, an administrative organization will be worked out by agreement between the National Coordinator and the Department of Health concerned. This organization will include a Director to undertake the overall field planning and administration within the province, and an administrative assistant.

It will be necessary to reach agreement, as soon as possible, with each of the provinces on the nature and degree of participation. Such agreements will specify the responsibilities and the commitments of the Food and Drug Directorate and the Provincial Department of Health to the field operation of the Survey in the province.

It is recommended that budgets for field operations be worked out on a provincial basis. Since the survey will be of relatively short duration, it is hoped that provinces will take the opportunity of participating in the survey to the fullest extent possible. It is realized, however, that arrangements will have to be made for the normal duties of staff to be carried out.

At present, plans call for a pilot study to be initiated after April 1, 1970 and for the actual survey to commence in September, 1970.

POVERTY AND DENTAL HEALTH
GENERAL OBSERVATIONS*

The Influence of Poverty on Dental Health

Dental diseases are in a different category than most other diseases. They are not self-limiting, there is no natural repair and the prevalence rate is extremely high - practically 100% of the Canadian population is affected by the ravages of these diseases.

With only 1/3 of our people receiving reasonably adequate dental care it can be easily understood that we have a public health problem of major importance. The Hall Commission Report left no doubt as to the gravity of this situation with about 1/4 of the recommendations pertaining to dental health.

With dental diseases being practically universal amongst Canadians there is, of course, no doubt that for economic reasons a reasonably large segment of our population receive no dental care except for relief of pain.

Certain provinces have established dental welfare plans where recipients of social allowances are eligible for dental care. In some provinces this care is provided to children only and in others to all recipients of social allowances.

In Canada we have a situation where those with practically no source of income and those with a reasonably adequate or better source of income are receiving dental care, but for that rather large so-called "grey group" dental care is not, except for emergencies, within their reach. Frequently no funds remain after the bare necessities of life are provided. Of course, there are always exceptions whereby dental health has a very low priority within a family and funds are expended well beyond the 'necessities' leaving very little for health care.

In general, however, we may unequivocally say that poverty has a marked affect on dental health. The situation has a "snowballing" effect and not only does the dental situation worsen amongst this segment of our population, but the overall health of the individual cannot help being adversely affected. Pain and infection in the oral cavity plus eventual loss of the masticatory function are not situations which one finds in "a healthy person".

In the data available from surveys of school children carried out in conjunction with dental public health programs the prevalence of untreated dental caries and periodontal disease, tooth mortality, etc. is directly related to the socio-economic situation of a given area.

One could give many examples but it is obvious that funds for dental care are necessary if one hopes to remain in a reasonably good state of dental health, and therefore it follows that poverty directly affects dental health.

INFLUENCE OF DENTAL HEALTH ON POVERTY

There is one aspect of dental health namely, esthetics, in which the poor are at a particular disadvantage.

* Prepared by Dental Health Division

The cost of restoring appearance where major reconstruction or replacement of anterior teeth are involved is relatively beyond the means of the poor, and, often not among the services available to them from charitable or other subsidized sources. To the extent that appearance affects their employability, the poor have their condition reinforced by poor dental health.

The practical significance of this factor has never been established by any known study. It is questionable that it could be verified by any simple short-term study.

Two additional aspects of dental health could have the effect of contributing to poverty:

- (a) infection of the teeth and/or supporting structures tend to make one unfit for certain types of employment;
- (b) absence from employment due to pain and infection. The latest information in this respect comes from England; it is a quotation by the Royal Society of Health (1) "Teeth cost money. The National Health Service spends over 100 million a year on dentistry - more than the cost of heart disease, bronchitis or tuberculosis. Only mental illness is more expensive." and further "in 1967, nearly two million working days were lost through dental disease".

BASIC PHILOSOPHY - DENTAL PROGRAMS

To bring about an improvement in the dental health of our people we must begin with children and the first step is a rapid expansion of dental public health programs with dental health education as the central theme stressing the utilization of all control methods by the community, the family and the individual, to reduce the need for dental care. Dental diseases are largely preventable - herein lies our hope. Controlled fluoridation of water supplies is to this day the most economical, practical and effective public health measure to reduce the incidence of dental caries.

In conjunction with educational programs and the adoption of control methods, dental care utilizing an incremental plan must be available for children and gradually extended to older age groups.

OTHER ASPECTS, INCLUDING STUDIES

The prevention and control of dental disease in an individual involves three levels of action:

the individual as a member of the community, e.g. water fluoridation;

the individual himself, e.g. personal oral hygiene reduced frequency of sugar ingestion and fluoride dentifrices; and,

the individual and a dentist or dental hygienist, e.g., topical fluoride, treatment per se.

At each of these levels there is evidence that poverty, with its often attendant low educational level, adversely affects the chances that the poor have the same statistical opportunity of enjoying good dental health as do those of more favourable socio-economic situations.

(1) Dental Statistics: Group News, No. 44, March-April 1969, page 2.

STUDIES - U.S.

1. Division of Public Health Methods, Public Health Service. Health Statistics from the U.S. National Health Survey: Dental Care; interval and frequency of visits. United States, July 1957 - June 1959. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1960, 42 p. (p. 1-8).

"The frequency with which dental service was sought bore a striking relation to family income. (The relation of dental utilization to income is not perfect; there is no level of income, no matter how low, at which some people are not receiving care.)"

"Very similar differences existed when the individuals were classified according to educational attainment."

"The study indicated that family income and the education of the family head were related independently to the frequency with which dental care was sought."

2. Koos, E.L. The Health of Regionville; What the People Thought and Did About It. New York, Columbia University Press, 1954, XIV 177 p. (p. 118 - 125).

"Only fourteen per cent of the individuals in Class III (lowest socio-economic group) listed preventive services as the purpose of a dental visit."

A Class II housewife illustrates the effect of attitude on the man, "There's this television coming before long, and I'd rather have that - and some other things - than all my teeth."

3. Freidson, Eliot and Feldman, J.J. The Public Looks at Dental Care. New York, Health Information Foundation, 1958. 16 p.

"The cost of care was cited as a reason for neglect only 14 per cent of the time by the group who reported that they did not see a dentist regularly, although, some at least might hesitate to give this response to an interviewer" (where) cost (was listed) as a primary barrier to obtaining care. The answer was correlated sharply with family income. Cost was listed as a barrier by only 8 per cent of families making \$7,500 a year or more, but by more than half of those making less than \$2,000.

"Twenty-one per cent said they were afraid to go (to the dentist). Socio-economic factors did not appear to influence the responses listing either ignorance or fear".

4. National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago. Marginal Results and Basic Cross-Tabulations: Public Attitudes and Practices in the Field of Dental Care. Chicago, University Chicago, 1960. 446 p. mimeog.

"The amount of education reported had an even more marked effect on the response (whether or not one should seek to retain one's natural teeth) than did income or age".

5. Andrews, George, and Krough, H.W. Permanent Tooth Mortality. Dent. Progress: 1:130-4, Jan. 1961,

and

Krough, H.W. Permanent Tooth Mortality: A Clinical Study of Causes of Loss. Am. Dent. Assoc. J., 57:670-5, Nov. 1958.

"Indigent patients in the same city lost from nearly three to over seven times as many teeth to periodontal disease in the same age range". (as patients from a middle economic group).

POSSIBLE STUDIES TO CONFIRM THE GENERAL FINDINGS FROM
U.S. DATA AS BEING TRUE OF THE CANADIAN SITUATION

On Children of the Poor

Data could be secured from the Directors of Provincial and Municipal Dental Programs across Canada correlating the results of schoolroom examinations with the economics of the areas in which the schools are located.

On Poor Adults

There is no existing body of Canadian data unless the "Condition on Entry" forms of a random sample of recruits to the Armed Forces were examined against a random sample of adult males of the same age group from more favoured economic levels. (The inference here is based upon the fact that recruiting, in peacetime, is best where unemployment is highest).

A more elaborate design would be required to cover both sexes and all age groups.

There is, however, no known reason to anticipate that the conclusions from a Canadian study would differ in any significant way from those of existing U.S. studies, namely: that a low standard of education as much as economics, contributes to the relatively low standard of dental health of the poor; that nutritional adequacy of the diet has little to do with their poor dental state, but, poor dietary habits, specifically the repeated intake of sweets, has. This latter habit, however, is not the peculiarity of any one socio-economic group in Canadian society.

NATURE OF SERVICES RELATED TO POVERTY AND DENTAL HEALTH

Most of the provinces welfare plans do not provide dental care as a public dental service, except as follows:

In Nova Scotia some wards of Children's Aid Societies receive treatment on a fee-for-service basis through local arrangements between the societies and individual dentists.

In Prince Edward Island dental treatments for indigent groups are provided by the Director of Dental Services, through the Department of Health, to children in the Orphanage and in clinics held in the two main urban cities.

In Quebec, such clinics are held in most of the health units. No provision is made for allowances to private dentists for dental care to indigents except perhaps by some charitable organizations.

In Ontario the Royal College of Dental Surgeons has contracted with the Department of Public Welfare, for the provision of dental care by private practitioners on a pro-rated fee-for-service basis, to eligible children up to 17 years of age. The Department of Health also provides dental care on a similar basis to children of recipients of Mothers' Allowances, and also to persons entitled to rehabilitation. Recipients of direct relief in this Province can obtain extractions only.

In the Province of Manitoba, all persons eligible under the Social Allowance Act may obtain comprehensive dental treatment benefits. Age is not a factor. Some provincial Welfare dental assistance may be obtained by persons not destitute but requiring some social assistance. In such cases the emergency treatments provided by private practitioners are remunerated in accordance with a dental agreement based on the fee schedule of the Manitoba Workmen's Compensation Board. For comprehensive dental treatments approval by the Director of Dental Services of a written case report including an estimate of fees is required.

In Saskatchewan, the Medical Services Division accepts responsibility for the payment of fees, in accord with an accepted fee schedule, for dental services for all persons qualified for social aid and so nominated by the Department of Social Welfare.

The Alberta Government provides the Alberta Dental Association with an annual grant of 53 cents per eligible person. This fund provides dental services to eligible pensioners: Old Age Pension, Old Age Assistance, Widows, Blind and Disability, Mothers' and Child Wards, as well as the spouses and dependents of each of these groups where applicable. Also eligible are persons under the Department of Welfare but who are not holders of a pensioners card. Welfare patients of the cities of Edmonton and Calgary are also provided dental care under arrangements between these cities and the Association. In all above cases the private practitioners are remunerated by the Association according to a pro-rated fee schedule.

In British Columbia non-native indigent persons and native indigent persons living off the reserve are supplied dental services following a means test to those in receipt of Health Services. To be eligible for Health Services, one must be unemployed and have received social assistance continuously for 3 months. This 3 months waiting period before receipt of their medical card is waived for those who qualify for Health Services and belong to the following categories: Old Age Assistance, Old Age Security (receiving supplementary assistance), Disabled Persons Allowance, Blind Persons Allowance and Child Welfare Wards.

The Department of National Health and Welfare through its Medical Services Directorate, provides dental services to Indians and Eskimos under definite terms and conditions.

In some provinces, such as Quebec for instance, static dental clinics have been inaugurated in almost all of the health units and provide dental care to indigent children. In others, such as in Prince Edward Island, the Director of Dental Services provides his own services in orphanages and in clinics held in the two main urban cities. Large cities such as Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg and some of a lesser population such as Quebec and Ottawa have municipal dental clinics where free or almost free dental services are provided to welfare cases for the relief of pain and infection, to some extent preventive dental care is also supplied in many of these clinics.

Special Senate Committee

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program
1962/63 - 1969/70

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Project on Utilization of Personnel (564-20-1)	Canadian Welfare Council Commission on Education and Personnel	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To study how needed and welfare manpower resources (professional and non-professional) can be more effectively classified, developed and deployed to provide needed social services within existing and future organizational patterns of welfare services.		

Auxiliary Homes Project (553-20-1)	New Brunswick Department of Youth and Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> An assessment and evaluation of the existing organization, staffing and standards of welfare services with regard to nursing homes and homes for the aged in New Brunswick and the development of comprehensive plans for the organization of such services, according to acceptable standards, both to meet existing requirements and those that develop over the next two decades.		

Assessment and Rehabilitation Project for Older Recipients of General Welfare Assistance (555-20-2)	Ontario Department of Public Welfare	Transferred to Canada Assis- tance Plan
<u>Purpose:</u> To learn more of the characteristics of men aged 50 to 65 years in receipt of General Welfare Assistance, the types of problems these men encounter when seeking employment and the best methods of helping them to surmount such problems.		

Family Demonstration Project (555-20-1)	Ontario Department of Public Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To identify social, economic, and health characteristics of long-term recipients of General Welfare Assistance in the City of Toronto; to measure the effectiveness of assigning small caseloads to welfare workers presently employed in Ontario welfare departments who have no training in welfare; and to identify areas in which, and the reasons why, the intensive and concentrated service was not effective.		

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

supported under the
National Welfare Grants Program

Project Title	Organization	Status
Analysis of First Year Field Instruction Components and Methodology (555-21-3)	University of Toronto School of Social Work	Deferred

Purpose: To analyze the content of field instruction in order to examine and analyze the component elements in the field instruction method now being used in schools of social work. It is believed that a careful analysis of this process will lead to a better understanding of the pedagogical methods and a more economical and more effective use of the time and staff involved.

Historical and Classified Survey of Research at the School of Social Work (Research Compendium) (555-21-4)	University of Toronto School of Social Work	Completed
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Purpose: To analyze and classify the research work carried out by graduate M.S.W. and Ph.D. students under faculty direction at the School of Social Work during the years 1946 through 1963, and to make the resulting report available through publication. Included in the published report will be an examination of the main trends in the researches analyzed in the document and a study of the place and function of research as part of the education of professional social workers.

Project on Social Adjustment, Personality and Behaviour in Ontario Training Schools (555-21-2)	University of Toronto School of Social Work	Completed
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Purpose: To develop a methodology that would allow precise quantitative evaluation of correctional services; to apply the new method and ancillary techniques to specific problems met by Ontario Training Schools in their task of treatment and rehabilitation; to involve in the research process graduate students proceeding to M.S.W. degree as well as staff of OTS and thus contribute to the education of welfare personnel, both professional and non-professional.

Area Development Project (559-21-1)	Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area	In progress
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Purpose: To evaluate the effect of the treatment program on the families served, using a control group design and a five year follow-up study; to evaluate the processes of integrating a wide variety of services under one administration and the resultant effect on agencies, and to study in depth the genetic, biological, psychiatric, psychological and social factors associated with multi-problem families.

The project proposes to do this by establishing an area social service centre, to provide integrated social casework, social group work and public health services to a group of multi-problem families, to mobilize a wide variety of resources in the rehabilitation of these families and to engage in community development in the area in which these families live.

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WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Project on Community Planning and Provision of Direct Service for Troubled Young Women (564-21-1)	Young Women's Christian Association of Canada	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To establish a research design for a project that will attempt to discover the extent and nature of welfare needs presented to local YWCA by troubled young women with a view to gaining insight into the most effective way of helping them, and to ascertain the extent to which welfare needs of women are met by existing child and family health and welfare services.		

Project to Measure the Appropriateness and Effectiveness of Social Welfare Program in the Local Community (559-20-1)	British Columbia Department of Social Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To establish a research design for a project to determine the community's awareness and use of social welfare services provided by the Department and related government departments and an evaluation of the effectiveness of these services.		

Prince Albert Social Aid Study (557-20-1)	Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To study in depth the social aid caseload in a small city which has had the highest incidence of economic dependency in the province for a number of years. The plan of study includes a general survey of all active cases within fairly set parameters, the classification and detailed study of the select group and finally the formulation of rehabilitation plans for individual cases in the select group.		

The Voluntary Agency and Government: A Study of Public-Private Relationships in English-speaking Canada (555-21-6)	University of Toronto School of Social Work	In Progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To explore the patterns of relationships between public and voluntary welfare organizations in English-speaking Canada, with a view to defining the continuing function of the volunteer and the voluntary agency in relationship to government, in the context of increasing public responsibility in the welfare field.		

Winnipeg Multi-Service Project: An Evaluation (556-20-2)	Manitoba Department of Welfare	In Progress
<u>Purpose:</u> a) To evaluate the effects of an integrated multi-service program with a family-centred approach, by measuring the movement made by multi-problem families in specific areas of functioning. The study population is made up of treatment families plus a control group of matched multi-problem non-project families receiving community welfare services. All families live in the Salter-Jarvis area of Winnipeg.		
b) To develop valid and reliable instruments for the identification of types of families to be arranged in a typology which can be related to the treatment and movement of families.		

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Evaluation of Rehabilitation Procedures (557-20-3)	Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To evaluate the extensive use of rehabilitation procedures with respect to social aid cases in two specific welfare regions; ultimately to determine what rehabilitation services can be provided effectively through a municipal welfare dept.		

Youths Committed to Correctional Institutions (557-20-4)	Saskatchewan Department of Social Welfare and Rehabilitation	Deferred
<u>Purpose:</u> To establish the proportion of inmates in provincial correctional institutions who have had previous contact with departmental services; and to determine the nature and appropriateness of this previous contact.		

School Performance in Public Assistance Families (564-20-2)	Canadian Welfare Council Public Welfare Division	Completed (Design Phase)
<u>Purpose:</u> To explore the relationship between factors associated with the receipt of public assistance and the school performance of the children of public assistance families and to determine if there are relationships between any aspects of these two variables which could be stated as causal hypotheses.		

Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting the Welfare of Children (564-22-1)	Canadian Conference on Children	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> As part of a larger study, to make an inventory of child welfare services, with special reference to the province of Quebec. (Published under the title of <u>Child Welfare Services: Winding Paths to Maturity</u> as a background study for the Canadian Conference on Children, 1965).		

Single Unemployed Men in Hamilton (555-21-8)	University of Toronto School of Social Work	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To examine the characteristics of a group of single unemployed men in Hamilton so as to enable comparisons with previous studies on the homeless transient and the chronic petty offender and to extend knowledge of possible value to social and law enforcement agencies dealing with this group.		

The Effect of Cultural Difference on the Provision and Outcome of Social Work Services (555-25-1)	University of Ottawa School of Social Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To examine the possible effects on the provision of individual social work services arising from differences in cultural identity between the client and the social worker. Specifically a period of social work intervention will be examined in cases involving French-Canadian and Anglo-Saxon Catholic clients and social workers where a problem of family relationship exists.		

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WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Title of Project</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
A Community Study of Indians, Metis and Whites in Regina (557-21-1)	Regina Welfare Council	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To identify problems of social and economic adjustment arising out of the relocation of Indians and Metis from reservations and/or rural communities to Regina and to indicate approaches which may mitigate such problems.		

Evaluation of Service to Social Allowance Recipients by the Neiramo District Office (559-20-2)	British Columbia Department of Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To obtain some indication of the effectiveness, from the point of view of client and non-client, of the financial and counselling services given by the British Columbia Department of Social Welfare under the provincial Social Assistance Act.		

Study in Depth of Characteristics of Multi-Problem Families (Area Development) (559-21-2)	Community Chest and Councils of the Greater Vancouver Area	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To study the relationship of individual and family characteristics to chronic dependency, with an emphasis on isolating those factors that can be identified at an early point in the family life cycle, where preventive intervention might be possible.		

School Performance of Children of Public Assistance Families (564-20-5)	Canadian Welfare Council	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To procure data on the characteristics of public assistance recipients and on the school performance of their children, to ascertain whether there are factors in the characteristics of the recipients which are associated with abnormal school performance.		

Cape Breton County Welfare Services Study (552-20-2)	Nova Scotia Department of Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To determine, through a survey of social welfare and related agencies, the need for a county social planning council as a means of strengthening and co-ordinating the work of such agencies.		

Lake Road Project (552-20-3)	Nova Scotia Department of Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A study of an impoverished community located on the outskirts of an urban area. Data are to be gathered on family structure, social disorganization, self-perspectives of community members, and their utilization of government and private help and welfare services. The findings are expected to contribute to strategies for more effective provision of welfare services for such communities.		

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Title of Project</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Study of the Social Service Department, Nova Scotia Hospital (552-20-5)	Nova Scotia Department of Welfare	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A study of the organization and administration of the social service department of a mental hospital.		

Development of Hypothesis on Similarities and Differences in Methods (555-25-2)	University of Ottawa School of Social Work	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop a hypothesis around the fundamental similarities and/or differences in method-procedures-process for social work practice with individuals, groups and communities. Up to now preparation for social work practice within the welfare service has been largely based on separate preparation according to the "casework method", the "groupwork method", and/or "community organization method". Experiments with the one "social work method" preparation do not seem to have been related to any clear identification of what is method as distinct from process and procedures, which should first be subject to research investigation. This project is an attempt to set up a hypothesis for such research investigation.		

The Relation Between Parental Discipline and Physical Cruelty in Young Males (555-29-1)	Carleton University	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> This study is part of an ongoing psychological research project directed toward the study of attributes associated with acts of cruelty by teenage boys. The first part of this project is designed to secure a sample of non-delinquent boys for purposes of comparison with the findings of a group of delinquent boys in previous experiments. The second part deals with the study of the relationship between parental forms of discipline and the degree of cruelty exhibited by the boys involved in the experiment. The possible implications of the findings of such a study for agencies concerned with the protection of children and the prevention and treatment of juvenile delinquency are obvious.		

Social Service Audit of Metropolitan Winnipeg (556-20-3)	Department of Social Welfare Manitoba	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A comprehensive inventory of voluntary and public social welfare services in Metropolitan Winnipeg, and a survey of the socio-economic characteristics and social welfare needs of the population. Information will be obtained on a time sample basis and the social and demographic characteristics of all persons served by the time sample will be cast against a wide range of community characteristics data. Research findings will be vected to technical committees related to various areas of service which will develop reports recommending action.		

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WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Assessment of Treatment Results in Six Residential Treatment Centres for Children in Manitoba (556-21-1)	Community Welfare Planning Council - Winnipeg	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop criteria for classifying emotionally disturbed children at the point of admission to treatment and for evaluating the results of treatment before and after discharge.		

Study of the Possibilities for Co-ordinated Use of Resource Agencies in an Urban Redevelopment Area (564-27-2)	Centre for Community Studies University Campus, Saskatoon	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To initiate a program of collaborative studies designed to facilitate more adequate rehabilitation services for disadvantaged families residing in or migrant into an urban redevelopment area. These studies will seek to determine what problems of human adjustment tend to be associated with the downtown area of urban redevelopment and how services can best be related to the rehabilitation needs of rural migrants seeking employment in an expanding labour market.		

An Evaluation of Radio as a Medium for Family Life Education and Crisis Intervention (558-23-1)	Family Service Association of Edmonton	Completed (Design Phase)
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop a research design in order to test the following hypotheses:		
a) that a "call-in" radio program represents an effective medium for family life education on a mass audience basis		
b) that the medium provides this service to people who would not otherwise seek out such service		
c) that this medium brings the agency's counselling facilities closer to the people allowing them to use help on a voluntary basis where they would not otherwise have sought help, and		
d) that those using the counselling facilities via the program are effectively helped.		

A Critical Analysis of an Urban Community Development Project in Greater Vancouver (559-27-2)	Department of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology, Simon Fraser University	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> This is an evaluation from social anthropological perspective of the impact of a community development project in an urban neighbourhood. The purpose of this study is:		
1. to evaluate the effectiveness of an urban community development "demonstration project" in preventative social welfare;		

(continued)

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
A Critical Analysis, etc. (continued from page 7)	Simon Fraser University	
2. to hypothesize as to the reasons for respective successes and failures in accomplishing the expressed aims of the CD project; 3. to explore the extent to which experiences gained here might conceivably be effectively applied elsewhere.		

Employability and Public Welfare - An Assessment (564-20-6)	The Canadian Welfare Council	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To study groups of "employable" unemployed receiving public assistance in three Canadian Cities to determine why they are unable to work and the effects on them of receipt of assistance, especially on their attitude to work. This study is being undertaken in co-operation with the municipal welfare departments of Ottawa, Winnipeg and Edmonton.		

Study of Day Care of Children (564-20-7)	The Canadian Welfare Council	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To begin a survey of day care services in Canada to determine: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> what services are now being provided; how these services are being used; the extent to which they are meeting demand; standards and working conditions for personnel employed in such services; and income and selected social characteristics of families using these services. 		

Low Income Budgets and Consumer Behaviour (564-20-8)	The Canadian Welfare Council	Completed (Design Phase)
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop a research design in order to examine income and expenditures pattern and factors that limit or govern expenditures of individuals and families with low incomes, the choices open to them as consumers and the rationale of such choices. It is hoped that this study will produce objective data pertinent to the development of public social security policy.		

Study of Visiting Homemaker Services (564-20-10)	The Canadian Welfare Council	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop a research design and to undertake a comprehensive survey of homemaker services in Canada. The survey will encompass the volume and scope of services, the facilities for training homemakers, and the need and potentials for homemaker service.		

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WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
The Incidence of Debt and the Need for Debt-Counselling for Low Income Families (564-20-13)	The Canadian Welfare Council	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop a research design and undertake a study of indebtedness of low income families in a large Canadian city, to survey debt counselling facilities in 10 Canadian cities, and Canadian legislation pertaining to indebtedness.		

A Study of Program Needs of National Committee of Canadian Schools of Social Work (564-24-1)	National Committee, Canadian Schools of Social Work	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop a basis for a NCCSSW program which will implement the objectives of the Committee. It is designed to relate the Committee's program more closely to the needs and realities of current practice in the field of social work education.		

Community Care of the Elderly (552-23-1)	Family and Children's Services of Hants County, Windsor, N.S.	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> A survey of the health and welfare needs of persons over 65 in Hants County, and of the existing community services and resources to meet these needs.		

On the Relation Between Anomie and Economic Change (553-22-2)	Mount Allison University Sackville, N.B.	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To develop indices of anomie and economic change from an extensive series of social and economic statistics in order to test hypothesis on the relationship between anomie and the characteristics of social and economic systems at local, regional and national levels of generality.		

Casework Performance Evaluation Study (554-23-2)	McGill University School of Social Work	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To standardize the evaluative judgments of casework field supervisors in assessing casework performance; to develop and validate an instrument for rating casework performance; to identify and describe casework performance characteristics of students and practitioners; to identify and describe unique patterns in the use of superior judgments when rating casework performance; and to explore gaps between differential models of casework performance subscribed to by the professor, field supervisors, and students.		

Study for the Establishment of a Welfare Council for the Hull Region (554-26-1)	Service Social de Hull	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A study to determine the appropriate social planning organization for the Hull region, based on a decision making model.		

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Etude des foyers Nourriciers et de leur Population (554-27-1)	Conseil des Oeuvres et du Bien-Etre de Québec	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A survey of foster homes and foster children in the diocese of Quebec.		

Social Development Planning Project (555-22-2)	Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto	Deferred
<u>Purpose:</u> This project is to complement physical development planning for the redevelopment of the Don district in Toronto, which is to take place over the next 20 years. It is proposed to identify the significant social characteristics of the district, to collect information, opinions, and plans for meeting needs and for interpreting objectives and goals.		

Etude des Institutions pour Personnes Agées et de leur Population dans le Diocèse de Québec (554-27-2)	Conseil des Oeuvres et du Bien-Etre de Québec	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A survey of homes for the aged and their residents in the diocese of Quebec.		

Etude des institutions pour enfants et de leur population dans le diocèse de Québec (554-27-3)	Conseil des Oeuvres et du Bien-Etre de Québec	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A survey of children's institutions and their residents in the diocese of Quebec.		

Group Guidance for Disadvantaged Inner City Youth (554-28-1)	Centre for Human Relations and Community Studies, Sir George Williams University	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> To measure changes in knowledge, self-insight and attitudes of participants in a twelve week group guidance project and to assess its influence on their behaviour during the next six months.		

Examining Dimensions of Organizational Behaviour (555-21-10)	School of Social Work University of Toronto	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> An examination of selected aspects of organizational behaviour in a number of large social welfare organizations in order to understand better how social agencies function.		

An Experimental Study of Services for Fatherless Boys (555-37-1)	Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto, Inc.	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> To design and implement a field experiment to measure the effectiveness of Big Brother Service with different types of boys.		

Special Senate Committee

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
The Effects of the Aging Process (555-39-1)	The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District	Deferred

Purpose: To design a panel study of aged persons in Hamilton in order to assess the effects of the aging process or the social needs.

A Survey of the Aged and Adult Inform Foster Family Care Program (556-20-4)	Department of Welfare of Manitoba	In progress
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Purpose: To study the foster families, the persons placed and the care services program in order to determine those factors associated with successful and unsuccessful foster placements.

Proposed Urban Renewal Scheme 1B Neighbourhood Research Design (558-25-1)	Social Service Department City of Calgary	In progress
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Purpose: To design a study of the residents of the "skid row" area of downtown Calgary that is slated for renewal in order to develop plans for relocating residents and determine the facilities and services that should be provided for residents in the future.

Use of Closed Circuit Television in Family Counselling (558-26-1)	School of Social Welfare University of Calgary	In progress
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Purpose: To design an experiment to test the effectiveness of closed circuit television as a supplementary technique in family counselling.

North Vancouver Adolescent Study (559-27-1)	Department of Political Science, Sociology and Anthropology Simon Fraser University	In progress
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Purpose: A study of adolescent society in a middle-class urban community and the relationship of adolescent society to educational, legal, political, religious, cultural and recreational institutions.

Working Documents for the Commission (564-25-1)	Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Children	In progress
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Purpose: To prepare four background papers based on surveys of the following:

1. Incidence of emotional and learning disorders in children.
2. Manpower requirements to meet the needs of children with emotional and learning disorders.
3. Training of professionals for working with children with emotional and learning disorders; and the training and deployment of professionals and volunteers.
4. The influence of environmental factors on the development of learning and emotional disorders in children.

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Identifying Key Parameters of Rural non-Farm Poverty (564-27-1)	Canadian Centre for Community Studies	Completed

Purpose: To study the incidence and spatial distribution of rural non-farm poverty, and the adequacy of welfare services in areas of concentration of the rural non-farm poor.

Factors which Contribute to the Social and Economic Independence of People Over 60 (557-25-1)	Saskatoon Welfare Council and Saskatoon Senior Citizens Service Association	In progress
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Purpose: This project is to determine factors enabling older citizens to maintain social and economic independence in their community. The sample is drawn from the total population over 60 in Saskatoon. Direct interviews will obtain information for linking variables to establish patterns of needs and consumption of services according to a number of criteria such as income, mobility, social and family relations, education, occupation and work history.

Evaluation of New Techniques of Treatment of Young Children and Women Offenders (555-21-9)	School of Social Work University of Toronto	Completed
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Purpose: The purpose of the project is to extend and re-test previous project (555-21-2, or Social Adjustment, Personality and Behaviour in Training Schools) to young children requiring residential treatment in a training school, and to women offenders, especially those of the younger age group, who have been sentenced to a reformatory. The aim of the present project is to analyze the social processes involved and to provide an estimate to which the purposes of the new training school for young boys, and the reorganization of the Toronto reformatory for Women are being fulfilled.

Evaluation of Detached Worker Programme for Delinquent Boys (555-30-2)	Department of Reform Institutions, Ontario	Deierred
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Purpose: Since 1961 the Ottawa Youth Service Bureau (later referred to as Y.S.B.) has been operating its detached worker programme which aims at changing the behaviour and attitudes of Ottawa's hard-core delinquent boys and girls in the age group of 10 to 15, inclusive. This programme, which makes use of a reaching-out approach, appears to be highly successful and costs less than any institutional programme. But, as with most welfare programmes, this one needs careful evaluation of its effectiveness. Increased knowledge in this field should offer guidance to Juvenile Court policy and contribute to the organization of social services for delinquent youth, possibly on a national basis.

Study of Parents Seeking Divorce in Middlesex County (555-36-1)	Children's Aid Society of London, Ontario	Completed
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Purpose: The project will provide statistics on parents seeking divorce: Age at marriage, and divorce, employment history, education, health, church involvement, plans for care and education of children, functioning of children (school, recreation, relation with other parent), professional help sought and received by the family.

Special Senate Committee

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title:</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Implications of the Opportunities for Youth Project (558-24-1)	Department of Sociology University of Alberta	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> 1. The larger goal of this study would be to provide guidelines for the launching and evaluation of delinquency prevention programs. Through the analysis of data gathered as part of the Opportunities for Youth Project in Seattle in 1965 (Reported in the Journal of Research in Crime and Delinquency, July 1966), light may be shed on several crucial questions. 2. Small surveys will probably be made to supplement the data already gathered, expand on the findings emerging from these analysis, and check the applicability of these ideas for the Canadian scene.		

Use of Welfare Aides in the Children's Aid Society of Vancouver (559-24-1)	Children's Aid Society of Vancouver	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> 1. To develop a detailed analysis of the functions of the agency caseworker to whom a generalized caseload is assigned, and the ranking of the tasks of such as case-worker according to the degree of professional judgment and autonomy required in the performance of the tasks. 2. To use the set of rankings to define two or more levels of responsibility which may be assumed by welfare aides. 3. To assess the influence of the age of the welfare aide to different levels of responsibility on the quality and quantity of agency service to individual cases, and the influence of the age of the welfare aide on her performance of a variety of tasks.		

Factors in Social Work Competencies (559-26-1)	School of Social Welfare University of British Columbia	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> 1. To develop reliable and valid measures of field work and classroom performance in graduate education in social work. 2. To establish, through factor analysis, the number of independent components in student performance in social work education at the end of both the first and second year of the educational program. 3. To identify student characteristics, discernible at the time of admission. 4. Compare findings of the study with the findings of studies undertaken in other Schools of Social Work.		

Social Policy Implications of the Unmarried Parent (564-20-11)	Canadian Welfare Council	Deferred
<u>Purpose:</u> Examine the results when unmarried mothers who have received agency service decide not to relinquish their children for adoption. Examine a group of unmarried mothers who have relinquished their children for adoption and the reasons for this decision. Examine the situation of children who have been released for adoption by the unmarried mothers.		

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Description and Evaluation of the Relocation of Africville (552-21-2)	Department of Public Welfare, N.S. The Institute of Public Affairs Dalhousie University	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> A study of the relocation of residents of Africville, a quasi-community within the boundaries of the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia, and an attempt to indicate the salience of general issues of and approaches to relocation.		

Classification of Marital Conflict and Procedures for Conflict Management (554-23-3)	School of Social Work McGill University, Montreal	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> The aim of the project is to a) design a classification of marital conflict based primarily upon social conflict theory but synthesising existing partial typologies b) design a classification of counselling procedures (including conciliation) based upon (a) for the management of conflict c) to pre-test the concept of validity of the classifications d) to formulate a proposal for evaluating the processes and outcomes of marital counselling based upon a social conflict classification of conflict and related counselling procedures.		

A Survey of Urban Social Redevelopment Projects in Montreal, Toronto & Vancouver (555-21-11)	School of Social Work University of Toronto	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> This project is to undertake an analysis of the social system characteristics of urban social redevelopment and to establish an operational analytical framework which will be used to undertake a systematic evaluation of the Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver approaches. The project is premised on the interdependence of development efforts and welfare strategies under conditions of post-industrialism in urban Canada		

A Developmental Study of a Group of 12 year old children who experienced early institutional deprivation (555-38-1)	Institute of Child Study University of Toronto	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> An investigation of a group of 28 twelve year old children who spent their early months in severely depriving institution environment and were later placed in foster or adoptive care. Their potential for effective relationships and their level of intellectual functioning will be assessed.		

Feasibility and Appraisal of Comprehensive Social and Economic Development Planning in the Lakeshore Area (555-41-1)	Borough of Etobicoke, Ontario	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> A design grant to assist the Borough to complete the detailed design of the first phase of the social development studies and of the methodologies to be used in the research program		

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Child Separation in B.C. An Epidemiological Analysis (559-20-4)	British Columbia Department of Social Welfare	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> The purpose of this study is to gain a fuller understanding of the variables associated with and leading to child separation. This is further to previous research which identified geographic areas and population groups within British Columbia which manifest different rates of child separation.		

Evaluation of Experimental Field Work Unit in Research (559-26-2)	School of Social Work University of British Columbia	Completed
<u>Purpose:</u> This project is to develop a research design to evaluate a training programme at the Master's degree level for social work research specialists. This will involve detailed specification of educational objectives and the construction and pretesting of instruments of evaluation.		

Teaching Centres Study (559-26-3)	School of Social Work University of British Columbia	Deferred
<u>Purpose:</u> This project involves a systematic examination, description and appraisal of the various types of teaching centres that have emerged in schools of social work on the North American Continent. The project findings will be relevant and significant for any school interested in providing a more integrated educational experience for its students.		

Housing Conditions of Public Assistance Recipients in Canada (564-20-14)	Canadian Welfare Council	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> An appraisal of the housing conditions, needs and aspirations of public assistance recipients. The survey seeks to determine the objective housing situation of recipients together with their perception of the effect of these conditions on their ability to manage their lives satisfactorily.		

Group Residential Care for Children with Emotional and Learning Disorders (564-25-3)	Commission on Emotional and Learning Disorders in Children	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> This survey seeks information about the present residential care situations in Canada: the different patterns of such services, how they are planned, provided, staffed, supervised and financed. This in view of developing principles for future residential care of children with emotional and learning disorders.		

Community Development: Ideology and Technology. A Comparative Study of Three Community Develop- ment Agencies (554-28-3)	Sir George Williams University Montreal	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> This is a comparative study of the activity and organizational characteristics of three agencies (Y.M.C.A., C.Y.C., A.R.D.A.) operating development programs in Lanark County, Ontario. The research aims:		

(continued next page)

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Community Development, etc.(continued)		
1. to investigate the relationship between ideological orientations, the technology of agencies involved in "planned change" programs, and the way in which they articulate with the social structure of their "client systems" and 2. to provide a documentation of the activities of these agencies in relation to variations along a private-public continuum and variations on the "planned change" approach.		

Projet de recherche auprès du milieu défavorisé urbain Québecois (554-32-1)	Centre de Planification Familiale, Montreal	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> The object of this project is to determine the various family cultural variables peculiar to deprived milieu which have an influence on attitudes and behaviour with regard to fecundity in order to build a model of these cultural determinants; and from this knowledge, to determine the conditions necessary for family planning to succeed in this milieu.		

Aliénation et Idéologie dans la vie Quotidienne (554-35-1)	Département de sociologie Université de Montréal	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> This study will focus on alienation and ideology in an attempt to discover the deep sources of alienation of French-speaking Quebecers, and the parts of their every-day live experience which they seem unable to integrate satisfactorily in their mental and emotional universe. It will also attempt to study their collective conflicts and their reactions to existing acute conflicts between generations.		

Causes et conséquences démographiques économiques et sociales de la pratique de la méthode thermique de régulation des naissances (554-36-1)	Faculté des sciences sociales Université Laval, Québec	in progress
<u>Purpose:</u> The purpose of the survey is to explore to what extent the seeking of increased material well-being is combined with cultural and moral motivations of the couples interviewed in wanting to restrict the size of their families. It seeks to answer the implied questions: What type of birth control is suitable to what level of education, and at what levels of education are people prepared to apply different types of methods.		

To Reassess the Adjustment of 12 Year Old Institutionally Deprived Children at 15 Years of age to their homes and community (555-38-2)	Institute of Child Study University of Toronto	In progress
<u>Purpose:</u> This study seeks to assess the intellectual function and effective adjustment of 28 children now approaching 15 years of age. These children severely deprived in the early months of their lives (three months to three and a half years of age) have been carefully documented throughout early therapy within the institution, and later placed in foster or adoptive homes.		

Special Senate Committee

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Behaviour and Attitudes of Halifax Adolescents Towards the Use of Drugs (552-21-3)	Department of Sociology and Anthropology Dalhousie University, Halifax	In progress

Purpose: This survey is designed to ascertain the nature and extent of drug use and attitudes toward drug use among Halifax adolescents. The relation between drug use and demographic characteristics and the differences between users and non-users are examined. Hypotheses concerning the path of drug use are tested and scaling techniques are implemented to measure the relationships among various types of drug use.

Uniformisation des données statistiques dans les agences de 'casework' (554-20-1)	Ministère de la famille et du bien-être social de la province de Québec	In progress
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Purpose: This study wants to build on the work of two committees, the first of which was charged with constructing a registration form to be used by social agencies in the province of Québec which would form the basis of statistical reporting; the second committee was engaged in the promotion of the use of the registration form. This study is to extend standardization of registration forms over the entire area of statistical reporting.

Recherche sur les zones prioritaires de la ville de Québec (554-27-4)	Conseil des œuvres et du bien-être de Québec	In progress
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Purpose: Further to a tentative description of the priority zones in Québec City using census and related data, the objective of this project is to find out how the different groups involved define the social problems of their immediate environment and of the community as a whole; to see also what are the action priorities proposed by each of these groups and how they justify those priorities; to determine programs of intervention taking into account the areas of consensus and of conflict in relation to priorities of action proposed.

A Longitudinal Study of the Unmarried Mother and her Child - How They Fare in the Community (555-36-2)	The Family and Children's Services of London and Middlesex, Ontario	In progress
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Purpose: A longitudinal study of the experiences and adjustment of approximately 60 unmarried mothers who kept their babies. Attention is given to the first 18 months following the birth of the child. Information will be obtained at 6 mos. intervals through a comprehensive questionnaire inquiring into the: economic, occupational, social and personal adjustment of the unmarried mother, her need for and use of community resources, her relationship with the putative father, and the housing and living conditions of both mother and child.

WELFARE RESEARCH PROJECTS

<u>Project Title</u>	<u>Organization</u>	<u>Status</u>
Premier's Task Force on Extended Care & Alcoholic Treatment Facilities in P.E.I. (551-20-1)	Prince Edward Island Department of Welfare	Completed

Purpose: This is a comprehensive study of Prince Edward Island's facilities for the treatment and rehabilitation of alcoholics and for the extended care of persons in institutions. This project includes: 1 - a study of facilities for alcoholics; 2 - a study of institutions for the mentally ill, chronically ill and the aged; 3 - a survey of other homes for special care (homes for unwed mothers, group homes and shelters).

Project on Family Structure and Health of Children (552-20-1)	Nova Scotia Department of Public Welfare	In progress
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Purpose: To study epidemiologically the relationship between children's health and various structural aspects of the families in which they live. The study will gather information from relevant records and by interviews. The children and their families will be selected randomly from a predetermined area. Health will be defined broadly to cover a range of difficulties: physical, emotional, behavioural, and social. The instruments will be designed in such a way as to provide a basis for comparisons with findings of relevant studies in other areas.

NATIONAL WELFARE GRANTS

(Expenditures for the year ended March 31, 1969)

Province	Welfare Services Plan	Welfare Demonstrations	Welfare Research	Teaching and Field Instruction	(e)			National Voluntary Welfare Agency	Totals
					(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)
Nfld.	\$	\$	\$	\$					\$ -
P.E.I.	1,125	29,169	4,956						35,250
N.S.	1,500	36,522	19,110	39,040			6,113		108,063
N.B.	11,820		4,735	19,997					36,552
P.Q.			37,554				10,885		65,713
Ont.	202,150	72,223	63,747	213,293			11,725		658,516
Man.		110,000	17,305	66,100			3,424		196,829
Sask.	14,121	89,780	23,364				3,712		130,977
Alta.	4,000	59,359	14,388	38,859			1,657		118,263
B.C.	12,500	75,606	113,234	75,410			8,439		298,769
N.W.T.	30,600								30,600
Y.T.	19,950								19,950
N.V.W.A.			112,403					187,099	299,502
Totals	\$297,766	\$472,659	\$410,826	\$482,699			\$75,955	\$72,010	\$1,999,014

(a) Require a matching contribution of provincial and/or municipal funds.

(b) Financed out of federal allocations to the provinces but do not require matching.

(c) By location of agency.

(d) By location of school of social work.

(e) By home address of recipients.

CASE STUDY: THE RELATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES TO
THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY AS ILLUSTRATED
BY THE APPLICATION OF SOCIAL SCIENCES IN THE DE-
SIGN OF THE GUARANTEED INCOME SUPPLEMENT PROGRAM*

The Guaranteed Income Supplement program is an income maintenance scheme which provides a supplementary cash benefit to Old Age Security pensioners in Canada who qualify for this payment on the basis of an income test. The program is the ultimate instrument developed to give effect to the social policy that additional income assistance should be given to aged persons who would benefit little or not at all from the provisions of the Canada Pension Plan. This proposal was first made by the Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons, and again by the Senate Committee on Aging who in February 1966 recommended a guaranteed annual income for all Canadians aged 65 years and over.

The Department of National Health and Welfare had, since mid-1965, been examining ways and means of implementing this particular social policy. A number of proposals were made, but the most important were the following:

- (i) a flat rate increase to all old age security pensioners;
- (ii) the extension of the Canada Assistance Plan to provide additional income support to this group;
- (iii) the provision of the additional income to elderly persons by means of an income maintenance scheme which would use an income test to determine eligibility and the amount of the benefit payment.

Six vital problems of concern to the government in the design and implementation of a feasible program to implement this policy were:

- (i) the cost of the additional income support,
- (ii) the method of financing,
- (iii) the impact of additional expenditures on other government programs,
- (iv) the impact of features of the new program on other social security programs,
- (v) the ensuring that payments were adequate and were directed to those who required the additional income support,
- (vi) the design of a program which would not be too complex for the public to understand nor too difficult to administer.

Many persons from many disciplines contributed to the design of the Guaranteed Income Supplement program. The substantive role in this process was, however, exercised by social scientists who provided the necessary background information on which decisions could be made. The principal social science applied in this particular case was Economics emphasizing the areas of social security, public finance, income distribution and national income theory. Techniques used in the studies conducted were cost benefit analysis, cost forecasting, use of economic and demographic models, use of DBS income surveys and Taxation income data, use of statistics and mathematics, development of concepts and principles, research and enquiry, comparative analysis, as well as the application of the scientific method in the solution of specific problems relating to the design of this program. Sociology played a subsidiary role in this process being concerned chiefly with questions of social adequacy of benefits and horizontal and vertical equity to the covered population of alternate design features of the proposed program.

* Prepared by J.I. Clark, Research and Statistics Directorate.

The functions of the social scientist in applying social sciences to the solution of social and economic problems can be illustrated with respect to the role played in this respect in the development of the Guaranteed Income Supplement. This is discussed with reference to the following:

- (i) Cost estimates and cost forecasting.
 - (ii) Research investigation into concepts and principles.
 - (iii) Development of new concepts and principles.
 - (iv) Analysis of features of the new program in relation to other government programs.
 - (v) Analysis of similar programs in other countries.
 - (vi) Research into administration and methods.
- (i) Cost estimates and cost forecasting

The principal technique used for this particular function was cost benefit analysis. Cost estimates both present and future were calculated for each of the approaches suggested, and these costs were then compared with the benefits to be derived under each approach.

Cost estimates were developed using either simple demographic models or more complex income-demographic models.

The simple demographic models were age distributions of the aged population as well as projections of these population distributions.

The more complex income-demographic models were those available from data collected by DBS income surveys or from income data provided by Taxation Statistics.

Population projections were not developed; rather the population projections developed in the Actuarial Report of the Canada Pension Plan were used when required.

In determining costs of the flat-rate increase for all old age security pensioners, a simple demographic model was used. Forecasts of these costs were based on assumptions as to increases in the OAS population due to the lowering of the eligible pensionable age, and the possible effect of changes in the level of consumer prices over the forecast period. The present and forecast cost estimates of the flat-rate increase proposal demonstrated that present and future costs were clearly beyond the existing and future financial capability of the federal government unless taxes were increased substantially or substantial reductions were made to other areas of government spending or both. An analysis of the impact of the benefit payments on the covered population indicated that benefits would go to all OAS pensioners whether needy or not, and would not improve the relative financial position of the Old Age Security pensioners in the lower income ranges. In fact a flat rate increase would leave everyone in relatively the same position and would not correct the income situation, but rather it would sow the seeds for future flat rate increases to the Old Age Security pension.

Estimates of the costs using the Canada Assistance Plan approach were made using simple demographic models but these cost estimates were limited because: the Canada Assistance Plan was not implemented at that time, the Canada Assistance Plan used a new approach for the provision of social assistance, there was a lack of adequate data on income for the aged population, it was not known how the supplement would be tested and no information was available on how willingly the aged population would apply if the supplement was considered to be a public assistance payment.

Because of the number of indefinite variables affecting cost estimates using the Canada Assistance Plan approach, these estimates were not too reliable.

A more complex income-demographic model was used to make cost estimates for the income-tested approach (this incidentally emerged as the approach used for the Guaranteed Income Supplement program). Preliminary investigations were carried out to ascertain the feasibility of using income and population data available under the Income Tax Statistics. These did not prove to be too reliable because they did not cover non-taxpayers who did not file tax returns - the very group most likely to require the Supplement. The omission of this group meant that any assumptions as to income and social characteristics of this group would be highly speculative and largely unsubstantiated.

Accordingly, data on incomes were requested from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

The income data used were obtained from the 1961 Census of Canada, and were collected from a 20 per cent sample of private non-farm households.

At our request, DBS adjusted these data by a computer program for those age 68 and over:

- (i) by adding \$900 to the annual incomes of those in the 68 and 69 age groups, and
- (ii) by adding \$240 to the annual incomes of those in the 70 plus age group i.e. (\$900 minus \$660 the difference between the OAS payable in 1967 and in 1961).

No other adjustments were made to these data.

A series of income frequency distributions were prepared showing frequencies by \$100 classes for single persons up to \$2,000; and by \$100 classes in the lower ranges and \$500 classes in the upper ranges for male and female family heads up to \$5,000. Income frequency distributions were set up for the following:

- (i) Male Heads 68-69; 70 and over, and 68 and over.
- (ii) Female Heads 68-69; 70 and over, and 68 and over.
- (iii) Total Heads 68-69; 70 and over, and 68 and over.
- (iv) Male Singles 68-69; 70 and over, and 68 and over.
- (v) Female Singles 68-69; 70 and over, and 68 and over.

The income distributions for male family heads and for total family heads show for each class of income, these heads distributed by those who have:

- (i) no wife
- (ii) wife under 65
- (iii) wife 65-67
- (iv) wife 68-69
- (v) wife 70 and over.

Assumptions were made as to the change in income from 1961 to 1967, the population was adjusted to the projected population forecast for 1967 in the Actuarial Report of the Canada Pension Plan, and cost estimates were made based on different minimum and maximum income limits and using different rates of offset against income.

Forecast of future costs required assumptions as to population changes, price effects, wage effects, impact of the Canada and Quebec Pension Plans and other related factors.

The estimate of the cost of GIS for 1967 as well as the forecasts of costs for 5 to 10 year periods, when compared to similar costs and forecast costs of a flat-rate increase of the OAS pension, were important in deciding on the form of the program to be used. The much lower costs of the GIS approach, together with the selective features of the GIS program which, through the income test, directed payments to Old Age Security pensioners in the lower income brackets in such a way that the supplement was reduced directly in proportion to the amount of a beneficiary's income, demonstrated the superiority of this approach.

(ii) Research in concepts and principles

Prior to the decision to use the income test approach (or negative income tax approach) for the supplement, a number of investigations had to be carried out in the literature into concepts, principles and problems involved in using a negative income tax approach. The investigations were related to:

- (a) the nature of guaranteed income and negative income tax,
- (b) the techniques suggested for the use of such an approach (in effect since most of the literature dealt with theoretical considerations and were not concerned too much with practical application, a gap in knowledge existed),
- (c) the concept of income,
- (d) the form of the beneficiary unit,
- (e) problems of the income standard to be used for the income test i.e. whether the standard should be current or the prior year's income,
- (f) problems of person's retiring from employment with sudden and sharp declines in income,
- (g) problems related to marital status and changes in marital status,
- (h) questions relating to the payment of the supplement to persons in government institutions,
- (i) questions relating to the payment of the supplement to beneficiaries outside Canada for short periods of time and for longer periods of time,
- (j) problems related to overpayments whether fraudulent or not,
- (k) comparison of means, needs and income tests,
- (l) problems encountered in other countries using similar approaches for income support.

These studies involved research and enquiry into the concepts and principles as explained in the available literature, and the subsequent reporting of findings in respect of these matters. The studies described concepts and principles and then related them to the actual situation of the problem as encountered in the design and development of the GIS program.

(iii) Development of concepts and principles

The negative income tax approach was the subject of theoretical discussion in the research literature but with few exceptions no programs had been developed and put into force. It was necessary then to develop concepts and formulate principles which could be used for purposes of such a program. Several illustrations below indicate the scope of the research into the underlying problems and give an indication of the development of concepts and principles as related to the GIS program.

(a) The concept of income

There was very little information available on the concept of income which should be used for an income-tested social security benefit. Certain principles were stressed such as the use of family income, and the need for the concept to be as comprehensive as possible in the interest of equity to the potential beneficiaries. The Guaranteed Income Supplement program, however, had features and aspects which did not correspond to any of the theoretical or practical models of guaranteed annual income. Consequently, a concept of income appropriate to the Guaranteed Income Supplement program had to be developed and research economists of the Department played an important role in examining concepts of income and in developing the concept ultimately used for the GIS program.

It was recognized that, to preserve equity, the definition should be as comprehensive as possible, but the requirement for a comprehensive definition clashed with the administrative need to keep administrative actions to a minimum, which would be possible if an established and developed concept of income were used. Such a concept was available under the Income Tax Act, but it had several limitations in that it was individual and excluded certain sources of income such as unemployment insurance, workmen's compensation, war veterans pensions and allowances and so on. The decision was made to use the income tax concept of income for the GIS program but certain modifications were made to this concept, namely:

- (i) Income was considered to be income as declared for income tax and not taxable income (i.e. taxable income is declared income minus any permitted exemptions or deductions). If taxable income were used many more persons would qualify.
- (ii) The concept was modified so that individual income was used for pensioners considered to have single status, and family income for persons with married status.
- (iii) OAS pensions and the GIS supplement were excluded from income because otherwise receipts of retro-active payments of OAS in any year and the actual receipt of the GIS payment would disqualify a person from the benefit in the year following such receipts.

(b) The income limits

The Senate Committee on Aging had proposed a guaranteed annual income of \$1260 subject to the development of a socially acceptable minimum budget for single persons and couples.

The Guaranteed Income Supplement used this amount as the minimum so that a pensioner with no other income would receive this amount. The GIS program, however, provided a tapering off feature under which the maximum amount of the monthly supplement would be reduced, for any individual recipient, by half his average monthly income from sources other than his OAS pension or GIS benefit, expressed in even dollars. Accordingly, the minimum and maximum limits for an individual pensioner in 1967 were set at \$1260 and \$1620.

A further adjustment was provided for under the program in that these limits would be escalated each time the basic OAS pension was increased by the Pension Index. This was done by making the supplement a fixed percentage (i.e. 40 per cent) of the amount of the old age security pension.

In this particular aspect of the GIS program, the function of the social scientist was to point out the future impact on private savings and private retirement arrangements if the program had used a lower upper limit (than \$1620) and a much higher offset (than 50%) with respect to income other than the OAS pension.

While the selection of the minimum guarantee level was made on the basis of expediency, a modification was instituted for the GIS program to permit partial benefits to be paid up to a higher limit than the minimum. The adequacy of the benefit arrangements remains to be tested when the Minimum Standard of Satisfactory Living announced by the Prime Minister September 16, 1968 has been developed. Social scientists will play a vital role in the development of such a standard. In fact, this Department has already conducted several studies into this particular aspect.

(c) The income standard

To determine eligibility for an income-tested benefit a measure of income in a given period was required. If past year's income is used, some persons may not qualify who need it because of reduced income in the following year, while others who do qualify and experience a change in income in the following year find that the benefit is either too high or too low for their needs. The use of a current income measure means that benefits will be made in accordance with estimates of current income needs, but depending on the manner of payment and recovery it could involve overpayments with a consequent social and economic hardship to many low-income persons.

An hypothesis was made that the income situation for most of the OAS population was sufficiently stable so that a measure of income based on a given year would be reasonably representative of income in the year following. While there was no income data available to test this hypothesis, it was one of the factors taken into account in establishing past year's income as the standard for determining eligibility and the amount of the benefit.

(d) Pensioners retiring from employment

Many pensioners retiring from employment experience a sudden reduction in income sufficiently large to permit them to qualify if this anticipated reduction in employment earnings could be taken into account. Since GIS used a measure of income based on past year's income, this meant that an OAS pensioner retiring from employment might have to wait for a period up to two years unless the measure of income could be modified to take his reduced retirement earnings into account. Options were developed by research economists

which used a measure of past and current income so that, by exercising these options, an OAS pensioner retiring from employment and experiencing a sharp reduction in retirement earnings could qualify for a GIS benefit in the year he retires and in the year following. This option principle was developed specifically for the GIS program and is a unique feature of the program.

(iv) Analysis of the impact of the new program on existing social security programs

The impacts of the GIS program as an income maintenance measure on other social security programs were analyzed.

The institution of the GIS program had certain impacts on War Veteran's Allowances, and these effects had to be examined and reported on so that some measure of co-ordination could be effected between these two programs.

Increased income support under the GIS program meant that provincial welfare authorities might be able to reduce income support to the needy aged and thereby use the savings effected for other provincial government programs. To the extent that welfare costs were shareable by the federal government, certain savings could be effected by the federal government. These aspects and implications were the subject of special studies.

(v) Analysis of similar programs in other countries

(a) The implementation of the GIS program involved a problem of whether the Department of National Health and Welfare would be mainly involved while the Department of National Revenue would play a subsidiary role or vice versa. The actual design of the program was a determining factor of the administrative role. Payments of a flat-rate increase to all pensioners (excepting those who elected to opt-out of the program) recovered through the tax system would have heavily involved DNR but posed social and economic problems in recovering overpayments. On the other hand, the prior application and assessment of benefits adopted under GIS involved DNH&W and only marginally involved DNR in checking a random sample of returns.

(b) The problem of administering a program which used a new concept of income instead of a developed and well-defined concept of income such as that employed under the Income Tax Act has been examined above.

(c) The question of future assessment of the effectiveness of the program was examined and arrangements were made to collect annual samples of approved applications in order to make these assessments for future guidance of policy makers. There were many questions and areas of uncertainty in the development stages of GIS for which no adequate data existed. The statistical program was designed in such a way as to provide answers to these areas of uncertainty as well as to provide additional statistical data for the analysis of the effectiveness of the program and to provide the basis of decision-making in the event that it would be necessary to change the GIS program.

Data limitations and implications for the future

One of the most pressing limitations in the studies carried out for the GIS program was the lack of current income data in sufficient detail to estimate costs of this program. DBS conducts a biennial income survey every two years, but the sample size is small, and it is not always possible to generate the data required for detailed cost estimates. The 1961 survey was a 20 per cent sample of non-farm individuals and families conducted during the Census and was very good for our purposes. However, it did not cover the farm population and the time period between 1961 and 1967 was sufficiently long to limit the applicability of some of the assumptions made.

Very little was known about the behaviour patterns of the aged population - i.e. whether they would understand the program which was more complex than the OAS pension program, whether they would respond and apply for the benefits, and whether they would apply for a benefit if it was very small. Experience has shown that they understood the program and responded well, but statistical data on payments under the GIS program show a skewness towards the higher monthly benefits and not an even distribution throughout including the lower benefit amounts. This is an area which requires further study to ascertain whether or not there is a reluctance to apply when the benefit payment is small.

The studies and conceptual development conducted during the GIS program has strengthened solidarity of the research team in the Research Directorate, and will pay considerable benefits in studies on more comprehensive forms of guaranteed income.

Work Activity Projects PART III—Canada Assistance Plan

Provinces that have signed Agreements under Part III:

British Columbia (September 5, 1968).
Alberta (September 9, 1968).
Saskatchewan (September 24, 1968).
Manitoba (November 12, 1968).
Quebec (October 9, 1968).
Prince Edward Island (August 19, 1968).
Nova Scotia (August 6, 1968).

Provinces for which projects have been submitted and approved: Quebec, Saskatchewan.

Provinces for which projects have been submitted but not yet approved: Prince Edward Island.

Projects Approved

Province of Quebec

"Bûcheron" projects in Montmagny, L'Islet; Region des Cantons de l'Est; Beauce; Amos and Mont Laurier:

This involves a total of seven "bûcheron" or lumberjack projects. Two projects each were submitted and approved for Montmagny and for the Eastern Townships. The first set of these has been completed.

The overall aim of these projects is to enable recipients of public assistance to become productive citizens. The projects attempt to motivate individuals to look after their own needs, develop habits which will enable them to fit into the everyday working world and prove to themselves that they are able to provide for their needs and those of their dependents.

Participants perform the following forestry jobs: setting up seed stands; clearing paths; reforestation; pruning and gathering of cones.

Participants are provided with any social welfare services necessary for their rehabilitation.

These projects range from six to twenty-two weeks in duration and from 125 to 150 persons participate in each project.

Les Ateliers R-10 Inc., Quebec City:

This project is aimed at the global social rehabilitation of the worker-trainees and their vocational readjustment either through a vocational training course or regular employment. Trainees include persons who

are chronically unemployed, in receipt of assistance and fit to work.

Participants are engaged in the assembly of floor and dish mops and in woodwork and carpentry projects. It is hoped to extend the type of work available.

Trainees are provided with complementary recreational and cultural activities. They also receive services necessary for social and work rehabilitation including vocational counselling, case and group work and medical and psychological services, if necessary.

Some 20 worker-trainees participate in a four month training period. About 60 persons can be trained in one year.

Les Établissements du Gentilhomme Inc., Quebec City

This project is designed primarily to prepare ex-convicts for participation in the labour market by providing them with work adjustment in a workshop setting.

Participants are engaged in upholstery, and the manufacture of rubber mats. Other activities planned include building and ground maintenance. There are also conferences, lectures and animation meetings for trainees. Welfare services are provided by La Société de Réadaptation Sociale. This society will work in close collaboration with the workshop.

The project is designed to last for twelve months. Twenty persons can be trained at any one time with training periods ranging from six to twelve months.

Province of Saskatchewan

Prince Albert and Keewatin Centre Work Training Programs:

The purpose of these projects is to eliminate or reduce problems of participants which interfere with their securing or holding employment.

The projects are designed to develop social skills essential for adequate functioning in employment and in the community, academic skills to the point where participants may take advantage of regular pre-employment courses offered by Manpower and by the provincial Department of Education, and acceptable work habits. There is an attempt to identify occupational interests and aptitudes and to identify and resolve family problems which may affect occupational activity.

Trainees divide their time between work activities and classroom instruction. Work activity includes maintenance of the buildings

housing the projects, demolition of buildings, repair of furniture and other personal property of trainees, repair of homes and construction of small items such as garbage can stands.

The projects can accommodate twelve to fifteen persons and training periods may range in length from four months to a year. The projects are designed for a period of three years.

Projects Submitted for Approval

Prince Edward Island

Prince Edward Island Work Training Program:

The goal of this project is the preparation of participants for competitive employment or further training through normal resources by the development of social skills essential for functioning in employment and in the community, basic academic skills, and acceptable work habits. It will be attempted also to identify occupational interests and aptitudes and to identify and resolve family problems which might affect employment.

Academic training will take about ten percent of overall course time. Work activity

planned includes repair and maintenance of public buildings, demolition, repair of furniture, basic fundamentals of carpentry, painting and silviculture, and the care and use of power and hand tools.

The project is initially planned for ten persons but is designed to accommodate up to sixty. The duration of training will be from three to six month, depending on the individual. The project is expected to last one year.

Relationship with the Department of Manpower and Immigration

1. Representatives of Manpower are included in the Interdepartmental Committee on Work Activity which reviews and assesses projects submitted for approval.

2. Persons participating in work activity projects are persons who are unable to take advantage of either training or work placement services available from Manpower.

3. Local Manpower officials are involved to ensure that plans are developed to enable participants to move on to either training, rehabilitation or placement.

Income Ceilings and Exemptions NEWFOUNDLAND	Definition of Income	Income Ceilings and Exemptions
Program	(a) Long Term Assistance	Non-Allowable Income
Social Assistance	(a) Long Term Assistance Available to: adults or families with mental or physical incapacities, widowed mothers with dependent children, other women with children and without adequate means, unmarried mothers caring for their children, fathers with dependent children if they are incapacitated or must remain at home because the mother is incapacitated, deceased, in jail, in a sanatorium, in a hospital, has deserted the home.	Non-Allowable Income No exemptions
	<i>Non-Allowable Income includes:</i> Canada Pension Plan Payments, Old Age Security, Old Age Assistance, Blind Persons Allowance, Disabled Persons Allowance, Veterans Allowances, Workmen's Compensation Unemployment Insurance, pensions from other sources, \$25 per month for each person living with applicant and receiving any of the above benefits. \$25 per month for employed adult relatives living with applicant except where earnings are less than social assistance rates for food, clothing and medical care.	<i>Non-Allowable Income</i> No exemptions
	<i>Allowable Income includes:</i> casual earnings, salaries and wages, gross board and lodging receipts, gross room rentals in applicant's residence, gross rentals of property not part of recipient's residence,	<i>Allowable Income</i> General exemption for all income: single person \$30 per month two persons \$60 per month three or more persons \$90 per month

Income Ceilings and Exemptions
NEWFOUNDLAND CONT'D

Program

Definition of Income

gross annual turnover of retail business conducted by applicant, amounts paid under maintenance orders, contributions from sons, daughters, relatives and other persons not living with applicant, 50 per cent of single sons' or daughters' earnings or Unemployment Insurance benefits which exceed \$105 per month.

Income Ceilings and Exemptions

Specific exemptions:

80 per cent of board and lodging receipts,
50 per cent of room rental,
50 per cent of rentals of property not part of applicant's residence, after payment of municipal taxes,
85½ per cent of annual turnover of retail business.

Social Assistance

(b) *Short Term Assistance*

Available to:
unemployed employables

Definitions of income are the same as those for Long Term Assistance.

Ceilings on net income for 30 days preceding application are:

single person	\$75
family of two	\$115
family of three	\$135
each additional person	\$20

Income Ceilings and Exemptions
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

Program
General Welfare Assistance

Definition of Income

Exemptions

Available to:

persons in need who cannot provide for themselves or for dependents they are under a legal obligation to support.

The applicant's "available resources" are treated as income. These include:

earned income,
allowances,

pensions,

net revenue from

business,
farming,
fishing,
lumbering,

net income from property not used by applicant as a residence,

net income from roomers and boarders,

net income from
trust funds,
bank accounts,

regular gifts and gratuities
in cash,
in kind,

estimated value of
free shelter,
free board,
free lodging.

Exemptions include:

casual earnings up to \$20 per month,

Family and Youth Allowances,

casual gifts of small value,

contributions for special care.

In assessing profit income from business, farming, rental and board, expenses are deducted from gross receipts.

Income Ceilings and Exemptions

NOVA SCOTIA

Program

Provincial Social Assistance

Available to:

disabled persons,
 needy families with dependent
 children where one spouse
 is dead,
 has deserted,
 is disabled,
 is absent or
 refuses or is unable to provide
 support,
 foster parents with foster children.

Definition of Income

Income includes:

Old Age Security,
 Guaranteed Income Supplement,
 Old Age Assistance,
 Blind Persons Allowance,
 Disabled Persons Allowances,
 Unemployment Insurance,
 Workmen's Compensation,
 income from insurance,
 income from maintenance orders,
 income from alimony,
 income from wills and settlements,
 gross earnings,
 gross board receipts,
 gross room receipts,
 gross vocational training allowance,
 gross rental receipts from property,
 net profits from
 business,
 farming,
 fishing,
 lumbering,

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

50 per cent of gross earnings,
 75 per cent of gross board receipts
 (provided exemption does not reduce
 the income from each boarder below
 \$10 per month),
 20 per cent of gross room receipts,
 50 per cent of vocational training al-
 lowances less adult board rate, if liv-
 ing away from home (except for dis-
 abled persons),
 50 per cent of gross property rentals,
 20 per cent of gross property rentals
 in recipient's residence,
 contributions under \$35 per month,
 50 per cent contributions in excess of
 \$35 per month,
 Municipal Social Assistance,
 assistance from Indian Affairs.
 In assessing profit from business, ex-
 penses are deducted from gross receipts.
 Fifty per cent of the difference, being
 the value of the applicant's labour, is
 deducted with the balance being con-
 sidered as net profit.

contribution from Benevolent associations,
 Municipal Social Assistance,
 assistance from Indian Affairs,
 supplementary assistance.

Disabled persons in sheltered work-shops, or rehabilitation centres, or doing piece work and odd jobs may earn up to \$50 per month without losing their eligibility for assistance.

Provincial Supplemental Assistance

Available to:

needy recipients of
 Old Age Assistance,
 Blind Persons Allowance,
 Disabled Persons Allowance.

The definitions are the same as those used for Provincial Social Assistance.

The exemptions are the same as those used for Provincial Social Assistance.

Municipal Social Assistance

Available to:

persons who are unemployed and in need,
 persons who are employed but who are shown on the basis of a needs test to be suffering hardship,
 persons requiring care in a home for special care.

The definitions are the same as those used for Provincial Social Assistance.

The exemptions are the same as those used for Provincial Social Assistance.

Poverty

Income Ceilings and Exemptions

NEW BRUNSWICK

Definition of Income

Program

Social Welfare

Available to:

any person who is unable to provide for himself or for such dependents as he is under a legal obligation to support, includes persons in need on either a long or short term basis.

The applicant's "available resources" are treated as income. These include:

earned income,
allowances,

Unemployment Insurance,
pensions,

Workmen's Compensation,
net revenue from
business,
fishing,
farming,
lumbering,

net income from property not used by recipient as his residence,
gross income from rentals in recipient's residence,

gross income from roomers and boarders,

net income from trust funds,

net income from bank accounts,

regular gifts and gratuities
in cash,
in kind,

estimated value of
free shelter,
free board,
free lodging.

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

Family and Youth Allowances,
casual gifts of small value,
contributions for special care,

casual earnings up to \$20 per month,
50 per cent of income from rentals in recipient's residence,

50 per cent of income from roomers,
80 per cent of income from boarders.

In assessing income from business, farming, lumbering, fishing and rentals of property, only net amount after deduction of expenses is counted.

QUEBEC

Program

Public Charities:

Available to:

employable persons,
 unemployable persons (12 months
 or more),
 widows and single women
 aged 60 to 65 years,
 recipients of
 Old Age Assistance,
 Blind Persons Allowances,
 Disabled Persons Allowances,
 Old Age Security,
 needy mothers allowances.

Definition of Income

Income includes all income realized
 or contributions received including:

Family Allowances,
 Unemployment Insurance,
 accident, sickness and disability
 benefits,
 War Veterans Allowance,
 military pension,
 other assistance and allowance pay-
 ments,
 foreign pensions and allowances,
 government allowances and pen-
 sions,
 superannuation or life annuities,
 salaries, wages and commissions,
 net income from real estate,
 gross room rental receipts,
 gross board and lodging receipts,
 from persons not belonging to the
 family,
 net interest and dividends, etc.
 contributions by persons obliged by
 law,
 net contract obligations in
 favour of applicant,
 net value of farm products
 consumed,
 net farm income,
 net business income.

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

earnings up to \$25 per month,
 provincial Family Allowances,
 federal Family Allowances in excess
 of \$6 per child per month,
 special or occasional contributions.
 Allowable deductions, in assessing
 income from real estate, include:
 taxes,
 fire insurance,
 mortgage interest,
 maintenance,
 heating.
 40 per cent of gross revenues from
 room rentals,
 70 per cent of gross revenues from
 board and lodging,
 premiums for justified
 sickness insurance,
 accident insurance,
 life insurance.

Income Ceilings and Exemptions

ONTARIO

Program

Family Benefits (Provincial)

Available to:

persons 65 years and over not receiving Old Age Security, widows and single women 60-65 years old,

women 60 years of age whose husbands are in a sanatorium, mental hospital, chronic hospital, nursing home or home for the aged, for 6 months or more,

women whose husbands have deserted for 3 months or more, or are in prison with six months to serve, who are at work or have been separated from their husbands for 5 years or more,

blind or disabled persons over 18 years of age,

mothers with dependent children who are divorced or have been deserted 3 months or more,

have been deserted by a husband who was a dependent father, whose husbands are patients in T.B. sanatorium, hospitals or similar institutions, whose husbands are in jail with 6 months to serve,

Definition of Income

All income is assessed in determining need including:

Old Age Security,

benefits under

Pension Act (Canada)

Unemployment Insurance,

War Veterans Allowances,

Civil War pensions and allowances,

Workmen's Compensation,

Canada Pension Plan,

maintenance allowances for training programs,

foreign pensions and payments,

regular or periodic payments from annuities,

pension plans,

superannuation,

insurance,

payments under

separation agreements,

divorce settlements,

payments under

court orders,

support agreements,

gross salaries, wages and casual earnings,

gross room or lodging receipts,

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

Family and Youth Allowances,

General Welfare Assistance,

child welfare maintenance payments,

donations from

religious,

charitable or

benevolent organizations,

casual gifts of small value,

from wages and salaries:

No. of children	one adult	two adults
0	\$24.00	\$ 36.00
1	36.00	48.00
2	48.00	60.00
3	60.00	72.00
4	72.00	84.00
5	84.00	96.00
6	96.00	108.00
Each additional child add		\$12.00

40 per cent of room receipts (but must not reduce income below \$10 per person per month),

60 per cent of board receipts (but must not reduce income for per-

are unmarried and over 16 years and child is over 3 months, fathers with dependent children who are employable and who live with the mother of their children, have been deserted, have a wife who is a patient in a T.B. sanatorium, hospital or similar institution, have wives who are imprisoned, are widowers, foster children, wives of Old Age Security recipients who are over 60 years, living with their husbands, whose husbands are patients in a mental hospital, T.B. sanatorium, chronic hospital, nursing home or home for aged for a 6 month period or longer, whose husbands are in jail with 6 months to serve, thalidomide children.

General Welfare Assistance (Municipal)

Available to persons in need including:

short term recipients such as the employable unemployed, recipients of Family Benefits or other governmental benefits who require additional assistance, supplementary aid, special assistance or welfare services.

gross board receipts, board paid by dependent children of recipient, gross rentals of self contained quarters, payments received on mortgages, agreements for sale, loans, net income from a business, gross farm income, net income of a separated spouse, as determined by the Director.

All income is assessed in determining need including:

Old Age Security, benefits under Pensions Act (Canada) Unemployment Insurance, War Veterans Allowances, Civil War Pensions and Allowances,

sons 18 years or under below \$12 per month; for each other person, below \$22 per month), board paid by a child of recipient who is under 18 years and who earns less than \$80 per month, 40 per cent rental income for self contained quarters, for farm income (per annum) 80 per cent on first \$1000 gross income, 70 per cent on second \$1000 gross income, 60 per cent on income in excess of \$2000.

Exemptions include:

Family and Youth Allowances, child welfare maintenance payments, donations from religious, charitable, or benevolent organizations,

Income Ceilings and Exemptions

ONTARIO—Cont'd

Program

General Welfare Assistance (Municipal)
Cont'd

Definition of Income

Workmen's Compensation,
Canada Pension Plan,
maintenance allowances under
training programs,
pensions and payments by foreign
countries,
regular or periodic payments from
annuities,
pensions,
superannuation,
insurance,
payments under
separation agreements,
divorce settlements,
payments under
court orders,
support agreements,
net wages, salaries and casual
earnings,
gross room or lodging receipts,
gross board receipts,
gross rental receipts for self con-
tained quarters,
payment received on
mortgages,
agreements for sale,
loans,
net farm income.

Exemptions

casual gifts of small value,
cost of expenses incurred in earning
any wages, salary or casual earnings,
40 per cent of room receipts, (pro-
vided income not reduced below \$10
per roomer per month),
60 per cent of board receipts,
40 per cent of rental income for self
contained quarters.

MANITOBA

Program

Social Allowances (Provincial)

Available to persons who are likely to lack basic necessities including:

persons who cannot earn sufficient income or who are unable to care for themselves because of age, physical or mental ill health or incapacity likely to last more than 90 days,

widows with dependent children, mothers with dependent children who have been deserted for more than 12 months whose husband has been sentenced to jail for one year or more,

unmarried mothers caring for two or more children.

Definition of Income

An applicant's "financial resources" are used to determine need. All income is assessed including:

Unearned income:

allowances,
pensions,
insurance benefits,
regular gifts and gratuities,
income from benevolent organizations,

monies received under

maintenance orders,
parents maintenance orders,
filiation orders and agreements,
separation orders,
court orders,
divorce decrees,

inheritance settlements,
other settlements and agreements,

attributed value of
free shelter,
free board,
free lodging.

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

Unearned income:

Family Allowances,

casual gifts of small value,
contributions for special care.

Earned income:

cost of maintenance of child if recipient assists in farming operation,

$\frac{2}{3}$ gross farm revenues if recipient operates farm for own benefit,

expenses of working for wages,

earnings up to \$20 per month,

40 per cent of rentals on self contained quarters,

on business and farm revenues

80 per cent of first \$1,000 gross revenue

70 per cent of second \$1,000 gross revenue

60 per cent of third \$1,000 gross revenue

Income Ceilings and Exemptions
 MANITOBA Cont'd.

Exemptions

Definition of Income

Earned income:

net wages including take-home pay
 and voluntary deductions,
 net farm and business revenue,
 net rentals,
 \$10 per roomer per month,
 \$20 per boarder per month,
 reasonable value of income in kind.

Municipalities set standards through
 by-laws governing the granting of
 assistance. These include provisions
 relating to the treatment of income.

Program

Social Allowances (Provincial) Cont'd.

Municipal Assistance

Available to person in need who are
 eligible for social allowances.

Program

Saskatchewan Assistance Plan

A) Long Term Assistance

Available to persons likely to be in need for more than ninety days.

Definition of Income

An applicant's "financial resources" are assessed in determining need. These cover all income, including:

allowances,
pensions,
regular gifts and gratuities,
contributions by individuals and benevolent societies,

payments of
insurance benefits
annuities,

monies received under
maintenance orders,
parents maintenance orders,
filiation orders and agreements,
separation agreements,
court orders,
divorce decrees,
inheritance settlements,
other types of settlements
and agreements,

monies in trust for children and available for distribution,

attributed value of
free shelter
free board,
free lodging,

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

contributions for special care,
other contributions up to \$25 per month,

casual gifts of small value,
insurance payments for

fire,
theft or
damage,

Family and Youth Allowances,
child welfare maintenance payments,

room and board for children under one year and living with the mother,

homeowner grants,

contributions for burials other than by spouse or parents,

take home wages less cost of transportation to work,

premiums for hospital insurance and medical care,

earnings per month

single \$ 5.00

family \$10.00

family of

three or more \$15.00 or

50 per cent casual earnings up to

25 per cent of basic requirements,

Income Ceilings and Exemptions
SASKATCHEWAN—Cont'd

Program

Saskatchewan Assistance Plan—Cont'd

A) *Long Term Assistance—Cont'd*

Definition of Income

net wages and earnings including voluntary deductions,

Exemptions

earnings of dependent children in school in winter 100 per cent, in summer holidays \$40 per month and 50 per cent of balance,

20 per cent gross income from roomers (but must not reduce this income below \$20 per person per month),

75 per cent gross income from boarders (but must not reduce this income below \$10 per boarder per month),

60 per cent gross income from roomers and boarders (but must not reduce this income below \$20 per person per month),

20 per cent of gross income from rental of suites in the recipient's residence.

B) *Short Term Assistance*

Available to persons whose need is likely to last less than three months.

The definitions are the same as those used for long term assistance.

The Exemptions are the same as those used for long term assistance.

ALBERTA

*Program**Social Allowances (Provincial)*

Available to:

persons who because of age, physical or mental ill health or incapacity which will continue more than 90 days, cannot earn sufficient income to provide basic necessities,

persons who have custody and care for a dependent child, and cannot earn sufficient income to provide basic necessities,

persons who may benefit from rehabilitative services, and cannot earn sufficient income while receiving such services to provide the basic necessities, or,

guardians of children whose parents are

dead,

in a Sanatorium, nursing home,

hospital, penal institution,

provincial mental hospital,

have deserted or are unable to care for children.

Definition of Income

An applicant must declare all income, both in cash and in kind. This includes:

pensions and annuities,
regular contributions,

Unemployment Insurance benefits,

Workmen's Compensation,
government pensions and allowances,
gross earnings from employment,

investment income,

property rentals,

room and board receipts,

averaged farm income.

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

Family and Youth Allowances,
earnings per month
single \$15.00
family \$25.00

essential payroll deductions and costs of earnings are treated as a family budget cost,

25 per cent room and suite rentals,

boarders' costs are added to family budget requirements, and gross receipts are deducted as income.

Poverty

Income Ceilings and Exemptions
ALBERTA—Cont'd

Program

Social Assistance (Provincial)

Available to persons who require assistance on a short-term basis and do not have municipal residence.

Definition of Income

An applicant must declare all income.

This includes:

dividends payable,

gross earnings,

gross revenue from boarders.

Exemptions

Exemptions include:

Family and Youth Allowances,

earnings

single \$15.00

family \$25.00

essential payroll deductions and costs of earning salary are considered a family requirement,

50 per cent board receipts are added to family requirements.

Municipal Assistance

Available to persons who require assistance on a short term basis.

Conditions governing the treatment of income are met by individual municipalities.

Program

Social Allowance

Long and Short Term Assistance

Available to persons in need other than those eligible for Supplementary Social Allowance.

Definition of Income

Income includes:

Unearned income

alimony or separation orders, annuities,

co-operative society payments, disability or military pensions, insurance benefits,

sale of assets,

sale of property apart from home,

revenue from self contained suites, separation agreements or voluntary payments,

superannuation payments,

Unemployment Insurance,

union or lodge benefits,

War Veterans Allowances,

widows allowance,

Workmen's Compensation,

income from an estate,

net rental from property apart from home,

*Exemptions**Exemptions include:**Unearned income*

essential operating costs of self contained suites,

underrable expenses of rental property apart from home,

Family Allowances,

educational grants,

allowance to soldiers' dependent children,

foster home payments.

*Earned income**earnings*

single\$15.00

couple\$25.00

where rehabilitation possible

single\$25.00

couple\$50.00

costs in connection with employment such as

transportation,

clothing,

day care,

Income Ceilings and Exemptions
BRITISH COLUMBIA

Definition of Income

payments under Unmarried Parents Act,
payments under Wives and Children's Maintenance Act.

Earned income:

earnings,
income tax refunds,
gross sale of produce,
gross room rentals,
gross board receipts,
earnings of children living at home,
contributions by children.

Exemptions

25 per cent gross rental on non-self contained rooms and suites, plus exemptions above,
80 per cent of board receipts for 1 person,
75 per cent of board receipts for 2 persons,
70 per cent of board receipts for three persons less amount of board in excess of \$70 for each boarder, and allow exemption on balance as for earnings,
40 per cent per month and 50 per cent of balance on earnings of children at home included in budget,
\$200 for one month and 50 per cent of balance on earnings of children at home and not included in budget,
50 per cent minimum on contributions by children out of the home.

Exemptions include:

Family Allowances,
contributions for special care,
Blind guide costs,

Program

Social Allowance—Cont'd

Supplementary Social Allowance

Available to recipients of

Old Age Assistance,
Blind Persons Allowance,
Disabled Persons Allowance,
Old Age Security.

All income is assessed in determining and applicant's need. This includes:

Old Age Security,
Guaranteed Income Supplement,
Old Age Assistance,

Blind Persons Allowance,	80 per cent of room and board receipts on amounts up to \$70 for one person,
Disabled Persons Allowance,	
supplementary social allowance of spouse,	75 per cent of room and board receipts on amounts up to \$70 for each of two persons,
social allowance payments,	
War Veterans Allowance,	70 per cent of room and board receipts on amounts up to \$70 for each of three persons,
War Disability Pensions,	
Workmen's Compensation,	25 per cent of gross revenue from rental of rooms or suites.
superannuation or pension,	
annuity payments,	
Family Allowances,	
foster home payments,	
Unemployment Insurance,	
insurance and sick benefits,	
Social Security (U.S.)	
family contributions,	
assigned service pay,	
separation and voluntary agreements,	
Blind guide allowance,	
Indian rations and band funds,	
payments from mortgages and agreements for sale,	
gross property rent or crop share,	
net farm revenue,	
payments from an estate,	
all income	
gratuities, and	
contributions in cash or kind.	



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON
POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 24

TUESDAY, MARCH 3, 1970.

WITNESSES:

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION: Mr. Gower Markle, Chairman, Committee on Adult Basic Education and Poverty; Dr. Alan M. Thomas, Executive Director; Mr. Donald R. MacNeill, Secretary.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF CANADA: Mrs. Valentine Fabris, National President; The Most Rev. J. P. Mahoney, D.D., National Director; Mrs. James J. Matthews, National Convener, Social Action, Chairman of the Brief Committee; Miss Veronica Fagan, M.S.W., Member of Brief Committee; Mrs. Ed. Gallagher, Member of Brief Committee.

APPENDICES:

"A"—Brief submitted by the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

"B"—Brief submitted by The Catholic Women's League of Canada.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , Deputy Chairman)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, March 3, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Eudes, Fergusson, Fournier, Inman, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (10)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

CANADIAN ASSOCIATION FOR ADULT EDUCATION: Mr. Gower Markle, Chairman, Committee on Adult Basic Education and Poverty; Dr. Alan M. Thomas, Executive Director; Mr. Donald R. MacNeill, Secretary.

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF CANADA: Mrs. Valentine Fabris, National President; The Most Rev. J. P. Mahoney, D.D., National Director; Mrs. James J. Matthews, National Convener, Social Action, Chairman of the Brief Committee; Miss Veronica Fagan, M.S.W., Member of Brief Committee; Mrs. Ed. Gallagher, Member of Brief Committee.

(*Biographical notes concerning these witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.*)

In attendance: Miss Mary Dobell, National Convener, Public Relations; Miss Valerie J. Fall, Executive Secretary; Mrs. F. Gaffney, President, Ottawa Diocesan Council; Mrs. G. R. Roussy, Member.

The brief submitted by the Canadian Association for Adult Education and that submitted by The Catholic Women's League of Canada were ordered to be printed as appendices "A" and "B", respectively, to these Minutes.

At 12.30 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Thursday, March 5, 1970, at 9.00 a.m.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Gower Markle: Vice President, CAAE. Director of Education & Welfare, United Steel Workers of America. Vice Chairman, Community & Funds Council, Canadian Welfare Council. Executive Committee, Ontario Welfare Council. Member, Canada Manpower & Immigration Council, Board of Governors, George Brown College. *Chairman*, CAAE Committee on Adult Basic Education & Poverty.

(Dr.) **Alan M. Thomas:** *Executive Director*, CAAE. Member, Board of Governors, Elliot Lake Centre for Continuing Education. Advisory Board, Manpower & Immigration Research Council. Board of Director, Digger House.

Donald R. MacNeill: Managing Editor, Publications, CAAE. Chairman, Public Education, Canadian Heart Foundation. *Secretary*, CAAE Committee on Adult Basic Education and Poverty. Member, Utica Community Board, Reach Township.

Mrs. Valentine Fabris: National President, Winnipeg, Manitoba.

The Most Rev. J. P. Mahoney, D.D.: National Director, Bishop of Saskatoon, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.

Mrs. James J. Matthews: National Convener, Social Action, Chairman of Brief Committee, Willowdale, Ontario.

Miss Veronica Fagan, M.S.W., Member of Brief Committee, Toronto, Ontario.

Mrs. Ed. Gallagher: Past President, Pembroke Diocesan Council C.W.L., Member of Brief Committee, Douglas, Ontario.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, March 3, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, this morning we have with us the Canadian Association for Adult Education. On my immediate right is Mr. Gower Markle, Vice-President, and Director of Education and Welfare, United Steel Workers of America. Then there is Mr. Donald R. MacNeill, Managing Editor, Publications, Canadian Association for Adult Education. In the next seat is Dr. Alan M. Thomas, Executive Director, Canadian Association for Adult Education.

Mr. Markle will make a statement and perhaps his two colleagues will also join in before we get to the question period.

Mr. Gower Markle, Vice-President, Canadian Association for Adult Education: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, you have already received copies of our brief. Therefore it is our intention to speak very briefly to it and then we will deal with your direct questions and comments about our presentation.

I should say in introduction that in preparing this statement we have tried to dwell on or emphasize those matters which we felt were particularly within our competence and frame of reference. We felt it appropriate to recognize those matters which we felt were a direct connection between education and this condition which we call poverty. We have tried to involve our associates across Canada in the preparation of this document and we have asked all our divisions across the country to comment on the question of poverty as it is understood in their own regions and provinces. We have tried to incorporate all the views we received in this statement; I would point out that there has not been total unanimity in this.

In making our presentation and in drafting our proposals, we have accepted two things; the first is the definition of poverty that the

Economic Council of Canada has tabled. We feel that this is a reasonable starting point, but we have made it clear that poverty is much more than merely an economic situation. It involves the whole situation in which the individual or the family finds itself and therefore must be considered and dealt with in terms other than mere economic needs or an economic emphasis. We have also indicated that we accept the categories of poverty established here, the working poor, the disadvantaged and the welfare poor. We think that these are as reasonable as any other definitions one could come up with.

The concerns we have are dealt with in our summary of recommendations, and I would only briefly like to comment on some of these matters. This summary is to be found immediately after page 15 of our brief and is just a summary of the major points we have dealt with throughout the brief. We deal first of all with what we usually call the "work ethic" which is referred to on page 5. We have indicated that the whole system in a technological society is changing, that our concept of work is changing, that the relationship between what we traditionally define as work and leisure is changing—a dynamic relationship—and what it holds for the future we really do not know. But clearly the view that we have traditionally held that people had to work in order to be entitled to support or maintenance is no longer a valid position in total. We also talk about the problem of mature students because we find that we have an increasing number of mature students and the needs of society are requiring people to be students longer. We talk in terms of continuous learning and that there is no terminal point in learning. If people are going to devote so much of their time as students then clearly we feel we have a responsibility to enable them to live in this condition, work as students, and maintain themselves in a reasonable way. We have pointed out that in some countries this is done through salaries for students, direct grants to students, but the point is, we feel, that these students who are working to prepare themselves should not be in a situation of poverty while they are doing this.

We have talked about the problem of communications, and we feel there are national institutions of communications that have an extremely significant and important responsibility to assist the people who are in the category that we designate as "poor," to enable them to understand, to find out, to learn, to continue to improve their understanding and their ability to cope with the facts and realities of life. We are concerned about some of the things happening to the C.B.C. and the National Film Board at present, and we are concerned that some of these changes may not enable them to remain as effective now as they have been in the past. Hopefully, they should improve. We are concerned about the role of these institutions.

With respect to manpower policies, on page 2 of the summary of recommendations, we are concerned with certain rigidities in manpower policies which seem, in our opinion, to discriminate against people who most need assistance from the Department of Manpower. The people who most need upgrading, the people who most need retraining, the people who most need literacy, learning to read and write and the ability to move into a technological society, are the people who, we feel by the rigidities in the manpower situation, are most discriminated against. We have supported the brief of Frontier College that has already been presented before you, and we feel it has emphasized some of these matters we are trying to deal with.

On consumer education, we point out that the complexity of the market place and the situation with which the consumer is faced again require a great deal of understanding, of learning, of competence to make choices, and we feel that the people we designate as the poor are often those who are least competent to make these choices and, therefore, need a special kind of assistance. Again, we point out that our national institutions, such as the mass media, should be focusing on enabling the poor people to make these kinds of choices. We think this applies to everybody, but particularly to the poor or disadvantaged.

The matter of housing has been dealt with over and over again before this committee, but we emphasize it and we feel that extra things have to be done to enable these people to have adequate housing. What is adequate housing in modern Canada? Certainly, that is a changing concept. We are not satisfied now with what we may have been satisfied with 50 years ago, nor should we be. As a society

we have to find ways of enabling these people to move into adequate shelter. We point out that there is a close and reciprocal relationship between the kind of situation in which people live and their understanding and assessment of their own position and their own dignity. Whether poverty arises out of the situation, or whether they are in the situation because of their poverty, again is a circle. I do not think it really adds to anything to chase yourself around the circle. The fact is, people are in a certain situation and one of the positive, realistic and concrete things we can do is deal with the facts of their existence, of their living, of their shelter. Clearly, we feel this is something we can move into.

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that very quickly I have covered our major recommendations.

I would only point out that we have in our brief an Appendix B but we have no Appendix A. The reason is that in the original draft we had prepared, we intended to include statements from our Manitoba and Saskatchewan divisions relating to our major presentation, and these would have been Appendix A. However, our Manitoba and Saskatchewan divisions will be making their own presentation to you when you are travelling and, therefore, we have not included them because they wish to appear personally before you.

Mr. Chairman, perhaps my colleagues would care to add to what I have already said.

Mr. Donald R. MacNeill, Managing Editor, Publications, Canadian Association for Adult Education: Honourable senators, I think we have attempted to summarize the philosophy, I suppose, of our brief pretty much in the conclusion. It is based upon the educational premise that learning is a fundamental part of one's total make-up. The opportunities for learning, including basic education or literacy, as Mr. Markle has mentioned, must not be limited. We should never make learning a middle-class function; the learning opportunity should broaden out to everyone. This is summarized in our conclusion, and I think this is the thread that runs through the whole of the brief.

Dr. Alan M. Thomas, Executive Director, Canadian Association for Adult Education: I have one comment, Mr. Chairman. It is that perhaps it is useful to point out that a good deal of the automatic response of both

Canadian society and American society has been to re-concentrate our educational resources on children and to assume that we may not be able to do anything for the parents but we may be able to prevent the children from following the cycle of poverty. In our opinion, this sacrifice of one generation to another requires some thinking about, but technically merely maximizing the present educational resources, concentrated, by and large, as they are, in children, does not in fact show much evidence of the power to break the poverty cycle. Although I grant you that the evidence is sparse, it is pretty clear that the situation in which we do seem to be able to make some dent on the breakout from the poverty cycle is when both children and parents are engaged in learning at the same time. If the parents are engaged in developing potential for themselves at the same time as their children are engaged in this kind of process, the likelihood of their moving as a family is much greater than the likelihood of moving the children by concentrating all the resources on them and not providing the same concentration for the parents. I think that is a useful matter to consider.

The Chairman: We will have an opportunity to enlarge on that later.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, I notice that Mr. Markle is the Director of Education and Welfare of the United Steel Workers and is also a member of the Canada Manpower and Immigration Council.

With your knowledge, Mr. Markle, I would like to put this question to you. It seems to me that basically there are two great divisions in our human relations in this country—and, indeed, in all countries. That is, you have the producer or the manufacturer and the man who is running all the different levels of business in the country. You have the management group, and then the very large union groups. The unions are able to look after their membership by sharing in management planning, and the two groups work together very nicely. This leaves another group that just cannot get in. They are out of luck. There is not enough room for them in the particular area. Unless another business goes into that community there is always going to be a group that is lost.

In western Canada at the present time we can see a crisis arising. The farmers are facing tremendous problems, and in the meantime the young people are being educated at high schools and universities, and there

are small towns that the not going to be able to satisfy the basic needs of their children. It seems that there should be some organization there to help these people who belong to the third group, as I call it. Education alone is not going to save them. Many of them cannot go on to become Ph.D's. What is your comment on that?

Mr. Markle: I agree, sir, this is a very serious issue, and we in the labour movement—if I can put on my other hat—are concerned about it. We are concerned to have these people organized so that they can fit under the legislation of our country and the provinces.

By definition, a labour union first must "organize", and then it can "deal with". As you have indicated, there are clearly all sorts of people who are not caught in the net. They are outside the frame of reference. The fact that these people are excluded by definition at the moment is a legislative issue. We cannot come to grips with them.

In the United States, Canada, and Great Britain, approximately 30 per cent of the total work force is in labour unions, but in the Scandanavian countries, for instance, from 85 to 90 per cent of the total work force is in some sort of legitimate organization through which they have some representation, and through which they can achieve some power, and some control over their situation. In Canada 60 per cent are excluded.

The Chairman: No, it is not correct to say they are excluded. They have not joined, but they are not excluded.

Mr. Markle: They are not in it, and some of them are not in it because they have not been organized. However, there is a large number that do not come under the umbrella. So, we have a great deal to do.

The labour movement must do something towards trying to organize these people, but the present situation is such as to make it almost impossible to bring them under the umbrella. Clearly, these people need organizational and institutional assistance. They need an institution through which they can be represented.

Senator Pearson: This is what I was trying to get at.

Mr. Markle: As educationists and as trade unionists, we are very concerned about it, but we have not found a solution.

Senator Pearson: Yes, there is a group there which is not organized, and which has not a strong enough voice in the proposing of legislation.

Mr. Markle: Yes, this is correct. We have not found an answer to this. At one time we were trying to get the unemployed unionized, but this did not work effectively because these people did not want to stay within that category. As soon as they became employed they moved out of the organization.

Dr. Thomas: I just want to comment on the end of Senator Pearson's statement because I think he identified something of real importance, and perhaps this is only implicit in our brief. The kind of education we are supporting is a kind which does not necessarily lead to a Ph.D. We are talking about a non-hierarchical education system which lies in the support of other kinds of skills, abilities, and sensibilities than our exclusive education system supports at the moment.

Senator Pearson: Our education system emphasizes an academic education entirely.

Dr. Thomas: Yes.

Senator Pearson: It is not directed towards enabling a man to earn a living?

Mr. Markle: We emphasize a system that will enable people to get back into the mainstream.

Senator Carter: Mr. Markle, I see that you are also chairman of the C.A.A.E. committee on basic education and poverty. Would you tell us something about what your committee is doing, and what it has done?

Mr. Markle: Yes, sir. This committee has been active for at least five years, and this brief that you have before you is one of its outputs. To appear before you has been one of our concerns. We have conducted investigations and research and seminars upon such things as illiteracy and basic education, and we have been trying to find ways of moving what we call the illiterates or sub-literates into a situation where they are literate and can deal with information and media. We have tried to bring together organizations which have concerns similar to ours in order to have a focal point around which we can do some research and discuss some of these matters. These are the things we have been doing.

Senator Carter: Within the last couple of years officials and everybody else have become aware that even people who are in a poverty group have something to contribute towards the solution of their own problems, and that they should be consulted in the framing of laws. But, from the evidence that has been adduced before us, it appears that the great problem is lack of leadership. I would think that one of the objectives or main functions of your adult education program would be to develop leadership. Can you tell us what you are doing in that respect?

Mr. Markle: I agree, sir, and I think our major thesis is that we have to enable people to achieve the capacity to take charge of their own affairs. This is one of our major concerns. The question of whether leadership can be developed from outside, whether it is imposed from above, or whether it develops naturally from inside a group, is a good question. We think that leadership has all of these aptitudes and characteristics. We have been working with groups right across the country to give people who have an interest in the problem an opportunity to have a better understanding of what is involved, to discuss the concerns that we have, and to find out what they can do in specific terms to improve their situation. It is one thing to talk in vague generalities about the problem of the poor and why they are poor, and what can be done, but it is not enough. We have to start talking in terms of specifics, about the situation in which these people find themselves, and what, in specific terms, we can do to work with them and help them to improve their situation, and to cope better with the realities of a modern technological society.

Therefore, we have been talking in terms of literacy. We have been talking in terms of the realities of living in a technological society, and of the problems of the move from an agriculture and rural dominated economy, to a technology and urban dominated situation. These are the problems that people are facing, and the people who cannot move along with them are the people we are talking about.

Senator Carter: Do you have a rural program?

Mr. Markle: Well, historically we have been working very closely with the agricultural federations and with the farmers' organizations in connection with such things as the Farm Radio Forum and the Citizens' Forum.

Senator Carter: Years ago you had what I thought was a wonderful program called Town Hall.

Mr. Markle: It was Citizens' Forum.

Senator Carter: What has happened to that. It was the kind of program where you people met with those in small communities and discussed problems. In the course of this discussion leadership emerged, someone came to the fore.

Mr. Markle: Yes; we think this is one of the most significant developments that has taken place during our history. However, there have been some changes in the whole situation which have forced us to change the program.

Senator Carter: Can you tell us what happened to it?

Dr. Thomas: Even before the advent of television, participation in the program began to drop. In the late forties and early fifties the group declined in numbers and we did not have the financial resources to maintain field workers to assist neighbourhood and local groups.

Secondly, with the introduction of television there was a shift of audiences away from radio. The forum did not work as well on television as on radio. It would take too long to even speculate as to the reason.

Thirdly, the C.B.C. became interested in a quite different field of public affairs than we. This decline, which commenced in the 1960s, has continued. We have not had the resources to re-establish that network on some other basis than in affiliation with the C.B.C. Discussions are taking place with regard to possibilities of cable television which might enable us to re-introduce the program.

Senator Carter: That is the point I wish to develop. You make a recommendation about the CRTC. Can the program be resurrected in relation to the CRTC?

Mr. Markle: Certainly it can be resurrected. The point we are making is that the mass media, television and radio, should be available throughout the country for the purpose of the upgrading and continuous education we are proposing. These are the pipelines we feel will be going into every home in the country. One of these services should be available. We have the instrumentality for it and we want to make sure that the service is available when the public wishes to take part in it.

Dr. Thomas: The cable television as it is presently operating is a tax on the user. There is a large number of precisely the families we are discussing who simply cannot afford to pay that tax. In some respects this is the most efficient device for the kind of education we are discussing, which is with people in their own homes. Some of these are afraid to go to a public school for meetings, but the medium of television is precluded from them because of its cost. One of our arguments is that we must find a way to include the people who do not find it possible to pay \$4, \$5 or \$6 per month, or establish a public utility to provide it.

Senator Carter: Your programs such as Citizens' Forum were not in the homes, but people came together in groups.

Mr. Markle: It was also in the homes in many cases.

Dr. Thomas: It was largely in the kitchens.

Senator Carter: It was a radio program that was discussed?

Mr. Markle: Yes, all those groups met at homes.

Senator McGrand: Does that include the Farm Forum?

Dr. Thomas: Exactly; they were separate groups, but they operated at about the same time.

Mr. Markle: Relatively few farmers are isolated now. It is much easier for people to meet and travel than it was previously. They move farther and into larger centres for this sort of program. That is why we had the difficulty with cable television referred to by Dr. Thomas. Many of the people about whom we are most concerned do not have the \$5 a month for cable television. They are pinched as it is.

Secondly, the emphasis of educational television is on ultra-high frequency which, again, these people will not have the facility to receive.

Senator Fergusson: The people you are endeavouring to reach are the extremely poor, who do not even have ordinary television. How would you suggest the program should be brought to them? I know a great many people have television, but there are the very poor, living in remote places perhaps, and they do not have access to these programs.

Mr. Markle: The technique is to bring people together around a set. If you know

people who do not have television, you find ways to provide the set as we do in the schools with children.

Senator Quart: When discussing these citizens' forums you relate them all the time to the C.B.C. What about the private stations? Many of them are happy to have programs, in the morning especially, without any charge on condition that the material is supplied to them.

Mr. MacNeill: Our B.C. division has been experimenting with this in the field of cable television but with a private company. They have developed a series of programs which are broadcast on gratis time as it were. There have been programs produced on such topics as taxation. They are endeavouring to produce a program such as we had in Citizens' Forum that will mean something to people, whether or not they be in the poor brackets of society.

In Nova Scotia one of our divisions has experimented with television sets and receivers in community centres in an effort to restore the whole sense of community life. This involves common discussion of programs and topics that are presented. These are examples of a number of experimental projects which exist and which we hope will have some impact.

Mr. Markle: Television may be beyond the reach of some, but radio is certainly available to almost everyone. We have seen what has happened in the newly developing countries arising out of our experience in Canada with programs such as Farm Forum. We have shared this. There are tremendous programs in India and parts of Africa using our technique. The people have small transistor radio receivers which can be punched out like biscuits nowadays very cheaply.

Senator Carter: Why can videotape not be used if cable television and television is so expensive? Group discussions could be developed by adult field workers.

What is needed is a community program so that people can get together and exchange ideas. This would be the basis of it. Showing these things in the home is all right, but unless people can get together and discuss matters as a group the kind of leadership that is needed will not be developed. People may be informed a little better, but the leadership will be lacking, I would think.

Mr. Markle: I entirely agree. This is certainly one of the things that will have to be done and extended.

Dr. Thomas: One of the problems is that there are not many institutions who will do that. In part what you are talking about is a kind of community development, or "animation sociale" in French-Canada, which is not quite the same thing but is roughly comparable. We need an agency which will sponsor that kind of community work and have the resources to develop videotaping, which is expensive in itself, and the opportunities for using it, which are few and far between.

One of the most exciting applications of this kind in recent years has been the "Challenge for Change" program of the National Film Board, and we are very much concerned that the program is apparently not getting the support, even within the Board, that it should have. The recent austerity that grips us all, including the National Film Board, is eating away at this program rather than at some of the things the Board is doing in which we are less interested. This is an example of the kind of thing you mentioned.

Senator Carter: What about extension work at universities? Surely they have field workers who could go out and initiate programs of this kind. There is a need for developing leadership; we think your educational experience and background should be in the forefront, and we should like to have any suggestions that can be made.

Mr. MacNeill: This is being done by Memorial University in Newfoundland, whose extension department takes the program "Challenge for Change" along the Labrador coast and to some of the outposts of Newfoundland. It is a very exciting but also very expensive proposition. Even now some of the people in the extension department are attempting to get further resources and finances in order to carry it on.

Senator Inman: The National Film Board used to supply films for schools, I understand.

Dr. Thomas: They are now charging for them, which again to a great extent eliminates them from use. The problems are very complicated. It is quite evident that the federal Government supports Canadian education, directly and indirectly, even though it is a provincial responsibility. The National Film Board and the C.B.C. are now engaged in discussing a proposal for the non-broadcast use of C.B.C. material across the country through a large, wealthy educational organization that can afford to pay for films and other kinds of material. Unfortunately, as soon as that sort of thing is done, if there is

an educational agency that can afford to pay for the material, it becomes difficult for neighbourhood groups, people meeting in union halls and church basements to get access to the same material. Material which until now they have had free, and which we, as public policy, have wanted them to have free. In considering the availability of educational resources to enable people to help themselves, charging for films by the National Film Board and the proposal to charge commercially for C.B.C. material is something this committee ought to be seriously concerned with.

Mr. Markle: Let me give an example. In my capacity with a labour union I am concerned about making information available to working people across the country. I am continually sending out printed material and films on request. Because of increased postal charges and printing costs, and because we now have to pay additional charges for the sorts of films that formerly were easily accessible to us, we have had to cut back and do only half what we were doing before to help people who need access to this sort of material.

The Chairman: You must be careful with that argument. It cuts both ways.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I had made a note about consumers' education, but I will leave that point for a while. I will also leave to somebody else the discussion of discrimination in Manpower use. I wish to talk about education, especially vocational education. Most of the briefs we have had seem to have put blame on poor education, lack of education, and so on. In the last ten years, in this country we have spent over \$1 billion to build vocational schools in every province. Another \$1 billion has been spent on academies. There is countrywide school transportation. Even from the most remote areas the school buses are filled with students going to school; you cannot tell the poor from the rich, they all dress the same way, all eat in the same cafeteria at dinner time and all have the same books. At vocational schools there is training available for all trades at all levels. What did we do wrong? What do we lack? I should like to hear the answers from somebody.

Mr. Markle: Well, how much time have we got? Certainly what has been done is very commendable, and long overdue. There has had to be this tremendous expenditure and emphasis on education because as a country we ignored it for the first 100 years of our

history. Formerly it was cheaper for Canada to import brains, competence and talent from other countries rather than to develop our own native people. To that extent our own people were exploited. One has only to look at the people who were unemployed then to realize what was happening. The native Canadian was either unskilled or a professional man. No semi-skilled or skilled workers were native born Canadians; they were imported from Great Britain or the continent of Europe. All of a sudden it was found that our own people were changing, that they were being driven into the ranks of the unemployed. Clearly something had to be done.

Certainly more and more of our young people are availing themselves of educational programs. There are more young people in our educational institutions now than at any point in our history. Also, more adults, people beyond the school leaving age, are going back to educational institutions to upgrade themselves and take part in the educational life, both formally and informally. This is marvelous and this is what we have to do. It is not enough to have institutions and seats for people to sit at. The program must have some relevance to the problems the people face, the kinds of situations that will confront them when they leave the doors of the educational institution and go out into the world. Historically our secondary schools and university institutions have been almost entirely devoted to academic education. All of a sudden during the last 10 or 15 years we have seen the emphasis on technological vocation education. This, again, is focusing a large number of people to the demands of the society and the economy and in my opinion we have made progress.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): It is not that clear to me. I come from New Brunswick. We have a great number of schools, but our industries are limited. We train large numbers of electricians, pipe fitters, carpenters, et cetera, every year and they leave the schools, being certified in their trade and knowing it fairly well. They are not experts by any means, but they have had practical experience learning on the job. They later find out that they are unable to get jobs and must go to the United States. There are many jobs waiting for them in the New England states, Connecticut, New York and Massachusetts. Many of them move to Ontario or Quebec. The few who remain in New Brunswick apply for jobs at the local

industries. The company says that they would like to have you, but cannot accept you because you do not belong to the union. The union boss will say that he cannot take you because there are already 25 men in the union. The union does not want him; the company wants him but cannot employ him because he doesn't belong to the union. He cannot belong to the union because there is a waiting list. What is he supposed to do?

Mr. Markle: I agree. I think this is deplorable and several wrongs do not make a right. We are stupid in several ways and compound our folly by being doubly stupid. People are being hurt by a situation because they build up walls to protect themselves, which from their point of view, is justifiable. Again, it is a response to a particular situation and does not remedy the overall situation.

You are speaking about the problems of New Brunswick. Clearly, there are all sorts of problems, as in many places across the country. The economic problem of opportunity and economic activity is not related to the educational system. That relates to the problems of people and what is happening there. If we can find ways to develop the economy of the area, then opportunities will increase. It is then our responsibility to assist the people in order to enable them to fill the needs of the job openings in the industry. The problem that you speak to specifically, about the difficulty of people with training—you said you are training electricians and skilled workers—is one, in which there aren't enough openings for them in the present economy and they have to go somewhere else. You are saying that even the ones who remain cannot get in because of union contracts and agreements that have been negotiated. You have to consider the problem of supply and demand. There are only so many places and if there are 1,000 electricians competing for 100 jobs what is going to happen? The price goes way down and the people who have the skill and training express the opinion that by co-operating and passing on the skill they are cutting their own throats. This has been the hard lesson that many trade unionists have had to face. If you do not protect yourself you are going to be taken advantage of. Unfortunately, we live in this kind of society.

Senator Pearson: In other words, there are too many people.

Mr. Markle: Too few people.

Dr. Thomas: I shall go back to your general comment. It is mystifying when you do hear the kind of arguments you are hearing in face

of the unprecedented expenditure in Canada in the last decade. It seems that there are two ways in which societies respond to problems: one is do what they have always done, but harder. The other is to say that maybe there is another way to do it. I think the \$2 billion Senator Fournier referred to, has been spent in doing what we always have done, but harder. We have reinforced the conventional educational system and built largely conventional institutions. We have spent enormous amounts of money on universities which still only take up a growing but tiny percentage of the population.

It seems that the single innovation and one which we are desperately fighting for in Canadian education, is the introduction of the College of Applied Arts and Technology in Ontario, the *Collège d'Enseignement Général et Professionnel* in Quebec and the community college in the west, in Manitoba, British Columbia and Alberta. These are the hopeful signs that we are going to break out of the past and hopefully are going to be able to put together two traditions in Canadian education which have been practically separate for constitutional reasons—traditions of a technical-vocational education and of a liberal education. In the colleges it seems to me that these two kinds of education are coming together and that we are beginning to develop a kind of education which is more relevant to contemporary Canada than what we have been doing up until now.

Another aspect is that it may be the high investment in education that will, in fact, prevent some of the present children—the people who have been children during the last 20 years—from encountering the same fate which befell some of their parents. There are distressing signs that we may still not be handling that, because the rate of unemployment amongst the young is very high.

One of the really difficult problems is that we have a much higher rate in the 18- to 15-year old bracket than we should have. Even though the rich and the poor eat in the same cafeterias, the fact is that the poor drop out much earlier than the rich do. They leave school and leave in the company of people who are also drop-outs. This is part of our proposal for doing something different, which is devoted to solving not just the problems of poverty but other problems in the system that is *éducation permanente* or continuing education which allows a person not to make a mistake once in his life and not be able to get back into the educational system. We are just

beginning to develop a system in which you may leave when it seems sensible for you and re-enter without prejudice when it is logical and sensible. Such a system has to be developed on a very large scale, privately, because the whole industrial system of retraining, of management and development within the industry is considerably larger on a North American basis than all the education of all the children in a public educational system that awards the people who have already succeeded in the formal systems. It tends to be discriminative, which is perhaps a harsher word than I mean to use. It does tend to maximize the success of those who have already succeeded. It also tends to increase the failure of those who have already failed because they never get a chance to start again. The Manpower program is trying to let those who have failed, try again and for the level for which it is planned, it has succeeded very well. For the bottom group it does not succeed well at all because this hangs on other kinds of problems than those of the development.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I do not disagree with you all the way.

Dr. Thomas: Which way, sir?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): It is a point of argument. Supposing you are starting with a new generation, I think your philosophy is all right, but we have to live with a generation, a group of people, who have Grade 4, 5, 6. That is their level, and they are living with it. They are heads of families. They are the poor people.

Dr. Thomas: Agreed.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): In the case of the man with Grade 4 or Grade 5, there is no use in trying to get him to go to school to get a BA. Let us forget that. We have to find a job for him through some system, and we have to recognize him as he is, with his ability.

Dr. Thomas: Right.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We have to take his possibility to earn his living, with his family. Supposing that man goes to school and wants to become a mason. There are lots of opportunities for bricklayers. We have not got any. We have no one who can make a chimney properly. We need these men. Yet when he goes to school, if he has not got Grade 12, he cannot take the course.

Dr. Thomas: Then we agree all the way, I agree entirely with that.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): He is given one year to get academic training, he goes in at Grade 5 and they try to bring him up to Grade 12 in twelve months. But he gets up in the middle of it and leaves and goes back to his previous occupation.

The Chairman: I am trying to follow both of you. Let me understand what the senator is getting at.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I had not finished yet. I was getting there.

The Chairman: I would like to get it precisely. Instead of talking generalities, I would like you to use a rationale—you are an educationist—for the statement that a truck driver who has been driving for 15 years and is out of a job, and goes for retraining and finds he has not sufficient education, is refused training. Justify that. If this man has been brought up at that level, he has lived and has been working as a truck driver, it is suggested he should do better and he has not the formal education, he is below grade. Give me the rationale on that position, for a few minutes?

Dr. Thomas: Do I have to?

The Chairman: Well...

Dr. Thomas: I am sorry. I wanted to make sure you do not think I believe that.

Mr. MacNeill: Is it correct that he is refused training? I am not sure.

The Chairman: A dozen times one hears that. They are encouraged to take the opportunity and when they go they find they have not a sufficient level of education and will not be accepted. They have eased up a little on that, because this committee got after them some time ago.

Dr. Thomas: I think the only way of defending that statement is this. We say that the major opportunities for that truck driver lie within the Manpower program. That is, if the truck driver goes to some public school system—not all, but some—and if he could support himself and his family for the length of time it takes him to obtain a new and more complex skill, if he can pay for his family—which is not likely—then he should not be refused in some school system because there are resources there.

But I think what you are talking about is the specific piece of legislation, which is not educational legislation but employment legislation. Therefore, the basis on which that man is chosen or not chosen often has nothing to do with his particular state, it has to do with whether there is employment for the things he has to do. He has to do that within the limits of the legislation, and is allowed 12 months for basic education—with some extension, sometimes—before he can take vocational training. If they do not think that he can get to the point where he can take that vocational training, then the legislation makes them turn him away. I think the legislation is wrong.

But if in fact you are talking about a specific piece of legislation directed towards providing for the employment of the people, then they have to work within the legislative terms that they have. I happen to think that the Manpower program was an enormous step forward beyond the milk and water public assistance way we had previously. The notion that we would pay someone to stay at school was an enormous step forward for this society to make, because it was not a conceivable notion. But it is listened to now. It is a restrictive act.

The Chairman: You are an expert on the act. What is the justification for the condition that he must have been in the labour force for three years before he can be taken in for training?

Dr. Thomas: It is simply a federal-provincial quarrel. It is a matter of fact that the federal Government said this.

If the federal Government said they would pay within the limits for people within Grade 9 and Grade 10, then what is going to happen is that you get to the point where two-thirds of the kids who are in Grade 9 and Grade 10 are going to leave the public school system and go into the training program and be paid.

Mr. Markle: In Manitoba they were doing this, before they changed.

Dr. Thomas: There would be a wholesale shift of the later sections of the secondary schools into the federal program which pays these living allowances.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have one more question, and I want to take a little crack at the union before I finish. Under a different committee, we were in Montreal—I think you were there, Mr. Chair-

man—and I asked a question on education. A barber was representing the union in Montreal. I questioned the necessity of Grade 12 education in order to become a barber. The man said: "We do not ask for it, our unions have asked us to do that." Now, where do we draw the line?

Mr. Markle: As I said earlier, it is clear one is living in a competitive position. It is this kind of economic situation we live in. People have been forced to make all sorts of regulations, to protect their own interests, to protect themselves.

Therefore, in order to maintain the position and the security of the people who are in that particular trade or profession—lawyers do it, doctors do it, professional engineers do it—it is done not only by trade unions. If you want to examine some of the restrictive regulations as to who enters the profession or the operation, you could examine some of those.

We have learned the lesson extremely well from the people who taught it to us. In order to protect ourselves, in the kind of jungle we are living in, the trade unions are forced to negotiate this kind of provision. I am not saying it is the best position but I am saying that it is a fact of life. If one can work out something better, I am all for that.

The Chairman: It is the "Ph.D. of barberism."

Senator McGrand: You mention in your brief:

Rural and Urban Projects: From its inception the Association was aware of the need for rural education.

I do not know whether you are referring to those things we mentioned today, where you pressurize governments about different practices to produce a different type of education for rural people to lead them to urbanization. I would like you to comment on that. Did it live up to your expectations? Did education enable a person to make the most of his environment—not to change his environment, as much as to make the most of what he finds in his environment. Did this sort of thing develop good leadership in the community, that Senator Carter mentioned? I would like your comment on that?

Mr. Markle: Yes, sir, I would say that we have done all of these things. We have done the traditional things we indicated before. We have tried to work with local organizations to

help them develop their own potential and their own people and, hopefully, their own leadership.

With respect to the problem of coming to grips with environment, clearly the history of humanity indicates that mankind has been unique in its skill to adapt the environment to itself. Therefore, there are two things we have to do: one is to live with our environment, learning to adapt to environmental changes, and the other is to use those changes to our own advantage. This is what we have tried to do in terms of the movement from rural to urban environment. The facts are on the table. Clearly it used to be 90 per cent rural and 10 per cent urban, but it is the other way round now, with 90 per cent urban and 10 per cent rural.

For youngsters growing up on the farm now, like it or not, the indication is that with respect to their future only a minority of them will stay on the farm. Therefore, youngsters going to school in rural areas must be prepared for the possibility and probability that they are going to live their adulthood and earn their living in an urban situation and in industry. Therefore, rural schools have this problem.

Senator McGrand: Yes, in certain places and in certain environments.

Just returning to the problem of drop-outs for a moment, obviously something has seriously gone wrong with this program. Perhaps it is too new a program. We live and learn by experiences, however, and perhaps you feel that this program will in the future be able to eliminate some of the inadequacies that it has at the present time. Do you feel that way about it?

Dr. Thomas: I am afraid I don't, senator. I am not sure that anything has gone wrong with the program except in respect of our expectation of what it would do. I have a feeling that we expected too much, because we did not read the act carefully. We expected it to do a lot of things it was never capable of doing in the first place. The program set out to solve a particular problem and it was not done badly in solving that problem, which was to take a whole group of marginal people who had lost the conventional skills and retrain them within a short period of time. It has done that with remarkable success.

It seems to me that perhaps the program, rather than being too new, is too old, owing

to the rate of change we are undergoing at present, and that it is necessary to look at another piece of legislation to deal with the people who cannot be dealt with within 24 months or less. We need to deal with people so far down in terms literacy that they cannot possibly cope with even minor kinds of jobs in society. So we must determine whether such people will ever work again and we must find some way for them to live with dignity and humanity without a job or we must spend much more time and effort in training them than the present legislation allows for.

The Chairman: Which of those two courses do you think is better for the individual and for the country, generally? And which can we do better?

Dr. Thomas: My response to that, Mr. Chairman, has to be that when an individual learns something, the community benefits; and that is where I would put my weight. Perhaps I bring a particular ideology to this, because I believe that learning is a good thing and that when individuals develop themselves and achieve the kinds of release of potential and energy that learning allows them, it is good for society. And you can see this release of potential in any adult school where the students have really been reached. That release of personality, energy and commitment is almost unbelievable.

The Chairman: The committee shares that view, but I thought you were talking of people beyond learning. Perhaps I misunderstood you.

Dr. Thomas: I probably was not clear. I should have said that there was an alternative, which was to decide that there are certain people who are not going to learn very much in terms of occupational training, and for them we simply have to provide support so that they can live according to some reasonably dignified standard. Perhaps, federally, that is one of the things we have to do, assuming that they will still have access to provincially-supported educational systems so that they can learn the things they want to learn, which may not have any occupational basis. But I don't think there is anyone who cannot learn something of value to himself and the country. In saying that, I realize we live in an economy of scarcity and cannot simply provide resources for everything. Nevertheless, we can balance things better than we are doing now. We could provide

access to learning so that some levels of the population could use at their own rate the facilities of learning which they don't have access to at the moment.

Mr. Markle: If I may add a word, this has a great deal to do with dignity, self-respect and the individual's concept of himself. Many of these people are locked into a situation in which they feel hopeless, with no place to go and no possibility of finding a place to go. They feel doomed. But once they get a vision that it is possible for them to achieve something and to remove themselves from this circle in which they have been trapped, then they can do so.

I am convinced that we must do anything we can to assist a person to become more capable of coping with the situation he finds himself in, to become more employable and to develop his talents. I support what Dr. Thomas has said right down the line.

Senator McGrand: You mentioned some time ago that 30 per cent of the people here were organized. In Scandinavia it is as high as 85 per cent. But that 85 per cent does not mean merely organized work between management and labour. It also involves the development of co-co-operatives. Is that right?

Mr. Markle: It means that in respect 85 per cent of the people in the work force, when they come under the world of work there is an organization that is established and accepted by the society, that has status and respect, and into which they automatically find their way and which then acts on their behalf, represents them, protects their interests and provides services for them.

Senator McGrand: It goes a little farther than that. In Scandinavia they have been able to train the person to live in his environment. One hundred years ago the Swedes were leaving their homeland by the thousands. One million of them landed out in the mid-west, mostly around Minnesota. They are not doing that today, however, because they have been able to adjust a person to his environment. And out of that has come the co-co-operative.

Mr. Markle: But they did not adjust people to learn to tolerate the economic environment of 100 years ago. They have based and developed their economy so that now there is progress and opportunity for people who stay in Scandinavia.

The Chairman: But what he is saying is that 88 per cent of the people of Scandinavia

are organized and in labour unions and as such can protect themselves we in this country are only 30 per cent organized.

Mr. Markle: The major reason for the difference is that in the Scandinavian countries the people of the country established legislation and laid down the rules of the economic game. These rules gave status, respect and legitimacy to labour organizations and co-operatives so that these were acceptable and important institutions. In North America and in Great Britain, on the other hand, the whole trend of history has been in the opposite direction. There has been opposition to working class and working people's institutions, whether farmers co-operatives or unions, and every gain that the working people in this country have made, they have had to fight for all the way from the ground up. There has been no general consensus of acceptance.

Senator McGrand: Senator Fournier referred to vocational skills and the fact that New Brunswick turned out carpenters, electricians and plumbers but there are no jobs for them. Then they have to go elsewhere to seek employment. But we have not given much attention to training people in New Brunswick to make the most of their local environment. Yet we have the same potential down there as they have in Scandinavia. That is the point.

Mr. Markle: I agree the potential is there, but certainly as a nation we have not headed into the economic problem of how to develop the economy of that area to make it viable and so that people can afford to live there.

I would like to put forward another point; talking about the problems of training people in trades and skills and finding that there are no jobs for them, it is a fact of life that it takes 20 or 25 years for a human being to mature. In educational terms this means that you had to start ten years ago to prepare people for the labour market of today. One of the difficulties here is that our Manpower people are supposed to be giving the lead to educational institutions, telling them where the demand lies and how the economy is developing and where the opportunities are, but clearly Manpower does not have access to that information. This is a difficulty that arises because of the difference between federal and provincial jurisdictions and Manpower is largely ignored. Every province has developed and encouraged all kinds of private entrepreneurs who are in the market for the selling of jobs and employment, and the

majority of people in industry, when they want certain kinds of people, ignore Manpower and go to these private employment offices.

The Chairman: Let us not get off on that tangent. What you are talking about now is managerial placement services.

Mr. Markle: If you look in the papers you will see the use being made of these services. Manpower does not have the information.

The Chairman: But we are not talking about the same thing. We are talking about specially skilled people who are available in certain locations.

Mr. Markle: We are talking about the opportunities available in the economy and what the trends are and the fact that the educational people need a ten-year lead into what is happening and what is developing in the economy. But this in turn is being largely defeated by the way we are handling the situation.

Senator Pearson: Are our educationists far enough ahead to be able to carry it through if the legislation were available?

Mr. Markle: They are operating in the dark.

Dr. Thomas: This information is hard to get. The federal Government is slowly developing skills in getting the information but it is not easy to get. It is one thing to look at the abstract figures of jobs available but another to deal with the training of a man over a period of time. Every country in the world has difficulty in bringing these two aspects together.

Reference has been made to Scandinavia, and I think it should be pointed out that all three Scandinavian countries have had the most elaborate adult education system. The Danish Folk High Schools which have been copied in Norway, Sweden and Northern Germany have been training people to adjust to the economic situations. This is something that cannot be done based on the education of children in schools. It cannot work because the country cannot wait for the child to grow up.

Senator Inman: On pages 3 and 4 of your brief you refer to "signs of greater flexibility in approaches toward learning". You also say "more educators must move out of their institutions and into home-centred learning situations" and so forth. Now my question is this:

how could it be successfully arranged for these organizations to be more flexible, or to be flexible enough to assist persons in learning the skills and trades necessary?

Mr. Markle: Well, as one example, I would mention that we in the labour unions are at all times concerned about working with adults and enabling them to function intelligently and responsibly in a democratic situation. Whether you are training somebody to be chairman of a labour union or chairman of a tenants' organization, the skill is still the same. We are co-operating with other institutions in doing this, and there is no reason why community colleges and other adult education institutions could not follow suit and do the same thing.

Senator Inman: You also mention the operating of a mobile classroom.

Mr. Markle: Yes, and one way is to take the program out to the people through our mobile resources. Another way it could certainly be done is by the use of radio and television.

Dr. Thomas: Senator, the real problem is that with one or two exceptions there are almost no agencies in this country, adult or otherwise, which take the education of adults as a primary responsibility.

Senator Inman: But is it a success when they do it? I am interested in this because they started something of this nature in my own province.

Dr. Thomas: Well, I suggest there is a good deal of evidence that adults can and do learn skills that are relevant to the pursuit of their own lives. One of the examples of success in this field is what happened in 1939 when a great number of people were taken and taught all kinds of skills for the purpose of pursuing a war, and these were skills they never expected to learn. They pursued the war successfully, depending upon your measurement. We also have evidence from southern and western Canada where we took people from countries whose systems of agriculture were totally irrelevant to the kind of agriculture they faced on the prairies. They farm it, so it is successful, and this country, more than most, is one of the examples of being successful, always outside the formal educational system, and with a few notable exceptions like the Banff School, St. Francis Xavier, the University of Alberta Extension Department which, in many respects, were pioneering.

Senator Inman: A number of groups have told the committee that implementation of a guaranteed annual income alone is not enough, that other support services are required in the social service field. What are the essential educational services which would be part of any reorganization of social services?

Mr. Markle: We have indicated that the problem of assisting people to move and helping them to develop themselves so they can function more acceptably and competently in the kind of world we have is partly an economic issue. We have to enable them to cope with economic realities in the world of today. In addition, these are all sorts of problems and issues relating to their understanding of themselves, their self respect, dignity, the feeling, "This is possible for me. I do not have to live and endure this for the rest of my life"; then their ability to cope in terms of health, in terms of access to general health and welfare services of the community.

Many people of the kind we are talking about are quite ignorant of what resources in the community are available to them, and once they find out what is available they do not know how to get it. So, clearly, an understanding of how to attain these things is part of the process we are talking about.

Senator Fergusson: As part of the education you are giving these people?

Mr. Markle: Yes.

Senator Fergusson: This is not formal education?

Mr. Markle: No, functional.

Dr. Thomas: There are two areas. It has taken 20 years to get the first educational television station. That station does nothing but provide educational material. That is too long. We have been technically able to do it for longer than 20 years, but we just have not done it. We need an institution of instruction which provides access for people at any time in their life to accomplish an educational task, and not always at public expense. There are many kinds of education that individuals can and will pay for if they can find where to obtain it, but they do not very often.

Secondly, we need a lot of material, "software," if you like, of continuing education available for use on television and radio and in various kinds of programs. We cited the example of Mrs. McDonald in Vancouver, and Mrs. McDonald is doing the counselling.

Senator Fergusson: Yes, we met her in Vancouver.

Dr. Thomas: You have met her, so you know what she is doing. That is a simple kind of educational resource which, by and large is not available to most people in society. That establishes a degree of self confidence to enable you to tackle many educational institutions which, for many people, look kind of frightening.

Senator Fergusson: I was tremendously impressed and I thought that if that could be extended all over Canada it would make a tremendous difference.

Senator Inman: On page 9 you speak of adult basic education, and I will not repeat the whole paragraph, but you do say:

Many of the sub-literates are to be found in rural, non-farm areas and include significant groups of Indian, Metis and Eskimo people, with problems peculiar to their respective ways of life.

I was wondering, would not the white people have better opportunities of education today than they did years ago? Children stay in school longer.

Dr. Thomas: Yes, they do; there is no question about it. However, we have not yet solved the problem of keeping a number of them at school long enough to enable them to make the jump into a successful occupational life. This goes back to Senator Fournier's question.

Senator Inman: I happened to read yesterday about a girl who applied for a job in a cafeteria where she would be handling sandwiches, and they asked her if she had a B.A.

Dr. Thomas: That is an interesting comment on the B.A.!

Senator Inman: She thought she should not need a B.A. to dispense sandwiches.

Mr. Markle: On the point of enabling our native population to move in and achieve for themselves whatever their own expectations are and to live as they would like to live, a few years ago I was in India and visited a place on the docks at Calcutta where the dockworkers were completely illiterate. Through their union they were being taught not only how to function as trade unionists and skills, but also literacy, to read and write. These were adults and they were using all sorts of techniques. They had maps on the

wall and they cut pictures out of newspapers and somebody could talk about the picture and relate it back to what was said under the picture. One thing they pointed out is that in India, where many people are completely illiterate and have no competence at their present state of development but want to be competent to operate, this whole problem of the development of the individual to function in modern society is like considering the individual as a balloon and you have to inflate him in all directions equally. If you push him too far in one direction, out of proportion, he becomes incompetent and lopsided. It has to be steady growth in all directions, and if too much emphasis is placed on economics or the political situation or on literacy, then clearly you thrust him out of balance. This is one of the basic problems we have. We have to push at the same time with equal force in all directions to enable these people to grow at an equal rate.

Senator Pearson: Is this training in India on the job?

Mr. Markle: It takes place right on the docks, but the employer is not involved in it.

Senator Pearson: During the time they are employed?

Mr. Markle: No, after.

Senator Fergusson: Some of the questions I had in mind had been asked, so I have not too many left. I wonder if something might be told us about this study leave for workers dealt with in Appendix B. I would like to know how this works out economically. Is it an advantage to the employer, or does the employer subsidize this?

Mr. Markle: The employer certainly shares, but this is a matter of law. This is part of the cost of operation. In the first place, the employer provides an opportunity for the continuous learning or continuous development of his employees as part of the regular remuneration of the employees. This is part of the regular wage structure. Certainly the employer also benefits by the increased competence and understanding of his employees, and this is plowed back into the competence of the whole structure.

Senator Fergusson: I think it is an excellent idea, but before it is implemented you will find there is a great deal of opposition.

Mr. Markle: In Canada at the present time we have a modification of this working in

some places where we have programs that are developed co-operatively between Manpower and the employer and, for example, the labour unions. If the program is going to take two hours a day you will find that the hour from 4 o'clock to 5 o'clock is subsidized by the employer's giving leave to the worker, and the hour from 5 o'clock to 6 o'clock is given by the worker who will stay on at his own expense.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson, Appendix B is an old friend. These people are persistent, because this is what they presented to the Special Committee on Aging. We endorsed it, but we got results, and here they are again.

Dr. Thomas: I assure you, Mr. Chairman, that we cut a new stencil for it!

The Chairman: We believed in it then, I think we believe in it now.

Senator Fergusson: I know time is getting on, but I do have one other point. On page 10 you urge that there be a team approach to poverty problems, including attempts to assist adult as well as child learning. I agree with this, and I would like to know what proportion of the women take advantage of adult education. There is the old saying that when you educate a man you educate an individual, but when you educate a woman you educate a family. I wonder if it has ever occurred to you that by educating women you might accomplish more.

Mr. Markle: Indeed, we have, and this is done in many places. In Metropolitan Toronto, for example, for the New Canadian populations there, the education system, while taking care of the children in the school structure, is aiming its efforts by the use of radio at the women in the homes. There are also special occasions when the whole family attends the school. The whole idea is not to take the children too far ahead of their parents, because if you do you get into all sorts of difficulties. Therefore, the parents have to be brought along with the children.

Senator Fergusson: Earlier in your presentation some reference was made to the school leaving age. I think Dr. Thomas said it was not as important as it was thought to be.

Dr. Thomas: The reasons for it are different. In Toronto, for example, there is now considerable conflict over the enforcement of

the school leaving age at 16 when it is apparent that there are kids who are simply not going to learn very much by being kept at school, and where they can be found jobs in which they can relate more satisfactorily to their families, the economy, and everything else. It just emphasizes the custodial function of the school, and not the educational function.

When the family allowance was extended our argument was that the money should have been given to the kids and not to the parents. It was the kids who were at school, and the parents could negotiate with the kids as to how much they would pay out of the baby bonus. It just added up to another way of inducing the 17 and 18 year olds to remain at school.

So, I would argue that mere tenure in a school system is not an educational solution. It is not at all. We must also look at the fact that children today are maturing earlier than they used to, and we must also look at the state of the economy, and how easy it will be for these children to get back into the system. It would be better if we could relax the custodial aspect of the school system today, and make it easy for these children to return to school when they see the need to do so.

Senator Quart: Dr. Thomas was the one who mentioned the fact that many applicants for employment prefer to go to private agencies rather than to Manpower.

Dr. Thomas: It was Mr. Markle who said that, but it is true.

Senator Quart: I thoroughly agree with it, and the reason for it may be that they are frustrated when they go to Manpower which seems to require that they be a Ph.D. in order to be a houseman, or something like that.

On page 10 you say that the working poor will be among the first and most hard-hit groups affected by the federal Government's present anti-inflationary policies.

Mr. Markle: I think this is very important, and the increase in unemployment is an example of what we are talking about. Nobody can speak in favour of inflation, but the point we are making is that the choice as between inflation and unemployment is not a realistic choice. Clearly, it does not solve the dilemma we are in. The people who are first affected are the people with the least skill, the people who are least needed in a particular enterprise, the people with the least educa-

tion, and the people whom we group under the word "poor". They are the first to feel the weight of these policies. Look at what has happened to the unemployment rolls. We say that this is a further injustice.

In the kind of society in which we live we have affluence, and we have a great deal of wealth and many things to enjoy and share. We also have pain and difficulty, and adjustment and change always mean difficulty for somebody. What we are proposing is that there be ways devised for the more equitable sharing of the affluence or the benefits of our society so that there are not the pockets of poverty and misery that we have at present. We are also proposing that the pains of adjustment be shared a little more equitably throughout the whole system. As things are now certain sections of the community have more than their fair share of the affluence, and other sections have more than their fair share of poverty and difficulty of adjustment. Hopefully we can find a way of remedying this.

The Chairman: The answer to the question asked by Senator Quart is vital. This committee is concerned and dismayed about what has been happening recently, since we are charged with looking into the problems of the poor of this country. When we realize that the poor feel inflation first, it becomes an even greater responsibility for us to make sure that they receive special attention. The country owes them a special responsibility, which is part of our task and duty to see that it is brought very forcibly to the attention of the public. We have received a very good brief and had an excellent discussion, which has been useful. We have covered much territory. We expected a progressive, realistic brief from your organization because you are versed in and put so much emphasis on education. We in the committee feel very keenly that that is one of the ways out of the poverty house. We shall, of course, examine the brief very carefully and make recommendations within its scope, keeping in mind what you have said this morning. On behalf of the committee I thank you.

Mr. Markle: Thank you, sir; it has been most gratifying. We are very pleased to have had this opportunity to appear before the committee.

The Chairman: You mean you are not so skeptical as others.

Mr. Markle: Maybe a little more so, sir.

The Chairman: We have a brief from The Catholic Women's League of Canada. On my right is Mrs. Valentine Fabris, the National President, from Winnipeg, Manitoba. Mrs. Fabris will introduce her colleagues.

Mrs. Valentine Fabris (National President, the Catholic Women's League of Canada): Mr. Chairman and honourable senators: it is my privilege as national president of the Catholic Women's League of Canada to open the presentation of our submission to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. However, before I do so I will introduce to you the members of our delegation. To my immediate right is Mrs. James M. Matthews, of Toronto, who is our National Convener of Social Action and was responsible for the preparation of our submission. Next to Mrs. Matthews is our National Director, Bishop James P. Mahoney, the Bishop of Saskatoon. Next is Miss Veronica Fagan, Master of Social Work, Toronto, who is a member of our Brief Committee. Next to Miss Fagan is Mrs. Ed Gallagher, of Douglas, Ontario, who is Past President of our Pembroke Diocesan Council and a Member of our Brief Committee.

Our organization was incorporated by federal charter on December 12, 1923, and consists of approximately 135,000 members across the country.

Among its objects, the League seeks to promote true ideals of Christian womanhood in home and family life, and recognizes the human dignity of all people everywhere.

The intention of the National Executive to submit this brief was well publicized to the entire membership, who were requested to let those responsible for the preparation of the brief have the benefit of their thinking, and this submission is representative of their collective opinion.

At the outset we set forth the definition of poverty upon which the brief is based.

In the encyclical *Pacem in Terris* of His Holiness Pope John XXIII, we read:

We see that every man has the right to life, to bodily integrity and to the means which are necessary and suitable for the proper development of life. These are primarily food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care and finally the necessary social services. Therefore a human being also has the right to security in cases of sickness, inability to work, widowhood, old age, unemployment or in any other

case in which he is deprived of the means of assistance through no fault of his own

It is our submission that when these rights are withheld poverty exists.

Information has been received from our members across the Dominion pointing out the regional differences and variations in poverty, referring to the lack of industrial development in the Maritimes, the glut of wheat in the Prairies, abandoned farms with dilapidated empty houses throughout many parts of rural Canada, and the poverty generated in the slum ghettos of large cities, which is often inherited by one generation from another. We submit that provision of more economic assistance is not the solution to these conditions, but rather that intensive study of the underlying causes should be undertaken.

Numerous were the comments of our members concerning the conditions under which Indians and Eskimos live. Of interest is the fact that these comments came often from those living far removed from centres of high indigenous population.

As Mrs. Matthews was responsible for the preparation of this brief, I shall now ask her to summarize our submissions and recommendations. In closing my remarks may I take this opportunity to express to the committee the appreciation of my organization for the opportunity of presenting the views of our members on the problems of poverty as we see them.

Thank you very much.

Mrs. James J. Matthews, National Convener, Social Action, the Catholic Women's League of Canada: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, the scope of our brief: since the topic of poverty is of such broad scope, it is our intention to limit our presentation to measures to assist women who are heads of families, whether deserted, divorced, separated, widowed, or unmarried mothers, living in Canada under conditions which fall within the outlined definitions of poverty. We submit that frequently some aspect of poverty is the root cause of the original family breakdown.

In attempting to research this particular subject, it was found that material available was fragmented and only in publications dealing generally with the single parent family. It would appear that a fuller knowledge and understanding of the problems facing women as heads of families is needed, and concrete steps taken to solve them. This cannot be provided within the ability of an

organization of volunteers such as ours, nor within the scope of this brief.

At the outset we therefore recommend that a Government-sponsored in-depth study be undertaken on "Problems of Women Heads of Families" to discover the underlying causes of family breakdowns and means of providing assistance to the mothers of such families.

Effects on Children

It is our submission that the family, defined as "a stable union of man and woman together with their child or children" is the basic unit of Canadian society, and when this stability is threatened, its effects can be disastrous to this and future generations.

The fact that the family is the most common economic unit in our society is often forgotten, and the importance to society of the family's economic viability is frequently not fully realized. . If the potential abilities of members of the family remain undeveloped and unused, the family members may not only become virtual nonparticipants in the nation's social and economic life, but also a continuing burden on the society.

In our submission we quoted at length the personal story of a mother on welfare, and while we recognize that the details vary from province to province, it was felt that this experience demonstrated the fundamental effects on the children and the risk of perpetuating the welfare cycle. We submit that continuation of poverty in a country as wealthy as Canada, with its long-term effects, is expensive in the long view, and Canadians have a moral obligation to future generations.

While recognizing that provision of welfare does not solve the problem, we nevertheless recommend that benefit coverage should be extended in all provinces to include items essential to an adequate standard of living, related to the cost of living in the province.

Young people from poverty-welfare environment often suffer emotional distresses and as much as \$35.00-\$41.00 per day is being paid in some provinces to institutions for the care of emotionally disturbed youngsters, often from welfare families. We therefore recommend a greater development and collaboration of community services involving public welfare departments, schools, hospitals and the Canadian Mental Health Association in the promotion of an increasing number of group therapy facilities to establish a total health service.

A weekly outing, with a man or senior student who would act as a substitute father is vital to the child whose male image is negative. We therefore recommend that whatever assistance is necessary be given to organizations such as the Big Brother Movement to provide this very essential service.

Indians and Eskimos

We submit that basically the poverty that affects the Indian and Eskimo woman is no different from that which affects women of other ethnic groups in Canada. It is inherent in our position that all people have the same basic needs. We understand that the loneliness, depression and despair that so often are the companions of women who are suffering from unfulfilled needs—material, spiritual or emotional—are the same for Indian, Eskimo or white.

However, because at least 81 per cent of the indigenous population share the stresses of poverty, the problem is compounded in that it is very difficult for a native woman to see a way out of her position, or even to find another native individual living in the depressed area who has accomplished some improvement in her standard of living and sets an example by showing what can be done. Added to the basic problems of poverty are the grave injustices which have been and are still being done to all native people by the systematic undermining and belittling of their cultural history, their customs and languages.

The following are some specific recommendations for changing the situation in which the indigenous woman in Canada finds herself today. It must be emphasized that all of these recommendations are considered urgent and should be carried out without imposing the standards of the white man and in consultation with the people involved—both the native woman and the institutions.

(1) While material help is necessary and important, it is submitted that more emphasis is needed in individual counselling of women heads of families and their children, and that this personal service should be the main part of the program;

(2) More possibilities for education and job training for women heads of families while receiving assistance with fees and living costs, and the establishment of convenient day care and/or homemaking services;

(3) Motivation provided by the Indian Affairs Branch towards the involvement in various community activities to encourage contact with other people, such as workshops providing self-help for women in caretaker systems.

The members of our committee charged with obtaining information on poverty among the indigenous families headed by a woman alone have compiled many examples which illustrate not only this situation but also the difficulties of the native poor generally, and in some instances the plight of poverty-stricken families whether Indian, Eskimo or white. We felt that these cases might be of interest to your committee and included them as an addendum to the Brief itself.

Unmarried Mothers

There is a need for growing reality of specific vulnerable groups as poverty-risks. There is some evidence that more unmarried mothers are retaining their children. While this acknowledgment of her responsibility may be a desirable trend, it does require corresponding acceptance by the community of the necessity to meet the special needs of these one-parent families.

We recommend that maternity benefits, including hospital care, be provided under the Medicare Plan in those provinces where these benefits are not now covered.

Desertion and Maintenance of Families

One topic which was suggested frequently by our members for inclusion in this brief was that of the deserting father. Another was the difficulty of enforcing judgments when the deserting father moves from one province to another.

It is submitted that the federal Government authorities should investigate more closely the problem, where the man leaves his family and creates a financial burden for his wife and/or the community. Consideration should be given to laws on a federal basis which would allow these fathers to be traced either through their income tax returns or through their Social Security numbers.

It is recommended that within the Department of Justice a branch be established to which any court in the land which orders support for a mother and family, whether through separation, divorce or desertion, would submit the name and Social Security number of the father, along with the amount of monthly payments and the location of the family con-

cerned. This would allow the deserting father to be traced and appropriate collection proceedings taken.

It is further recommended that the law be amended to make it mandatory that irresponsible fathers who desert their families be forced to contribute to the support of this family until all children are of age to support themselves, and, as a deterrent to establishing a second family, legally or illegally, the first family should supersede any other families.

Court enforcement procedures employed as a qualification for welfare places the onus of proving need on the mother, already physically and emotionally burdened. It is submitted that this requirement should be relaxed.

It is also submitted that some consideration be given to families who are attempting to become established financially after difficult years, and it is therefore recommended that a study be made of the possibility of income taxes being pro-rated over a five to ten year period. While this has a general application, it would be of particular benefit to the deserted woman struggling to raise her family.

Day Care Centres

The need for day care service by mothers who must work and those who require retraining prior to work is so obvious that it will probably be included in every brief presented to this committee. The demand for the service is so consistent that provision of an extensive day care centre service is considered to be one of the most urgent requests of our organization.

With the aid now being offered by the Canada Assistance Act, it is recommended that municipalities be encouraged to set up day care centres, and those which already have them be encouraged to increase the number. Industries might provide nursery accommodation for small children whose mothers work in their factories, and indeed it is possible that many of the mothers concerned could be given training and find employment in the care of these children, whether in home or in established centres.

General Welfare Assistance

Untrained women heads of families are every day finding it more and more difficult to cope with the high cost of living especially if they are solely subsidized by the government. To remedy some of the multi-problems confronting women heads of families, it is

imperative that existing government benefits be updated to meet present day needs.

We submit that the recipient of such benefits should be given every incentive to work and not be penalized if she seeks employment to supplement her allowance. This could be the means by which she could retain her dignity, allowing her to purchase much needed household equipment or repairs to her home.

It is therefore recommended that current government programs and policies should be improved to cope more effectively with the problems of women heads of families living in poverty in Canada by

(a) more re-training and rehabilitation programs for untrained welfare mothers, and

(b) provision of supplementary income or greater tax exemption for baby-sitting costs, thus providing more motivation to self-support for working mothers with inadequate incomes.

Such programs would eventually benefit all Canadians since the number of welfare recipients would be decreased by a sizeable number.

Greater emphasis placed on the importance of family life through pre-marriage courses would be an asset in prevention of future broken homes because adolescents would be better prepared for marriage. Many young people today have not learned home management, how to handle family finances, basic child care, etc, with the result that they have difficulty maintaining a good family relationship after marriage, and for a substantial number of young people these difficulties become serious to the point of requiring appearance in court. We therefore re-affirm a resolution passed at our 1969 National convention recommending to the departments of education of the provinces of Canada a serious study of the possibility of implementing such a course of study in the two grades prior to the legal age for leaving school.

It is further submitted that projects and programs be undertaken at the local government level to assist sole support mothers through assistance to them as consumers of goods rather than of services. This group falls within the definition of poverty in that over 70% and often as high as 100% of income is spent on subsistence items of food, shelter and clothing. Instruction in purchasing tech-

niques, budgeting and nutrition, as well as homemaking skills, is often required.

Since the cost of living has constantly increased in the last 18 years and personal exemptions for income tax purposes do not adhere to this factor, we again urgently recommend to the federal Government the consideration of an increase in the basic exemption under the Federal Income Tax Act from the present \$1,000 to \$2,000, thereby giving assistance to those Canadians in the low income bracket. This provision would be of particular assistance to the woman head of a family on a minimal income.

Housing

Adequate low cost housing was consistently requested, often demanded, by our members who submitted opinions for our brief. Indeed inadequate housing has been given as the reason in some instances for the breakdown of the family structure.

The Catholic Women's League of Canada has repeatedly pointed out the right of all Canadians to the fundamental essentials of food, clothing and shelter through resolutions to the federal Government and now reaffirms these recommendations in its brief as follows;

(1) We recommend that legislation be enacted immediately to permit home owners to deduct mortgage interest payments from their income for the compilation of income tax; and

(2) We further recommend that the National Housing Act be extended to allow for a program of rental supplements to families living in rented accommodation other than public housing.

Steps should be taken to streamline the procedure for providing adequate reasonably priced homes for more Canadians in the shortest period of time. This could be facilitated by amending antiquated municipal building by-laws to permit new and cheaper methods of construction, using modern and more economic materials.

In our brief we have resisted the temptation to present an emotional appeal on behalf of the poor. However, their anguish is emotional and with the consent of the honourable senators I would like to read into the records a letter received last week from one of our members. It came, written on a page and a half of lined foolscap...I will read it just as it is written...

Poverty to me is when a family has to eat macaroni and cheese 3 times a day whether or not they want to, and make sure there is some left for the next morning.

When the 7 children they have have to go to bed at night with their day clothes on because if she bought them pajamas there would be no money for the mother's medication.

Poverty is when the husband cannot afford a help in the house when the wife is bedridden, and there is one child home and the others are in school. Neighbours too far away. The father has to just hope she will be all right.

Poverty is when the father is unable to work full time but can't afford the operation because then the rent might not get paid. And where would they get another shack liveable. The one they were living in had no bathroom or outside facilities. They used pails upstairs and down and paid \$100 a month and no cupboards. He was making approximately \$300 per month—7 kids and the wife with cancer. The welfare knew about this family for five years and kept them in one shack after the other but never once offered to subsidize them. The wife is now dead as of December 24, 1969. The welfare then put them in a beautiful old home including lined drapes, bathroom—the works. This house was waiting for them. The wife new nothing of them.

My conclusion in a case such as this, the welfare should have moved them in that house before she died. That is when they really need the help. This I know is true—because she was my sister.

In conclusion, may we say sincerely:

God intended the earth and all that it contains for the use of every human being and people...the right to have a share of earthly goods sufficient for oneself and one's family belongs to everyone.

Senator Pearson: We enjoyed reading that brief, although it makes sad reading. It is very well presented in setting out some of the problems which face families throughout Canada today.

There is one problem which is not touched on at all, the problem of drug addiction. It is a problem with the young people today, with the mother, and especially with mothers who

are abandoned, having no husband. In most cases the youngsters who are taking these drugs are doing so in order to live up with the gang. They reject the mother. When the mother tries to approach them, she cannot get near them. I would like to ask why your people are not doing anything about this problem at all—or are you doing something?

Mrs. Matthews: Do you mean, why this is not in the brief?

Senator Pearson: It is not included in the brief at all.

Mrs. Matthews: We did not include it in the brief at all. Actually, I feel that the whole area of the drug problem should have a brief in itself. This is a problem which we have gone into in the area of the Indians and the Eskimos. It should really be a brief in itself.

I could not agree more heartily with the comments you have made, but I do feel that this is an area which should be dealt with separately. It is certainly a difficult problem.

Senator Pearson: It should be dealt with in our committee, because it is a problem with those youngsters who now are leaving school. Unknown to their mothers they leave school. She is under the impression that they have left for school and because of differences between the principal and the teacher, she does not know what the situation is. She does not know, for example, that they have not gone to school but that they have just gone with the gang. In addition there is a tremendous amount of petty thievery going on to supply the cash they need.

The Most Rev. J. P. Mahoney, D.D., National Director, Bishop of Saskatoon: Do you think that the comment on the Big Brother movement has any significance, senator? Do you think that this drug problem is caused to some extent because they are not relating to an adult with understanding? Perhaps if the Big Brother movement were encouraged along these lines, some of these younger people could find a suitable adult to relate to, somebody who could give them good advice.

Senator Pearson: This could be developed.

Mrs. Matthews: One of the comments made in the brief is that frequently the child has a negative image of his father and so the big man in his life is the criminal. That is why the recommendation is made that support should be given to the Big Brotherhood movement.

Senator Pearson: I think too that where the father deserts the family, he should still be made to support them.

Senator Quart: Mr. Chairman, I agree entirely with Senator Pearson's comment regarding drug addiction. I feel this is such a worthwhile study that it should be included and I am sure it will be included in whatever recommendations we may make. It does present a very real problem.

Before asking my question, and I have many of them, I want to congratulate the president and the national executive for delegating Mrs. Matthew to put together this brief, and I particularly appreciate the way they have given credit to the members from the various provinces who in turn have gone on the knowledge and experience of the membership. I like the way they have given them credit by name.

Now, to come to my questions—it has come to my knowledge within the last week—and this paragraph in your brief struck me very forcibly because of this case which I have in mind, and the letter you read really touched our hearts. I refer to page 13 of your brief, paragraph 49 where you say:

It is submitted that the federal Government authorities should investigate more closely the problem of the man who leaves his family thereby creating a financial burden for his wife and for the community.

That, of course, is your recommendation.

Mrs. Matthews: We heard many, many stories about this kind of thing and the situation that arises where a father leaves his family. In some cases the mother can provide, but in others she cannot. Many of them involve hardship, particularly where the mother is not able to provide and has to go on welfare. Then there were other cases where the father would come home and beat up the family, both physically and emotionally. A great deal of this kind of thing came to our knowledge and it was on this knowledge that these recommendations were based.

Miss Veronica Fagan, Member of Brief Committee, the Catholic Women's League of Canada: In the terms of the recommendation, we suggested that the federal Government authority should investigate this. The Vanier Institute of the Family at the moment is supporting the study by the Ontario Law Reform Commission directed to these problems and

the enforcing of agreements. But this is a slow process with many facets, and I understand that the research is slow because it is only a project undertaken at the request of the Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges of Canada. I think it is an admirable study to which much more attention should be given. At the moment this study is being carried out, I shall not use the words "casually" but the project in Ontario is being carried on by students in summer with limited budgets. I would think that this is one resource that is available and should be pursued.

The problem of the deserted mother is tremendous because the onus of following up is often hers—the giving of the address of the husband and trying to locate him. At the same time she has the day-to-day problems of keeping the children together and looking after them with very limited financial resources. I know that our Courts permit the woman to assign monies to the welfare departments so that they can have regular payments if they choose to go on welfare, but there are some women who depend entirely on support from the husband and if he suffers a reverse in health or in employment, this in turn reflects upon the family. I am not sure that I completely agree with the committee on the methods whereby he could be traced and found.

If I may quote the statistics for the Province of Ontario for 1966, the latest figures available, something like 4,000 cases were presented to the Juvenile and Family Courts to seek assistance for deserted women. Of that number, 1,700 only were pursued as cases in which the husband could be located and in which agreements were made possible. Of that, another large number, and I do not know the exact number, would be unrecoverable. And so the payments to the deserted wife and family were very limited. Consequently the mother is constantly in a state of insecurity. This is a very large problem and the solution is not easy. I think there should be a central point for information and statistics on this located in our Family Courts.

The Chairman: If you do not agree with the solutions, what do you suggest? I am keeping in mind now that the act presently on the statute books was drafted by myself as chairman, Mr. Markle who was here sitting beside me this morning, and Mr. Cragg who administers the Canadian Assistance Act—we were the three people involved in drafting

the act. It did not work very well, but we did the best we could. How would you improve it?

Miss Fagan: The point is I feel that families and children must be protected by legislation. As in all legislation, the implementation is the difficult part and this is the field of the family courts. This means that the family court officials, along with the mothers, are responsible for tracing the men. I feel that while it is necessary to protect them it may be useless. I know this argument is made frequently: is it worth incarcerating the father?

The Chairman: Let us forget the father for a moment and say we do not locate him, or if we do he is in trouble. We have a mother with children; what do you suggest we do for her? She cannot trace the husband and the authorities have several other jobs to do. What do we do for her at that moment in time?

Miss Fagan: I think she would be eligible for family benefits in those conditions under the general welfare assistance. However, in order to become eligible she must prove this need, which means going to court, laying charges and providing information. It is within the powers of regional welfare administrators to dispense with some of the needs of the unmarried mother and the deserted wife, such as a declaration of paternity for an unmarried mother. This is rarely done and the complicated political machinery must go forward. I think it could be simplified if an affidavit of facts could be presented, rather than bearing the stigma of a court appearance. In this regard I must say that the workers on the project realize that most people feel that if they are heard they are well heard and given sympathetic attention. I am suggesting that this may be unnecessary. For example, a representative of the welfare department could take an affidavit and present the women's case to the court.

The Chairman: The suggestion that we had to deal with, as I recall it, was that after the order of the court was made it was then its responsibility to make the collections, and she would be paid automatically. She would not have to chase after the husband. The children would not chase the father. Is that the sort of procedure you are thinking about, or are you going even further?

Miss Fagan: That is one of the improvements which would be helpful, and this is done in some cases, but not in all. The legisla-

tion may be there, but the problem is putting it into practice.

Mrs. Matthews: In point of fact I think the onus is on the mother to appear in court, no matter what she has already gone through in the last 24 or 48 hours and may go through during the next 24 hours as a result of appearing in court. This is what we say in paragraph 52.

The Chairman: It is so hard to avoid that; it is not easy for the mother or the authorities, but how can you improve it?

Mrs. Matthews: This is the kind of procedure that we are recommending, the possibility of a representative of the welfare office, perhaps a social worker who may be involved with the family in other connections, perhaps a lawyer, appearing on her behalf rather than the woman herself, who is already overburdened having to appear.

Senator Quart: You mention at the end of this paragraph tracing a man through income tax returns.

Mrs. Matthews: Yes, this is if he has an income. This is one of the suggestions, the social security number or income tax return. In some cases the men, of course, are working and paying income tax. There is a social security number and various other methods which we have suggested.

Mr. Chairman, may I make a comment in passing reference to the very kind remarks Senator Quart made at the beginning. This brief is very much the work of a committee and, as Miss Fagan pointed out, we did not even agree always. Some of the points made in it are the thinking, opinion and feeling of women who are living in these conditions. This particular part is a very personal situation. It is a woman who is actually living in these conditions and these were her feelings. When the brief was being prepared, of the 15 people who are members of the brief committee, about six or seven each prepared a section, which we then attempted to research in our own volunteer fashion. It is, however, very much a brief of feeling and opinion.

Senator Carter: Did you check with any legal authorities to see if your suggestions for tracing were practical?

Mrs. Matthews: Do you mean the suggestion of the woman appearing in court?

Senator Carter: No, the suggestion of tracing through the social security number?

Mrs. Matthews: We did not check it in complete and utter detail, because as an organization of volunteers we do not feel competent to do this. However, we did check the fact that there is a social security number and that people could be traced through it. If your question is did we research it all the way back, we did not.

Senator Carter: On that same point you make a statement which perhaps I am not interpreting correctly. In paragraph 51 you say:

It is further recommended that the law be amended to make it mandatory that irresponsible fathers who desert their families be forced to contribute to the support of this family until all children are of age to support themselves,...

That is all right, but now you come down to where I am somewhat puzzled. You go on to say:

and, as a deterrent to establishing a second family, legally or illegally, the first family should supersede any other families.

If the father establishes a second family and has children, they are also human. How do you draw the distinction between the responsibility for one child born in one family and another child born in a different family? How can you say that these are two separate human beings and that one should supersede the other?

Mrs. Matthews: First of all, we did not say that he did not have a responsibility to his second family.

Senator Carter: You are asking us to pass a law making it mandatory—you want something which would say that the first family would supersede the other families?

Mrs. Matthews: Yes, because we feel the first family is his primary responsibility. We are not saying that he is not responsible for the second family.

Senator Carter: Just how do you separate the two responsibilities? You say primary and secondary. Does he pay more to the first family than he would to the second?

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: Actually, I think we are trying to scare them off, senator. We want

him to think about that good and early. You have raised a good question; there is no doubt about that. Actually, we are not suggesting this on the basis of the children so much as on the basis of the man stopping to think of what is going to happen to him if he takes on more responsibilities.

Senator Carter: I know what you are driving at, but we are talking about a law. The law is not to protect the father, but the children. It is the responsibility of the father to the children which is embodied in the law; it is not to frighten the father away or keep him from straying from the narrow path. That is the point about which I am puzzled.

Mrs. Matthews: I think our basic point is the primary responsibility to his children. We did not say that he had no responsibility to the others nor did we try to say that he must give "X" dollars to this one or that one.

Senator Carter: That is what I want you to define, what "primary" responsibility means as opposed to "secondary."

Mrs. Matthews: His primary responsibility is to his first family.

Senator Carter: What does that mean?

Mrs. Matthews: I do not quite understand your question.

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: I think it means that the top of his pay cheque goes to the first family.

Senator Carter: And is that is the end of it?

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: How irresponsible are we going to allow this man to be under the law? If we do not have any law he can establish families all over the place, as some men do, and not support any of them. He cannot support them all. The Government is going to have to step in and support his families wherever they are, and I am sure they will. Where does his money go? Let his money go to the first family, which is the first obligation he took on. This is cruel, but he does not have enough money, only a lot of vigour. His problem is that he cannot keep his income up to his responsibilities. We are simply saying that his first obligation is to his original wife and family whom he undertook to raise. Beyond that he is going to have to get help anyhow because there is not enough money to go around. I think that is when the welfare comes in. He may simply say, "I have established three families and I will decide to give my money to this family or to that one." I do

not think a law that allows a man to do that is fair.

Senator Carter: Do you mean to say that if the court can only get, say, \$100 a month out of this father and that is only enough to support his first family, the second family should be supported by the state? Is that what you are saying?

Mrs. Matthews: This is literally what would happen anyway.

Senator Pearson: He left his first family and it is approximately five, six or seven years before you find him. What are you going to do with him? He has established his second family by then. He does not establish another family all within one year.

Mrs. Matthews: As a matter of fact, when this recommendation was brought in it was even suggested that the second wife should help support the first family, which carried it pretty far.

Senator Carter: We have spent enough time on that one. There is one other point, Mr. Chairman. This confirms what we have been told by other witnesses about the humiliation of poor children in schools. You make a point here that children on welfare must sign forms in triplicate to receive text books in some schools. It is even announced over the P.A. system in the school, which makes these children different from the others. Is that very prevalent? Are you talking about one school or one area?

Mrs. Matthews: We are talking about one area and we have this documented, but as we pointed out these things vary from province to province. I am from Toronto. I know that it does not happen there, but it does in some places and we do not feel that it is right. We have this documented and it is happening. This material would have come in to me about the end of 1969, three or four months ago.

Senator Carter: Does this happen in more than one province?

Mrs. Matthews: I just have it documented from one province.

Senator Carter: I think we should get documentation on it.

The Chairman: That is the next question which I was going to ask. This is, after all, a very powerful organization. I have known them for years and years, and I should have

thought that the bishop would have written that board of education a letter that would have sizzled them a bit and that would have been the end of it.

Mrs. Matthews: I think steps are being taken to correct the situation, because these things are really careless and thoughtless. We use this as an example of the kind of things which are happening to children.

Senator Inman: Could we ask which province that is?

The Chairman: I do not want to ask it, but you may. Ask them privately.

Mrs. Matthews: Can I tell the senator privately?

The Chairman: Yes, you can tell her later.

Senator Carter: I have one last question. Mr. Chairman, you laid stress on day care centres and we have had several other bodies expressing the same thing. You confirm what they have said, but I would like to get your opinion on these day care centres and the type you have in mind. Some people have recommended a central place where you bring in a lot of children for expert care. Others have recommended that it would be better for the poor people to have smaller centres, sort of a corner drug store or nursery variety, with probably some of the poor people themselves trained to look after them. What is your reaction to that?

Mrs. Matthews: We have said this about the people themselves looking after them. My opinion would be that the day care centres must be in an area where a mother can place her children in them conveniently. They should be more in the neighbourhood of the corner drug store. This would be the most satisfactory way of having the day care centres run. These mothers cannot take their children to the other end of town, partly because of the cost of transportation. Even the cost of transportation would be too much, apart from the time or anything else. Miss Fagan may have some comments on the day care centre.

Miss Fagan: In reference to the question about some of the poor families, I know that in Toronto in some of the housing developments they have started day care centres whereby women alternate daily in the care of children, in groups. The City of Metropolitan Toronto sponsors 16 day care centres accommodating something like 590 children. They

also pay some of the private day nurseries. Briefly, what is required here would be an extension of these facilities, which is a great cost to the taxpayer. There would have to be some consensus that this is a good type of supplement to the family needing child care and seeing the context, particularly for women who are the sole support and who require good day care, not just running around to various women in the neighbourhood who many or may not give a great deal of consistent help but which would be more as baby sitting and which is not always perfect.

I speak of institutionalized day care, in which there would be expert management, which could be supplemented again by what you are suggesting, volunteer help.

Senator Fergusson: In these small day care places where different women give their time, are these women trained or do they just set up a place where they look after the child?

Miss Fagan: No, they are not trained.

The Chairman: Some of them may be.

Miss Fagan: I would say that in most of the housing developments they are mothers.

Senator Fergusson: They take the children.

Miss Fagan: There is an experiment in the City of Toronto at the moment, sponsored by the Department of Public Welfare and one of the community colleges. There is a mobile van located in one of the centres in one section of the city and they are trying to teach certain women the aspects of child care. This is a community college responsibility, so that the woman may go out to work. They are working on this project, to equip those women, who are just mothers, with some more scientific basis of child management, giving them ideas as to teaching skills, how to manage children in groups, and so on. This is an experiment which started in the last six months and I think more projects of this kind should be encouraged.

Mrs. Matthews: This provides a lot of different services. In addition to training mothers, it provides day care service for the children involved, so it is doing a two-fold job.

Senator Inman: I saw an article in a paper with regard to nurseries for working mothers. This was the case of a little firm. I was wondering if it could be extended to larger firms.

In this case, the work of the firm was in manufacturing furniture. The owner provided a little nursery where the mothers could bring their children and leave them. The mothers then could see them at the noon hour. I thought that was a wonderful idea and wonder if it could be promoted among firms big enough to do this.

One of the questions I was interested in was in regard to family allowances to unwed mothers. For several years I was chairman of a mothers' allowance committee in Prince Edward Island. We could not pay to unwed mothers. I thought that was a bad principle, and many children suffered because of this. How many provinces do that?

Mrs. Matthews: I am not too sure of the question. Do you mean, how many provinces do not pay?

Senator Inman: How many provinces do pay?

Mrs. Matthews: Do pay family allowances to unwed mothers?

Miss Fagan: I understood this was universal.

The Chairman: It is federal. It is not a provincial matter. You may have been thinking, senator, of mothers' allowances, which is now incorporated into the Canada Assistance Act. The old family allowances plan is no longer there.

Miss Fagan: Excuse me. Was the senator's question answered satisfactorily? I was referring to family allowances, such as the baby bonus. That is universal. It is paid to married mothers as well as to unmarried mothers. However, in the case of the unmarried mother, she is not eligible for that until three months after the birth of the child. Prior to that she must go on social welfare assistance, which is a general thing. She has to prove that she is going to maintain and keep the child and requires long term assistance in managing the child.

Senator Inman: On page 16, in paragraph you say:

We submit that the recipient of such benefits should be given every incentive to work and not be penalized if she seeks employment to supplement her allowance. This could be the means by which she could retain her dignity, allowing her to purchase much needed household equipment or repairs to her home.

How far would you consider one should go on this.

Mrs. Matthews: In paragraph 60 it is suggested that if the woman works and is able to make a few dollars over and above her welfare allowance, this should not be deducted from her welfare. Is the question, how far do we want to go with that?

Senator Inman: Yes.

Mrs. Matthews: I have not figures here, but if she is earning a great amount of money, she will not be on welfare, to start off.

Miss Fagan: At the moment in Ontario she may earn up to \$36 a month. After that it would be reduced.

The Chairman: After that it is a total deduction. In most other provinces it is allowed that if she earns \$5 she gets \$2.50. That is the general practice across the country, with the exception of Ontario, where deduction is dollar for dollar after \$25 to \$30 of earning.

Mrs. E. Gallagher (Member of Brief Committee, The Catholic Women's League of Canada): In the case of rural poverty, I think of a particular case where the husband died suddenly and left the wife and seven children. I am not sure of the amount of the allowance she gets. I am wondering if something could be done in certain cases. Sometimes they live 14 or 15 miles from a shopping centre and she has no opportunity to get meat for the whole week. She has not enough refrigeration for that amount of meat. Now, I wonder if we could not help in cases like that by purchasing a freezer which would help to solve a great many of her problems. Then perhaps she could buy up enough meat when there were better buys in the stores and have a quantity of it in her freezer so that she would not be obliged to make this trip to the shopping centre fifteen miles away, using gas or lugging her purchases on a bus. Here we would be helping somebody with a real problem. I am sure there are many cases similar to the one I have referred to.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, I was hoping to be the devil's agent this morning and try to start an argument. So far I have been unsuccessful. We have received something in the order of fifty briefs on poverty in this committee. Everybody is telling us what to do and how to do it. In fact everybody is telling us the

same thing. These briefs are largely repetitious, but let me make it clear that I am not criticizing them. We are always talking about poverty, but what is the cause of poverty? What is the real cause of it? There was a letter read here this morning which was a very pitiful letter and a very sad one. We heard all about the woman in it, but what about the man? Is he alive? Where is the man in that picture?

Mrs. Matthews: In the letter which I read, reference was made to the fact that the man was making \$300 a month and paying \$100 a month in rent. He was alive and he had 7 children and his wife died of cancer on December 24.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): It seems to me that there are many, many poor families in Canada and if you get down to the basic reason, you find that the man is responsible and he is the one we should go after. In many cases he is an outlaw and he is lazy and does not want to work. When you put these factors together you have the cause of it all. I think we have to be a little more severe in these cases and use the whip sometimes. It may do some good and maybe it is the only language they will understand. Can I start an argument on that?

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: I will agree with that, senator, depending upon the kind of whip you like to use.

Mrs. Gallagher: I think we would all like to use it sometimes.

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: I think the ladies have rather focused the situation on women in their brief, but it would be interesting to have the men come up with an analysis of their own situation. Obviously nothing has been said about the husband who has been driven out of the home by the wife. We have to admit that such cases do exist. Conditions are such that the man eventually walks out the door and with perfectly good reason. But nothing has been said in his defence.

The Chairman: No hearsay evidence here.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): In the first brief we heard this morning there was a point which was very interesting to me. In the tremendous training programs now existing right across Canada, it may well be that the standard of education required is too high for a certain group of people. You don't need grade 12 to be a barber or a ladies'

hairdresser. You may need it if you want to reach a certain higher level. The situation can exist where a man has five or six in family and he has a job but he goes out to look for a better job and they say "you cannot have it because you do not have grade 12." Then he goes back to where he was before, still being poor and his children remain poor. So perhaps we have to start with the newborn generation. But I think we may at times be asking too much of the people living today. And then because they do not come up to the standard, we send them back to the shack and they live there and remain poor for the rest of their lives.

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: I could not agree more, senator. Of course you only need grade 10 to become a barber, but why grade 10? Why make too great a demand on them to fill a job for which they have every ability on earth? I do not write the laws and I certainly object to some of them.

Mrs. Matthews: A very good point was made by one of the senators that when you educate a man, you educate an individual, but when you educate a mother, you educate a family. We have concerned ourselves with the mother who was left with the children and while I agree with the points that are being made, we could have written five or six more briefs instead of just one on these different aspects.

The Chairman: I think you made a very important point in this brief, I will come to it in a few minutes.

Senator McGrand: Senator Pearson brought up the question of drugs. Have you any information on the prevalence of the use of drugs or drug addiction among children of the poor? Is there any difference in the evidence of its use in the families of deserted mothers as compared with others? Is there any difference between its use or between its occurrence in the families of the poor and the families of the affluent? Have you any ideas on that?

Mrs. Matthews: Well, we didn't undertake research in that area, but perhaps Miss Fagan may be able to speak about that.

Miss Fagan: Well, I have a kind of an impression, if you would accept that. In the agency with which I am connected in my work, the Children's Aid Society, there are some children who come to us, not as drug users in the sense of using amphetamines and

LSD, but children who experiment with glue sniffing—airplane glue—and this kind of stuff that is easily obtainable at the corner store. So far as my experience is concerned, they have not been concerned with the heavy drugs at all, and it is my impression that here the question of money is involved and you are more likely to find the use of drugs among children in somewhat higher economic brackets. Of course, I am not excluding the families of the poor in this.

Senator McGrand: On page 6 you mention that the children from the fatherless welfare family face a 90 per cent higher chance of becoming delinquent than children who grow up in either middle-class or two-parent families. Then you give your reference for that. I would like to know if in your opinion the delinquency is more prevalent in deserted families than in two-parent families?

Miss Fagan: When we use the word "delinquency" here we must remember that it has many facets including stealing, breaking and entering and that kind of thing and this is what I was referring to rather than drug-taking. Delinquency encompasses all these things including playing truant from school and not just the use of drugs.

Senator McGrand: It seems to me that most of these runaway husbands who desert their families are in the low income bracket; is that right? You do not find many \$10,000 or \$12,000 a year husbands running away, do you?

The Chairman: At \$12,000 you abandon the family; at lower incomes you desert them. That is the only difference.

Senator McGrand: I have listened to this time and time again, how these men should be chased and made to pay with a priority, whether it is the first or second family, but as a rule these are low income men in the first place. What success have the authorities had in tracing these and making them fulfil their responsibility to their families? If it has not been successful in the past, how successful can it be in the future?

Mrs. Matthews: I do not know that any concerted attempt has been made in the past to follow it up. In point of numbers it would be fair to say that there are more in the low income bracket, because there are more people in that bracket.

Senator McGrand: But speaking proportionately?

Mrs. Matthews: I do not think that there has been a concerted effort made to follow this up. Certainly this is the feeling the members of our organization who submitted these opinions, that not enough effort was made to trace the fathers.

The Chairman: You are aware that there are approximately 300,000 women in the classification of single heads of families, with about 500,000 or 600,000 children of various ages. This has been a problem of the highest priority and the deepest concern to us. We are full of it and know something of it. As I read your brief I feel that what you are saying is that we must give the women a chance to lead as normal a life as we possibly can. I am sure I speak for the remainder of the committee when I say we thought their highest priority was income. The second priority was their ability to earn a living if they wished to and could. For this they need the day nurseries and day care centres.

Here I become the devil's advocate and the Bishop will forgive me. Since 1966 the federal Government has made it possible under the Canada Assistance Plan to establish day nurseries in every part of Canada and contributes 50% of cost without limitation. You are fully organized and a very respected competent and able group. I notice Newfoundland was left out, but perhaps you have not been established there. That does not make any difference, they will come in. You appear before this committee, comprised of citizens from all parts of Canada. We are no different than you, but just happen to be here because we took a different direction and orientation than some others. You ask us to do certain things. Why have you people in the last two years not raised hell at the local level, with the aldermen and the provinces? Why have you not told them we have got to have these day care centres for these women in order to give them a chance? They are not as expensive as all that, especially in the medium sized cities. Bigger cities are hard to get at, out in the medium cities of 50,000 or 70,000, where you know the aldermen personally, why have you people not done that so that you did not have to come to us with so vital a problem? I do not hold you responsible for income; that is our job, not yours, but this is the kind of work you should be doing all the time. You are two years behind. Why?

Mrs. Matthews: As you said you were going to be the devil's advocate, I do not know that I can tell you why. I can say though that most

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of the work we have done as a volunteer organization has been in such areas as assisting with day care centres. I agree with you that we should probably do more and I would like his excellency to make reference to something that is happening in his own city in connection with day care centres. I also relate this to a project undertaken by our organization two years ago in Ontario, where classes in English were set up for immigrant women by the Department of Provincial Secretary and Citizenship of the Provincial Government. We provided everything else, in many cases the teachers, the day care centres or babysitting service. This is the role that we feel we can still fill, but I agree with you that probably we should be doing more on the political level.

The Chairman: Your strength lies in the fact that you are not local, but accepted across this country. You are everywhere and we expect more from you

Mrs. Matthews: Senator Croll, can we take this back to our members with the idea that Senator Croll has said that the members of the Catholic Women's League should be acting more politically in this particular area?

The Chairman: Oh, yes, in a loud voice. We have our problems. I can tell you that the members of this committee are dedicated. We go to the departments and ask them why they have not done this or that. They appear before us with a nice brief, very well thought out by, for instance, the Department of National Health and Welfare. On page 7 of their brief they state:

Many problems remain also in the provision of social welfare services designed to prevent future poverty, alleviate existing situations, and foster the rehabilitation of the poor. Comprehensive counselling services, foster home care, institutional care, day care for children and adults, meal services, homemaker services,...

They say here is the law, we can do all these things. We are paying the money but somebody is not doing it. It is very difficult. It is all very well for us to repeat it but it is an entirely different thing for you people across the country to say and repeat it wherever you are represented.

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: The problem with an organization like the C.W.L. is that we exist everywhere, with many different local problems, so it is up to the local group to do

something as they see the problem. Over the years the ladies have not been inactive, but they have done little if anything about day care centres. This brief is going to you people and afterwards to our membership, and they are going to ask this question. I am sure we will tell them what you told us. The whole point of this kind of encounter is that we will see day care centres coming as a result of a great deal of leg work. We did not think much about them until things were being put together and we started asking ourselves what are the problems. We are now beginning to focus our ladies' minds on this idea—is there a problem regarding day care centres, and how many counsellors have thought about it and challenged their local community?

One of the results of meeting with you and having the devil or his advocate speak to us so firmly is to focus once more on how important it is to do something about it and not just talk. I am sure we appreciate that.

Mrs. Fabris: The bishop just stole my thunder. He expressed it better than I can. I did want to say that we are already making plans, now that the brief has been presented. I know that it is going back to our people right across Canada. We are going to work on this brief, and I will be very happy to convey your remarks. The problem has been that so many of our active members are women who are not in this position of poverty, and therefore they have to be told about these things happening. I know, in speaking to my own group, that when I told them about our brief they said that they did not know about these things and that we should get busy. We are starting on it next Monday morning.

As a result of our hearings, I feel that you will find our women, as they have done in the past, taking up the challenge. We discussed this last night. The role of the volunteer is in this type of thing.

In our recommendation we asked that the municipalities set them up. We feel that these day care centres should be more than a baby sitting centre. If there was some orderly plan by which these places could be set up and certain things done with them, I think we would all follow suit. We would have no difficulty in recruiting ladies to take the necessary training. There has to be a lead and there must be a planned one. This is what we ask the municipalities to do. Our problem is, as you said, to stir up the municipalities.

The Chairman: We can do the best we can as a committee, but what we are trying to do is to recruit you people who come before us, as well as the educational people who were here this morning and two other groups who plan to be here Thursday.

We had a witness from the Department of Labour at an earlier hearing, and Senator Fergusson asked, "Why is a man permitted to deduct an allowance for a housekeeper, whereas a woman in a similar position is not permitted to do so?" There was no answer to that. We immediately made it our business to ask the Income Tax Department about this, and they assured the committee that they stopped making a distinction about a month ago. They said that both are entitled to the deduction. We also got in touch with the Minister of Labour, and the Minister of Finance, and we find that the White Paper on Taxation makes some provision for women's allowance. These are not world shattering things, but they do count. These things build up from time to time and they make a difference effect.

We have to ask you people to give us much more help than you have been able to give to date because poverty is deeply embedded. It is a serious problem and it is not going to be solved overnight. You have got to carry your share of the burden. I know you will.

Senator Quart: I am always interested in this question. You recommend that a single woman who is the head of a family and is on welfare should not be penalized if she obtains employment to supplement her income, that at the present time she has to declare it and if she earns a certain amount over and above what she is receiving on welfare she is cut off. Is that the meaning?

Mrs. Matthews: Yes, deductible.

Senator Quart: You agree that she should be allowed to keep that?

Mrs. Matthews: Yes. This is the point we made before, that she should be allowed to keep it for repairs to her home or a variety of things which are needed and which she cannot cover with the welfare allowance.

Senator Quart: Have you had anyone complain as to how long it takes to get back on welfare after they have been taken off, because they declared a certain amount of earnings?

Miss Fagan: I could not answer that question. I know that if you are on general short-term welfare assistance you are not supposed to work. However, individual workers tell me that they close their eyes to this. But the policy is that you do not work and you have no other source of income. It is a rigid kind of definition. It will be said, from office to office that it is known one can't exist on what she receives and needs something else. Therefore, they close their eyes if it amounts to just a few dollars here and there. Under the provincial Mother's Allowance, a woman may earn up to \$36 a month. I feel that this limit could be extended. There could be a more individualized kind of approach. If the woman has a skill she should be permitted to work at least part-time and have her income supplemented through the welfare assistance program.

The Chairman: Miss Fagan, I do not think that was the question. Senator Quart is concerned about people on welfare earning a few dollars and then having to go off welfare because of it. Should it be necessary for them to come back onto welfare again, how long would it take? Would the administrator work?

Senator Quart: Some people have claimed that it takes two or three months.

Miss Fagan: I know that if were to ask the local welfare official in Toronto he would reply that it can be done immediately as of today. What happens is that the provisions vary and you do have local administrators who handle their policies very rigidly. There is no individualization. It should be more individualized so that a person would not be penalized because he has the capacity to work and wishes to do so.

Senator Fergusson: I am being a devil's advocate, because I do believe that people on welfare should be permitted to earn more money and keep it. I am thinking of the woman who is working hard on a full-time basis and not getting welfare at all. Let us assume one is just as clever as the other. The one who works full time may actually earn less than the recipient of welfare who supplements her welfare payments by part-time work. Isn't this a decision?

Mrs. Matthews: This kind of problem should be dealt with on an individual basis, as Miss Fagan said. This would be the answer to the query. This kind of thing also depends

a lot on how many children there are in the family and their ages.

Senator Fergusson: You would have to give a great deal of discretion to the administrator, much more than you do now.

Senator Pearson: It should be more humane, as well as individual.

Senator Fergusson: I certain compliment Miss Fabris and her group. It is a wonderful presentation and I found it extremely interesting. It has been very well prepared. It has given us a lot of information. We may have had some of it here and there but it was not all together. There is also the fact that you quoted your own members from all over Canada, which was a very good idea. Quite often it is just the executive of a group which makes up the presentation, but you are giving the feelings and thoughts of your women in all parts of Canada and this was an extremely good thing to do.

I was glad that you specially stressed the situation of the woman who is head of a family. You say there are 283,000 single heads of families in Canada. That is a tremendous problem. We do know, from what we have been hearing from witnesses about these women and children, that they are faced with a very hard situation. They are despairing and they need help.

I am glad you stressed this, even if you left out some of the other things. You could not possibly cover the whole field. To me, this is one of the most important areas.

At the beginning, you said you recommended an intensified study. It may be that this point has been dealt with by someone else—about regional differences and variations in poverty. People have asked why we are making more studies and have said that there has been enough study. Some people in some places wanted us to come back to Ottawa the next morning and pass legislation. I gather this is not your idea of the right approach?

Mrs. Matthews: In the area in which we felt more study was needed was in that of the woman head of a family. Before the committee was started, it was first mentioned to me and I started to look for material. It struck me that there was very little available about the woman head of family. There is a lot of material on the single parent of a family, and you have to dig through it to find the woman head.

In the Economic Council of Canada reports, the fifth and sixth annual reports which we have quoted there is only about two-thirds of a page in the whole book dealing with woman head of family.

The more we went into it, the more we realized, as the committee was formed that there was practically no material on this aspect, that of the woman head of family, so we made this recommendation that a study be given to this aspect of living conditions.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): How big is your membership across Canada?

The Chairman: It is 150,000.

Mrs. Matthews: We give it as 135,000 to 150,000. We have not our figures for this year yet.

The Chairman: Do not forget that that is paid up membership.

Mrs. Matthews: Our membership is very very low. People in the poverty situation cannot afford to pay.

The Chairman: Are there any other questions? Is there anything anyone on the delegation would like to say?

Mrs. Matthews: I suppose we could spend all day on it, but we know that your time is limited. We are grateful for having had this opportunity to explain how we arrive at this conclusion and how we went about it.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to say that not long ago I saw an article in the *Globe and Mail* and from the headlines I thought it intimated that experts should not be getting into these things. It may be that I misunderstood the article.

Mrs. Matthews: The article in the *Globe and Mail* referred to the section in the brief which deals with the effect on children. It was a personal opinion. A woman was saying that if the husband was providing for the wife and family, they should not be watched by the social welfare workers. She had a feeling they should be left alone and she suggested that those families were just as sensitive as any other families.

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Mrs. Matthews: That was a reference and this was a minor piece which was taken out of one part of the submission.

Senator Pearson: There is one system in Regina, where a woman who was qualified, who came from another country started out on a day care centre. It started all right but it dropped down and people lost interest. Mothers found they had too much effort to get the children there and leave them there and then pick them up when they had finished the job. It gradually faded out. Do you find a problem like that?

Mrs. Matthews: Another senator made reference to the location of the day care centres. Should it be a big one in a central place or should it be at the corner, locally?

Senator Pearson: It should be more locally.

Mrs. Matthews: I do not know the Regina situation. It would be necessary to go into the particular situation. It would seem to me that the actual physical spot should be in an area where the mother would find it convenient to leave the children and get them home in the evening.

Rev. Dr. Mahoney: It is a kind of phenomenon in the city of Saskatoon that I do not have one day care centre, although there are 150,000. There is a federal grant for a day care centre and that is working extremely well. The federal Government covers the cost of the place and four workers. They also have a group of volunteers and this makes up 25. They take only 15 at a time. Sometimes a day is staggered, coming and going. It works extremely well. This is the kind of activity we have in mind, where we might be able to provide places. We could help in this respect in the local parishes, because we have parish halls, many which are not used during the day. However, we would need two things, someone to pay an administrator who would take charge and be there all the time. We can find volunteers but you need someone full-time. The second need is for training of people to work in them. I can see the great pressure of our people, on pastors and people, to provide the area and to provide volunteers. We would like to be able to train volunteers and would like some help in the administration. One would need a properly trained worker there every day, and then there would be volunteers to help.

The Chairman: If there are no more questions, on behalf of the committee I would like to express our thanks. I do not know whether many committee members noticed one paragraph which rather pleased me, on the front

page. It referred to those who helped in preparing the brief and mentioned that one was a mother of 7 children, and it said this:

...mother of 7 children, 5 to 22 years old, one of whom, a Grade XI student, was co-ordinating chairman of the committee which prepared a class brief on poverty for this Senate committee. As a result of her own efforts to research parts of the submission, her C.W.L. parish council donated \$100 to provide a happy Christmas for 2 families she had interviewed.

One of the really pleasant and proud things to happen to us was the group of children who came before us in Halifax and presented an excellent brief. This is one of your girls. You see, you have cast your bread upon the waters. The results are coming back already through one of your own junior members. We have been rather forward in our questioning of you here today. We do not normally do that, particularly when we have charming women before us. Even though the bishop was here, we did not think you needed his

protection. The reason we did this was that we think you have the ability to do things. Yours is an old organization with young ideas which has revived itself from time to time and is formidable across the country. Whether you are volunteers or not does not really matter and does not make the slightest difference particularly where this problem is concerned. This is a problem which has been largely ignored and now gravely needs attention. You have ideas and that is the purpose of our discussion here today. You have presented an excellent brief covering many points that will be of value to us. Of course many others have also presented points which other people are looking into, but one very important one which you have mentioned is that of day-care centres. They have been mentioned to us previously, but never dealt with in this particular emphatic manner.

You have made a very valuable contribution. On behalf of the committee, I thank you all very profusely.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX A

TOWARDS A CHOICE AND A CHANCE

A Brief Presented to the
Special Senate Committee on Poverty

by the
Canadian Association for Adult Education

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PREFACE

It is intended that this brief should present the view of the CAAE's national Board of poverty in Canada and assay the necessity of assisting the poor to help themselves. The first section relates some of the historic concerns of the CAAE and its attempt to establish practical means of expressing them. The second section emphasizes some of the present-day philosophical assumptions and approaches of adult educators towards the poor. The third section will briefly review salient studies, chiefly Canadian, which help de-mythologize the relationship between education and poverty. The last section will emphasize four areas vital to the educational growth of the poor - adult basic education, man-power policies, consumer education and housing policies.

The Saskatchewan Division of CAAE hopes to present a brief regarding aspects of Indian, Métis, and Eskimo Education when the Senate Committee visits that province.

For purposes of this Brief, we accept the definition of poverty used by the Economic Council of Canada, that is, "an insufficient access to certain goods, services, and conditions of life which are available to everyone else and have come to be accepted as basic to a decent, minimum standard of living." We recognize the economic nature of such a definition and therefore stress that its interpretation must be in the broadest possible socio-cultural terms.

We will also accept as general but useful categories of poverty, those outlined by Senator Croll, namely the working poor, who constitute approximately one half of the poor, the disadvantaged (physically, mentally, etc.) who may compose about one quarter of the poor, and the welfare poor who may constitute about one quarter of the poor.

This brief will include some specific recommendations. We would remind the reader that these recommendations flow from a philosophy which firstly views the poverty culture as part of the total society and, secondly, sees the need for an educational-learning component in almost every

Preface Cont'd. (2)

governmental, associational or self-help project among the poor. We therefore hope that this brief will be seen as an attempt to make positive and specific recommendations in an area in which factors cannot be neatly isolated or dealt with. We reject, on the basis of theory and experience, any further attempts at piece-meal solutions.

A Brief Presented to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty by the Canadian Association for Adult Education.

1. Traditional Concerns of the CAAE

A Concern for Canada

Since its founding conference in 1935, the Canadian Association for Adult Education has mirrored many of the concerns of those who hope to build a more just and humane society within an independent Canada. The CAAE has traditionally attempted to serve the cause of national unity by helping to build practical programs of rural adult education, urban citizenship training, and a nation-wide network of communication between voluntary organizations, educators, and government agencies.

Rural and Urban Projects

From its inception the Association was aware of the need for rural education. By the year 1940, it had joined with the Canadian Federation of Agriculture and the C.B.C. to sponsor and promote the National Farm Radio Forum, and later, with the National Film Board, to encourage rural film circuits. By 1943, the CAAE was co-sponsoring the C.B.C.-produced "Citizens' Forum" series, Canada's premier urban citizenship training scheme. Both of these radio series were integrated with material written at a level understood by the thousands of laymen participating in their associated listening groups.

Communications Network

The CAAE played an active role in the Canadian Council of Education for Citizenship during the Second World War, and later was instrumental in developing the national co-ordinating agency of voluntary associations known as the Joint Planning Commission. Through both of these bodies, national and provincial associations and government agencies attempted to co-operate in order to tackle problems of common concern.

Community Development Projects

The Association not only worked in large-scale projects of national importance, but also experimented in forms of community development. For several years prior to World War II it gave limited financial and technical assistance to the community development work of Rev. and Mrs. Harry Avison in The Pas, Manitoba, and to the Community Life Training Institute under Mr. David Smith.

Previous Public Policy in Briefs

The CAAE has presented its views to the two most thorough investigations of national life conducted in Canada. Its brief to the Rowell-Sirois Commission stressed the urgent need both for rural educational programs and on-going federal assistance in the field of adult education. The Massey Commission brief sought the continued co-operation with not only the C.B.C., but also a strengthened National Film service.

11. Philosophical Perspectives

The Continuing Education Concept

Today, the concept of continuing education is gaining wider acceptance. It is based on several insights. One is the knowledge of modern psychology that learning is a life-long process. Another is an experience-based view of man which emphasizes the informal, as well as the formal, means by which he learns and which acknowledges as valid the widest possible range of experiences and disciplines in man's quest for knowledge.

A society based on principles of continuing education would be that in which individuals of all classes could return from their occupations to formal or informal learning situations with relative ease. Indeed, such freedom and opportunity exist for some in Canada today. Increasing numbers in middle and upper class occupations and professions are actively encouraged to increase their learning. However, such opportunity is unevenly distributed in our society, and too often those who need such choices and chances don't have them. Thus, the gap between the deprived and the affluent is even further widened.

The continuing education concept views the present attempts of the poor to organize into voluntary associations of tenants, etc., as legitimate learning situations which we most heartily endorse and would encourage. Indeed, such associations are the attempts of the dispossessed to assume the role of functioning members of society.

The striving for a membership role in society is an integral part of the continuing education concept. No longer are people satisfied with passive, receptive roles. (23) The poor are unlikely potential participants in formal student learning situations. They have, however, shown some interest and ability in participating in relevant local projects involving their own community. In the Lawrence Heights project, North York, for example, the local inhabitants of this low income area organized and now run a day-care centre, a hot lunch program, a grocery co-operative, a newspaper, a clothing store, an information centre, adult study groups, and mental health services. (19) A major breakthrough in reaching the people of Lawrence Heights occurred when it was found that parents, rather than professionals, were the most effective group leaders and resource persons. (19) Certainly there is reason to believe that the traditional advisory board concept, characterized by centralized, technical functions, will not serve the needs of the poor. (4)

The participation and involvement of the membership role may be the leaven which will change the old, authoritarian approach to education into dynamic concern for learning. In the future we may well see the narrowing of the role distance between the teacher and the student as the two functions give way to the common role of member and learner.

There are already some signs of greater flexibility in approaches toward learning. For example, Mrs. Betsy McDonald of Vancouver has successfully assisted a group of women to prepare themselves for re-training or employment. She has shown that by support and encouragement on the personal or small group level, some individuals may learn new roles and expectations. George Brown College of Toronto has been operating a mobile classroom, offering counselling services, information

and short-course facilities. By this means persons unwilling or unable to go to traditional institutions may be reached. Of course, many more ways of reaching and assisting people are yet to be explored. For example, more educators must move out of their institutions and into home-centred learning situations where the poor would feel more at ease. Educational organizations and teachers' colleges must learn to be flexible enough to assist so-called unqualified persons in learning skills necessary to become presidents of the local tenants' associations or co-ops.

This is not to view these examples as cure-alls. Far from it, for unless poverty is tackled at all fronts, economic, social and political, the effects of such minor innovations will be minimal in terms of the total picture.

There is, however, a role for people including educators at the local level to act as facilitators and animators. They surely will be amongst the chief "learners" as they, along with those mutually concerned such as social workers and doctors, learn to work at the community level in an interdisciplinary, team approach. (19). For instance, if the CAAE is to assist the poor in helping themselves, it also must be willing to change. Such programs as the provision of leadership training for members of tenant associations or the establishment of a national clearing house for poverty group communication may well be the way.

The Role of Voluntary Associations

The role of voluntary associations in the developing technological society is unclear. Some trends appear to be forming, however. The most important may be the response of increasing numbers of people in many fields, who insist that those who are being affected by the decisions of institutions shall have an effective role in the decision-making. In sum: the old managerial prerogatives must give way to greater industrial democracy; the government agency must develop means of receiving and reacting to feedback from its clientele. In such a society the CAAE and other educational associations must develop close working relationships with governments and the citizenry which will allow for maximum possible participation and freedom. Freedom implies

real choice, and those bodies who hope to serve the interests of the poor, as well as the poor themselves, must have a basic guaranteed financial base. The social groups this Committee is studying are those who too often have the least real choice - the poor. In one sense the task of all Canadians is to implement a new social order in which all groups have a real choice and a chance.

The Work Ethic

The work ethic which has provided much of the rationale for the present stage of Canada's economic development is deeply-rooted in this society's mythology. The belief that "hard work" leads to "success" or that "success" is a result of "hard work" is cherished by many, especially in the middle and upper classes. Stories of exceptional individual climbs to wealth and power still abound. There is, however, mounting evidence that many factors other than "hard work" may make possible what social mobility does exist and, indeed, that in some circumstances, especially in lower-class, less mobile occupations, "hard work" may even be dysfunctional.

Work is defined by some in such absurdly narrow terms that a student studying forty or fifty hours a week is not "working". Thus, rather than earning whatever he receives, the student is considered to be a recipient of an award, or other charitable donation, for which he should remain eternally thankful, if not docile. Surely the demeaning character of this system is clear. Equally clear is that in the developing technological society the "work ethic" will become even more inapplicable. In this transition stage we suggest that the Committee accept the broadest possible definition of the term "work" and its related ethic so that they might conceive of new means of encouraging continuous learning. Some first steps have been made in other countries, such as Sweden, to work towards the extension of learning opportunities as a social right. We urge this Committee to recommend an investigation of the study assistance system for elementary and secondary students, and the study funds system for higher and adult education as practised in Sweden (22), and the possible extension of

such a system into a student salary system for all adult participants in accredited institutions of continuous learning in Canada.

111. Sociological Context of Education

A review of several of the insights of educational sociology may assist this Committee in gaining a realistic perspective of the relationship of education to the poor. Before launching into a discussion of several important areas of study, the following description of the poverty sub-culture from the most recent survey of research into adult education and poverty conducted at a Canadian university may prove useful.

"The differences between the disadvantaged and other members of society are such as to suggest that a distinctive sub-culture of poverty has developed within the dominant culture. The crucial factors conducive to the development of a disadvantaged sub-culture lie in the nature and structure of the economic system through which the resources of society are used and distributed. Thus, sub-standard housing, inadequate public services, limited employment opportunities, and low incomes contribute to the formation of a poverty group. At the same time, certain social characteristics of those in the poverty group influence their perception of and response to such economic factors. In urban slums, for example, the hard core poor have developed their own self-contained social system in which they exhibit a fluent use of a particular language style that provides both an identity to members and protection for the group, and this hard core group differs from other urban slum residents with respect to the perception of time, self in social space, and the classification of schemes and causality. Furthermore, such a sub-culture appears to be self-perpetuating as it socializes its younger members to its own ranks.

"The continued existence of a poverty sub-culture in the midst of an affluent society stems from the interaction of the disadvantaged with the dominant society. It is this society which tolerates the environmental conditions conducive to the creation of disadvantaged status, while simultaneously rejecting those individuals who have fallen victim to such formative conditions. Those victims, in turn, learn to accommodate themselves to a disadvantaged status and in doing so, reject the values of the society which is responsible for their plight. This interaction is self-perpetuating and the conditions which produce it must be modified on a massive scale if the problem of poverty is to be resolved."...(2)

This view is substantiated by a study conducted by the Canadian sociologist, W.E. Mann, who after analyzing the social system of a lower ward Toronto slum, concluded:

"The lower Ward then is, especially for its old Canadian group, another society, separated physically and culturally from those 'up there'. It develops and passes on its own codes and values and its ways of handling the bureaucratic occupying force concerned about law and order and middle class goals and standards. Apparently powerless to revolt, hemmed in ecologically and economically by the larger society, it yet maintains a partial independence and defiance of the more powerful. In effect, it is a colony in sullen inner revolt, more governed by apathy and resentment than by any self-conscious sense of rebellion or desire for great change." (9)

However, despite our awareness of the problem, little research has been done on the many aspects of the poverty culture and what little has been conducted can be characterized as sporadic and uncoordinated, and too often ignored.

Social Mobility

Canadian studies indicate that there may be far less social mobility in Canada than is generally believed. (7, 13) Further, it appears that our present systems of financial aid, including scholarships and grant schemes, tend to perpetuate an essentially elitist system with "only the brightest, highly motivated lower-class student" being the recipient from his class to benefit. (5)

It is becoming clear that elementary, secondary, and post-secondary educational systems are inter-related levels which serve, among other functions, those of sorting and screening future workers for the industrial system. If one wished to change the present educational-industrial relationship, one might well face the serious task of changing many of the basic structures and values of the existing socio-economic system.

Drop-Out Studies

Studies of student drop-outs indicate that it is not just economic situations in some homes which may result in dropping-out, but a value clash between the lower class home and the middle-class school, manifested by such factors as lack of parental encouragement

and apathy of the student. That the unemployment rate of school drop-outs, from 14 to 19 years old, is twice the overall Canadian average is but one tragic human consequence of this phenomenon. (15)

Communications and the Poor

Research into communication processes indicates that different sub-cultures have their own verbal and non-verbal modes of communication. Canadian poverty cultures, with their varying regional, ethnic and linguistic characteristics, require special means of communication if messages are to be meaningfully transmitted to them. The use of appropriate media, word levels, terminology and sponsors of information are important if communications are to be accepted. Once again, little coherent research in the field is available.

We therefore wish to emphasize the following recommendations:

- 1) that this Committee investigate and recommend the means by which communications research could be established to conduct a wide program of research on the problem of communication to and among the poor.
- 2) that the C.B.C. develop means, in conjunction with the poor and interested associations, of broadcasting radio and television programs relevant to the poor and their problems.
- 3) that the National Film Board "Challenge for Change" program be greatly expanded and that further schemes be developed, in conjunction with the poor and with interested associations, relevant to the poor and their problems.

The present decision that most of the proposed educational television will be aimed not only almost solely at the formal classroom learning situation, but also via expensive cablevision networks, is a serious setback to those who wish to see informal learning opportunities financially within the reach of the lowest economic groups. Indeed, only those who need ETV least can now afford it. To ensure the widest possible cablevision coverage as a public service:

- 1) we urge this Committee to recommend to the CRTC that a public agency Cable Canada, be developed as a means of extending cablevision on a public utility basis.

- 2) further, we urge that the CRTC rule that a reasonable proportion of time be allotted to informal education, including current events programs, consumer education and news of local community activity among the poor.
- 3) we hope that this Senate Committee will set an example for subsequent public bodies by disseminating reports intelligible to the poor and that
 - (a) a first draft of any relevant written material might be circulated among the poor for comment and revision and that
 - (b) a variety of media; film, radio, tape and television be used to report to the constituency involved - the poor themselves.

1V. Recent Concerns

Adult educators have become particularly aware of four content areas related to poverty--adult basic education, manpower policies, consumer education, and housing policies.

Adult Basic Education

There has been a long-standing need for adult basic education in Canada. The 1961 Census revealed that 1,024,785 persons fifteen years of age or older had either no schooling or less than four years of school. Since the Census little corrective action has been taken, and it is likely that the proportion of sub-literates remains about the same today as in 1961. Many of the sub-literates are to be found in rural, non-farm areas and include significant groups of Indian, Metis and Eskimo people, with problems peculiar to their respective ways of life. Special consideration should be given to the problems of black people, particularly in the Halifax areas.

The social consequences of this problem are widespread and disastrous. A 1960 Canadian survey found that about half of the unemployed had not finished primary school and over 90 percent had not completed high school. Among workers who had not completed primary school, the unemployment rate was six times greater than among high school graduates. (14) The average income of a family head reporting either no schooling or one to four years of schooling completed was \$3,318 a year, compared with an average of \$4,985 for all family heads. (1) With a rapidly developing

technological society, sub-literate persons will be, relatively, even further disadvantaged unless concerted action is spearheaded by the federal government.

We would emphasize three aspects of adult basic education for your consideration. First, it appears that education of either the parent or child alone is often fruitless. In order that some reinforcement of learning is possible both must be encompassed in any strategy for change. Second, adult basic education must have a functional approach -- learning related to daily concerns of the poor is that which is not only immediately useful, but also retained. Third, there is a glaring lack of even the most fundamental educational material, especially for some cultural minorities.

We recommend that this Committee

- 1) urge the responsible government departments, including Manpower, Consumer and Corporate affairs, and Regional and Economic Development to be cognizant of the need for a broadly based approach to adult retraining, consumer education and community development, thereby using
- (a) a team approach to poverty problems, including attempts to assist adult as well as child learning
- (b) their research facilities to develop reading materials, pilot projects etc. for those initially disadvantaged, such as the Indian, Metis, Eskimo and identifiable urban groups.

Manpower Policies

The working poor will be among the first and most hard-hit groups affected by the Federal Government's present anti-inflationary policies. We agree with the Brief of the Department of Manpower and Immigration which stressed "the importance of an adequate level of aggregate labour demand to any anti-poverty strategy." (17) If the working poor are used in the battle against inflation they are taught more eloquently than any educational program the value placed upon their worth as individuals.

Since 1961, over a billion dollars have been spent on new vocational training facilities: yet there has been a drop-out rate of 50% or higher, particularly among unemployed workers. (2) A study conducted in 1965 revealed that only one unemployed worker in fifty was enrolled

in a training course. (12) A federal study reported that only 3.5 percent of the unemployed were attending training courses at the time of the investigation. (14)

Our chief complaints arise from the limited and sporadic nature of the present policies. First, they tend to favour those persons who offer the best potential for employment to the detriment of the riskier subliterate individual. The Report of the Association of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario refers to this phenomena in terms of the middle class work ethic, when it states:

"Surely the middle class ethic is at work in the insistence of the Adult Occupational Training Act and regulations that every effort be made to find the client a job -- (however menial or however unsuited he may be for it) -- before he can be admitted to retraining. Surely this ethic is manifested in the Act's further requirement that a young man or woman must spend at least three years on the labour market following his initial childhood and adolescent educational experience before being considered for retraining on allowances. Surely the ethic is further evidenced in the requirement that no subsidized period of academic upgrading may extend beyond 52 weeks.

(This latter point has the especially pernicious affect of unfairly prejudicing the position of the most grossly disadvantaged. In 52 weeks, a client with Grade Four can be brought to the Grade Seven level; while the client who starts with Grade Eight at time of entry can be brought to a level approximating a high school graduation. The 52-week period of retraining is an arbitrary limitation, imposed by the operative legislation, without regard for the educational status of the client. Obviously, the client whose allotted year brings him to the Grade Eight level is little better off in terms of employability than when he started while the person who starts his retraining year with Grade Eight has a whole new edge on life when he leaves with the equivalent of a high school Grade 12 certificate). (3)

In this respect the Ontario Report concludes that "the local Canada Manpower Centre sees itself primarily as a job placement agency. All other functions, including the educational function, are of secondary importance." (3)

Second, while the Manpower Retraining program has attempted to train the adult for useful employment and occupation, the adult student in some areas too often is treated in a narrow bureaucratic way. The Report of the Association of Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology of Ontario states with reference to its experience:

"The initial decision to send any client for retraining is a unilateral one, taken at the Canada Manpower Centre. And once on course, the subsidized student is subject to assessment at the end of each authorized training block by the CMC counsellor who again is empowered to take the unilateral decision whether or not the student will continue. The function of the teacher and counsellor at the OMRP facility is to provide periodic statements of the student's progress in terms of grades achieved. A student's progress is not something that can be adequately determined always on the basis of percentage alone, but the teacher and counsellor at the educational facility have no formal opportunity to bring their professional opinions to bear upon the CMC counsellors decision.

"Occasionally, the CMC's reluctance to consult with the educational facility results in students not having sufficient advance notice of their status in the immediate future. For reasons better known to the local Canada Manpower Centres themselves, their propensity for delay to the last possible moment in advising both the student and the educational facility as to a client's suitability for retraining, or the decision regarding his continuing in a given course, is almost universal. Not infrequently, therefore, students find themselves in a state of limbo." (3)

The Report also notes that:

"Not all clients are free to choose between programs, nor is everyone offered the same range of alternatives. Any system which denies an individual the right of appeal, denies a basic democratic right. Therefore, when an individual is denied entry to a program, he should be extended the opportunity to appeal to an impartial review board".

Third, the lack of both program continuity and a basic security for the teaching staff has resulted in a growing scepticism about the purposes and planning of policies.

We recommend:

- 1) that manpower policies become more flexible, and more broadly defined so as to include persons of lower age, grade, and literacy levels.
- 2) the greater use of day release, and worker study leave (see Appendix B)
- 3) the establishment of eligibility and admission review boards composed of local citizens, including the poor.
- 4) a more coherent policy of teacher employment, coupled with continuous in-service training, be used to raise the morale and effectiveness of manpower educators.
- 5) continuous research, evaluation and experimentation be conducted in concert with other agencies so as to ensure that the most educationally effective program possible is developed.

Finally, we support the Brief of Frontier College to this Committee, in its attempt to broaden the terms and applicability of the manpower schemes.

Consumer Education

The soaring cost of living has also made educators even more aware of the need for consumer education. The phrase, "The poor pay more", is sadly true, as factors such as their lack of market knowledge, lack of transportation, and need for credit result in more inefficient and costlier buying patterns than those of the better educated. The difficulty of keeping the poor informed about market conditions is only part of the problem. Perhaps more important are the means by which the poor will learn to help themselves.

We urge that

- 1) the Committee recommend to the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs that the Consumer Information Section of the Consumer Services and Information Branch co-operate with the poor in developing means of educating, publicizing, and policing consumer markets used by the poor.

We further recommend that

- 2) federal government technical and financial assistance in the development of consumer co-operatives and credit unions be greatly increased so that the poor might learn to share in the development and decision-making of their own financial institutions.

Housing Policies

A subject of increasing concern is that of housing. Adult educators are aware that important factors in the life of the poor man are found in his immediate physical environment. Educators who claim that they are interested only in the "education" of the poor are not only irresponsible but also ill-informed, for the environment from which an adult student comes and to which he returns daily has certain complex effects on his behaviour. Apparently, among the most important factors, is that of the quality of the accommodation he and his family share.

Today, with restricted urban renewal, an inadequate public housing program and an inflated private sector, the state of Canadian housing is reaching critical proportions. A 1968 study of housing conditions and life style of upper-lower and lower-middle class residents in Scarborough, Ontario, indicated substantial bedroom crowding of children, and an apparent relationship between educational and associational activity of parents and the closeness of community facilities. (8,10) A study in Baltimore found that housing quality affected school performance in that there was an apparent relationship between both the improved health and grade promotion rate of children who had moved from sub-standard to new accommodation. (24)

For many Indian people the housing situation is past crisis. A survey in 1962 revealed that 60% of the Indian families live in houses of three rooms or less compared to a national average of 11%. Further, only 44% of the Indian homes were provided with electricity, 13% with running water, and only 9% were serviced with sewers or septic tanks and 7% equipped with indoor baths. (16)

A Halifax study of 134 black families revealed that slightly more than half lived in overcrowded dwellings which were in need of major repair. Only 1/7 of the families had private toilet facilities while more than half of the families had neither private nor shared bathroom facilities. (20)

The housing crisis of which the middle class is just now aware has been with the poor always. We urge speedy and imaginative action. Attractive and functional housing for those on low income is available in countries such as Sweden. It is possible to have it here also.

We recommend that

- 1) the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation studies include more variables related to the educational needs of its clientele and specifically that it
- (a) develop pilot projects which conceive of public housing needs, with integrated facilities for day nurseries, continuing education and recreation
- (b) investigate further the effects of the macro-and micro-environment of housing upon learning behavior

- 2) the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs and the CMHC extend substantial financial and technical assistance to housing co-operatives.

V. Conclusion

The poverty sub-culture is a dynamic social system, not a static one. When we learn of apathy, indifference, and a sense of futility among the poor we do not always consider the powerful social forces which work to perpetuate poverty nor the mental conflict of the individual who is overwhelmed by his situation. Poverty must be fought on many fronts, simultaneously. We believe that measures aimed solely at ameliorating economic hardships without concomitant social-cultural intervention in the poverty cycle are doomed to failure. For instance, the implementation of a Guaranteed Annual Income, without the necessary auxiliary programs of a social, economic and educational nature, would merely create the illusion of change while the basic societal system and its poverty sub-system would undergo little, if any, fundamental change.

Further, if the poor are granted only token representation on any proposed agencies, and little or no real power, we urge that this be openly acknowledged and the reasons publicly stated. The poor have stated their skepticism and concern about the role of this Committee. Few, if any, of the membership of the CAAE are poor. However, we want this Committee to know that it can count on the support of the CAAE in recommending those fundamental and courageous changes necessary if this nation is to respond to the needs of the poor. The poor of Canada must have a choice and a chance.

VI. Summary of RecommendationsThe York Ethic, P. 5

We urge this Committee to recommend an investigation of the study assistance system for elementary and secondary students, and the study funds system for higher and adult education as practised in Sweden (19), and the possible extension of such a system into a student salary system for all adult participants in accredited institutions of continuous learning in Canada.

Communications and the Poor, P. 8

We therefore wish to emphasize the following recommendations:

- 1) that this Committee investigate and recommend the means by which communications research could be established to conduct a wide program of research on the problem of communication to and among the poor.
- 2) that the CBC develop means, in conjunction with the poor and interested associations, of broadcasting radio and television programs relevant to the poor and their problems.
- 3) that the National Film Board "Challenge for Change" program be greatly expanded and that further schemes be developed, in conjunction with the poor and the interested associations, relevant to the poor and their problems.

Adult Basic Education, P. 9

- 1) we urge this Committee to recommend to the CRTC that a public agency, Cable Canada, be developed as a means of extending cablevision on a public utility basis.
- 2) further, we urge that the CRTC rule that a reasonable proportion of time be allotted to informal education, including current events programs, consumer education and news of local community activity among the poor.
- 3) we hope that this Senate Committee will set an example for subsequent public bodies by disseminating reports intelligible to the poor and that

Summary of Recommendations

- 4) a first draft of any relevant written material might be circulated among the poor for comment and revision and that
- 5) a variety of media; film, radio, tape and television be used to report to the constituency involved -- the poor themselves.

Manpower Policies, P. 10

We recommend

- 1) that manpower policies become more flexible and more broadly defined so as to include persons of lower age, grade, and literacy levels.
- 2) the greater use of day release, and worker study leave (see Appendix B)
- 3) the establishment of eligibility and admission review boards composed of local citizens, including the poor.
- 4) a more coherent policy of teacher employment, coupled with continuous in-service training, be used to raise the morale and effectiveness of manpower educators.
- 5) continuous research, evaluation and experimentation be conducted in concert with other agencies so as to ensure that the most educationally effective program possible is developed.

Finally, we support the Brief of Frontier College to this Committee, in its attempt to broaden the terms and applicability of the manpower schemes.

Consumer Education, P. 13

We urge that

- 1) the Committee recommends to the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs that the Consumer Information Section of the Consumer Services and Information Branch co-operate with the poor in developing means of educating, publicizing and policing consumer markets used by the poor.

Summary of Recommendations

We further recommend that

- 2) federal government technical and financial assistance in the development of consumer co-operatives and credit unions be greatly increased so that the poor might learn to share in the development and decision making of their own financial institutions.

Housing Policies, P. 13

We recommend that

- 1) the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation studies include more variables related to the educational needs of its clientele and specifically that it
 - a) develop pilot projects which conceive of public housing needs, with integrated facilities for day nurseries, continuing education and recreation
 - b) investigate further the effects of the macro- and micro-environment of housing upon learning behaviour
- 2) the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs and the CMHC extend substantial financial and technical assistance to housing co-operatives

VII.

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APPENDIX BStudy Leave for Workers

1. Each employee has a right to study leave. "Employee" includes manual, factory, office, and clerical workers.
2. Study leave is the release of employees to enable them to take part in liberal and political studies and in vocational training, with full pay. Annual leave should not be affected.
3. Study leave is to be granted for (a) courses in political studies which encourage responsible social action; (b) vocational education; (c) training for tutors in adult education.
4. Courses should be conducted by recognized agencies for youth and adult education, for example, regional bodies of churches, employers' and employees' organizations, and agencies recognized by government departments.
5. Study leave should cover ten working days a year, after a post has been held for at least six months. Each course for which leave is granted must last at least five days.
6. To enable participation in longer courses, period of study leave may be transferred to a following year.
7. Applications for study leave can be refused for the period requested only if unusual demands of the firm or leave requirements of other employees must be taken into consideration.
8. If an employee falls ill during study leave, the necessary absence on medical authority will not be deducted from his authorized leave.
9. The wages payable during the study leave will be the average of the preceding thirteen weeks, and will be paid before departure for the course. If a wage increase takes place during the period of study leave it will be paid from the general date of the increase. If a wage reduction takes place the wage payable during the period of study leave shall remain unaffected.
10. Gainful employment must not be undertaken during a period of study leave.

Source: European Bureau of Adult Education, Notes and Studies, 41/42, February-March, 1969, cited in Convergence - An International Journal of Adult Education, Ed. J. R. Kidd, Toronto: OISE.

Source: European Bureau of Adult Education, Vol. II, No. 3, 1969,

APPENDIX B

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF CANADA
SUBMISSION TO
THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

PREFACE:

1. The Catholic Women's League of Canada, incorporated by Federal Charter on December 12, 1923, consists of approximately 135,000 members across Canada.
2. Among its objects, the League seeks to promote true ideals of Christian womanhood in home and family life, recognizes the human dignity of all people everywhere, and endeavours to form enlightened public opinion. Politically, The Catholic Women's League of Canada is non-partisan.
3. The intention of the National Executive to submit this brief has been well publicized to the entire membership, who were requested to let those responsible for the preparation of the brief have the benefit of their thinking, and this submission is representative of their collective opinion.
4. As will be noted on the inside front pages, the committee formed to prepare this brief was selected from all areas of Canada, and includes among its members several women heads of single parent families.

DEFINITION OF POVERTY

5. We would like at the outset to set forth the definition of poverty upon which this brief will be based.
6. Funk and Wagnall's dictionary (1963) defines poverty as "denoting a condition below that of easy comfortable living" or "the condition that relates to the absence or scarcity of requisite substance or elements". Under the same word poverty, we find synonyms such as beggary, destitution, distress, indigence, mendicancy, need, pauperism, penury, privation, want.

7. Poverty is a fact that is universal in its physical, spiritual and intellectual effect on human beings. It can be broken down into two aspects: material and psychological. It should be understood that these are not two separate entities, but integral parts of a whole. Thus, involved in the material aspect of poverty, is the lack of the basic necessities of life: food, shelter, clothing, medical and educational facilities. The psychological aspect of poverty refers to the pervasive negative attitude towards life and the possibilities it holds for the future of the individual, and the lack of means and incentive to combat this attitude.

8. "God intended the earth and all that it contains for the use of every human being and people the right to have a share of earthly goods sufficient for oneself and one's family belongs to everyone".¹

9. In the encyclical "Pacem in Terris" of His Holiness Pope John XXIII, we read, "We see that every man has the right to life, to bodily integrity and to the means which are necessary and suitable for the proper development of life. These are primarily food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care and finally the necessary social services. Therefore a human being also has the right to security in cases of sickness, inability to work, widowhood, old age, unemployment or in any other case in which he is deprived of the means of assistance through no fault of his own".²

It is our submission that when these rights are withheld, poverty exists.

GENERAL REMARKS

10. "To feel poverty is, among other things, to feel oneself an unwilling outsider - a virtual non-participant in the society in which one lives. The problem of poverty in developed industrial societies is increasingly viewed not as a sheer lack of essentials to sustain life, but as an insufficient access to

certain goods, services, conditions of life which are available to everyone else and have come to be accepted as basic to a decent, minimum standard of living".³

11. Information has been received from our members across the Dominion pointing out the regional differences and variations in poverty, referring to the lack of industrial development in the Maritimes, the glut of wheat in the Prairies, abandoned farms with dilapidated empty houses throughout many parts of rural Canada, and the poverty generated in the slum ghettos of large cities, which is often inherited by one generation from another. We submit that provision of more economic assistance is not the solution to these conditions, but rather that intensive study of the underlying causes should be undertaken.

12. Concern has been expressed for (a) the migration of rural people to urban areas; (b) the migration of families from small communities to the larger urban centres; (c) difficulties of those farmers who attempt to remain on the land working harder and longer with decreasing return for their efforts, but facing escalating costs of education, machinery, interest on bank loans, etc., often resulting in the refusal of boys to remain on the land; (d) the low average salaries in the Maritimes where the over-all cost of living is just as high as in other provinces, resulting in a denial of even minimal levels of health services, housing, nutritious food and education and the feeling that their poor do not have an equal opportunity to succeed; (e) areas where fishing and lumbering provide only seasonal employment; (f) lack of adequate low cost housing in both smaller areas and large urban centres; and (g) the fact that 31,000 children in inadequate housing in one large urban area alone ⁴ is breeding the possibility of thousands of delinquents in the future.

13. Numerous were the comments of members from many communities on the conditions under which Indians and Eskimos are presently living. Of interest is the fact that these comments came often

from those living far removed from centres of high indigenous population as well as the specific provinces where Indians and Eskimos live in larger numbers.

SCOPE OF THE BRIEF

14. Since the topic of poverty is of such broad scope, it is our intention to limit our presentation to "measures to assist women who are heads of families" whether deserted, divorced, separated, widowed, or unmarried mothers, living in Canada under conditions which fall within the above definitions of poverty, and we submit that frequently some aspect of poverty is the root cause of family breakdown.

15. A woman without a husband, the lone head of a household, suffers poverty in many more ways than lacking money for everyday living expenses. She suffers from the weight of responsibility on her shoulders; from loneliness; sometimes from guilt; from being "different" in a world geared to the family unit - a husband, wife and children; from being taken advantage of in many ways, knowing it and not being able to do anything about it; from being emotionally and physically exhausted.

16. It is estimated that there are 283,000 single female-head families in Canada at present.⁵

17. The Canadian Welfare Council's Social Policies for Canada state the position clearly: "The substantial number of one-parent families with female heads raises serious questions of economic and social disparity.This type of family is not a numerical oddity, and requires careful attention in Canadian social policies and objectives."⁶

18. In attempting to research this particular subject, it was found that material available was fragmented and only in publications dealing generally with the single-parent family. It would appear that a fuller knowledge and understanding of the problems facing women as heads of families is needed, and concrete steps

taken to solve them. This cannot be provided within the ability of an organization of volunteers such as ours, nor within the scope of this brief.

19. The problems of the single parent, particularly those living in large urban areas, are not fully known. The Welfare rolls and Social Agencies have some statistics and can give data on women served. As the group of "hidden-poor" exists, there is also the group of "hidden-single-parent" which constitutes part of the total group referred to as the "independent poor".

20. Organizations which have recently emerged speak for those articulate enough and sufficiently motivated to search out or found groups which can express their difficulties and find solutions. Such groups as the various Single-Parent Associations serve this function. No registry exists and many parents would resist being counted. The very pressure of being an "adequate parent", fulfilling the traditional role of the two-parent model - breadwinner and nurturer - prevents this.

21. The more concerned and conscientious may join groups; the hidden element struggle alone, with energies used in earning a living and child rearing and with no spokesman.

22. The categories of poverty for the general population encompass the single parent. The following statement from the Social Policies for Canada pinpoints their distinction: "A person is poverty-stricken when he is full of a deep sense of inequality and feels chronic exclusion and alienation from the wider society in which he lives".⁷

23. The single parent may fall, as well, into categories of crisis poverty due to temporary setbacks such as illness (their own or their children's) or inner-city poverty, since they would fall into the category of 50% of families headed by women who belong to the low-income class.⁸

24. The recent re-discovery and recognition of poverty or groups of poverty-risks indicates a concern for these families, and suggests that the services provided are inadequate for the needs. General public awareness of this is increasing. Bibliographies and books, conference themes and learned papers have emerged recently on the topic. On December 18, 1969, the Toronto Telegram headline "One-Parent Home Problem Grows" publicized the problem.

25. At the outset we therefore RECOMMEND that a Government-sponsored in-depth study be undertaken on 'Problems of Women Heads of Families', to discover the underlying causes of family breakdowns and means of providing assistance to the mothers of such families.

EFFECTS ON CHILDREN

26. It is our submission that the family, defined as "a stable union of man and woman together with their child or children" is the basic unit of Canadian society, and when this stability is threatened, its effects can be disastrous to this and future generations.

27. "The fact that the family is the most common economic unit in our society is often forgotten, and the importance to society of the family's economic viability is frequently not fully realized. If the potential abilities of members of the family remain undeveloped and unused, the family members may not only become virtual nonparticipants in the nation's social and economic life, but also a continuing burden on the society".⁹

28. The biblical proverb "The rich man's wealth is his stronghold, poverty is the poor man's undoing"¹⁰ is probably the clearest reason why children from the fatherless welfare family face a 90% higher chance of becoming delinquent than children who grow up in either middle class or two-parent families.¹¹ Only one out of eight "poor" children completes high school, or less; yet if they were to become university graduates, only 1% would ever require rehabilitation or preventative welfare of any kind.¹²

29. The following is quoted verbatim from the submission of a mother in receipt of welfare and raising her family without assistance from her husband:

30. "The children whose father has deserted them and will not pay for their support are mainly the ones I can speak for, having lived in these conditions, and have lived among these children.Before the father left,they have.....been subjected in most cases to mental, verbal, emotional, and possibly physical abuse for a varying amount of time.They are therefore left with a negative father image, and a poor image of men in general. The contact is mainly with the mother until about the age of six, when they enter school and are taught by women teachers throughout elementary school. Every child should have some idea of what a decent man is like, to pattern their own lives after, or else they are in a quandary about what the roles of a man are. Often as many welfare children are forced through economic repression to live in slums and ghettoes, the "big man" is the successful criminal and the man to fear and hate is the policeman and the social worker.

31. "The majority of teachers seem to either consciously or unconsciously assume that children from broken welfare homes will be problematic, and tend to treat these children differently....Then usually at a later date, hostility and rebellion against the teacher results.

"Welfare children, never having had the opportunity of material or cultural enrichment find it extremely difficult to relate to a curriculum geared always toward the white collar, happy, well-balanced ideal family unit depicted in almost all primary school work. Things, taken completely for granted in an affluent society - car rides, vacations, picnics, zoos, nice fathers, new clothes, new Christmas toys, are completely foreign to children who have never had these advantages. By way of T.V., the news media, and other children they see how some people live, and, as they see these normal things always kept just beyond their grasp, they become frustrated and hostile.

Often they feel, and quite rightly so, that society does not want to accept them. They will fight back.....not by getting a good education unfortunately, but by stealing or becoming a delinquent in their search for attention, thereby jeopardizing their entire lives. The schools I have seen in slum areas are almost unanimously old and run down, lacking good libraries and recreational facilities.....although it is only common sense that the poorest children are in need of the most enrichment.

32. "In my province, the welfare department does not adequately feed or clothe our children. There is nothing provided for recreational expenses, books, Christmas presents, fees or equipment for.....sports or scouts, etc. If the child were to be abandoned by his mother, and made a ward of the court, up to \$85.00 per month would be paid for a foster home by the welfare department. According to the scale, a nine year old boy is allotted \$21.40 for food per month, \$9.30 for clothing, and \$6.00 family allowance. The total is \$36.70. From a monetary point of view, it is clear that the mother who would abandon her children, would benefit the child. It is not unusual for the parent to do this - not from malice nor lack of parental concern or love, but from the grim statistics that their children will have the opportunity of not only having two foster parents, but more than double his food and clothing allowance. This seems incredible.

33. "Young people from grade seven up must use large (about 10" x 14") triplicate forms to purchase their books and other needed supplies for school. It is not uncommon for their social status to be clearly announced over the P.A. system. 'All welfare students are reminded to come to the office for their vouchers at 3:30'. The average young student will not get up and be humiliated in front of his friends and teachers, but if he does he is not yet finished. He must have this large voucher filled and signed by the teacher or principal, then go to the department stores to have the order filled and signed by the department manager. This creates extra paper work and time, and often the harried teachers

and clerks take out their anger by insulting the young student. This is another incredible and expensive lack of concern, as the youngster, rather than face humiliation, ostracization, and/or verbal abuse by his teacher and peer group, will often drop out of school. It follows of course that he is now a high school drop-out, unskilled in any trade and therefore with no future in the labour market. With time on their hands, few friends, a poor home environment and no money or job, these kids often get into trouble. He is then, of course, back to where he started, on some type of welfare. (Note: The facts set out in this paragraph are not isolated examples. See Economic Council 6th Annual Review, p.118)

34. "It is at about this time the welfare department will step in to "rehabilitate" the young teenager.....Retraining courses, hairdressing, barbering, etc. are given, some counselling, proper clothing, and spending money is allotted.The young person by this time is usually too bitter...confused and disillusioned to cooperate or benefit from any program. This isa waste of the tax dollar, when a few years earlier the same tax dollar could have kept the young poor out of trouble. From past experience, welfare departments must have known that they should have started remedial aid to help the entire family at an earlier date, before the psychological damage was almost irreparable.

"Possibly the most important recommendation I could make would be to suggest to let the child become involved in his own fate. Far too often, "experts" try to guide, police and watch the welfare child's family. As a welfare mother of seven children I know that people on welfare are just as intelligent, just as sensitive, just as "human" as anyone else.If we were receiving our support cheques directly from our husbands, society would not feel that we needed to be watched, and this causes a lot of misunderstanding and resentments within the family."

35. While the foregoing is quoted from a personal experience and details vary from province to province, it nonetheless demonstrates the fundamental effects on children who are often shunned by a thoughtless society and who therefore risk becoming the welfare generation of tomorrow. We submit that continuation of poverty in a country as wealthy as Canada, with its long-term effects, is expensive in the long view, and Canadians have a moral obligation to future generations.

36. While recognizing that provision of welfare does not solve the problem, we nevertheless RECOMMEND that benefit coverage should be extended in all provinces to include items essential to an adequate standard of living, related to the cost of living in the province.

37. Young people from poverty-welfare environment often suffer emotional distresses, which, if treated, could hopefully be overcome, allowing the youth to become a happy well-adjusted citizen. The amount varies from province to province, but as much as \$35.00 per day is being paid to institutions for the care of emotionally disturbed youngsters, often from welfare families. We therefore RECOMMEND a greater development and collaboration of community services involving public welfare departments, schools, hospitals, and the Canadian Mental Health Association in the promotion of an increasing number of group therapy facilities to establish a total health service.

38. A weekly outing, with a man or senior student who would act as a substitute father, is vital to the child on welfare whose male image is negative. We therefore RECOMMEND that whatever assistance is necessary be given to organizations such as the Big Brother Movement to provide this very essential service.

INDIANS AND ESKIMOS

39. We submit that basically the poverty that affects the Indian and Eskimo woman is no different from that which affects women of other ethnic groups in Canada. It is inherent in our position that all people have the same basic needs. We understand that

the loneliness, depression, and despair that so often are the companions of women who are suffering from unfulfilled needs - material, spiritual or emotional - are the same for Indian, Eskimo, Negro or White.

40. However, because at least 81% of the indigenous population share the stresses of poverty, the problem is compounded in that it is very difficult for a native woman to see a way out of her position, or even to find another native individual living in the depressed area who has accomplished some improvement in her standard of living and sets an example by showing what can be done. Added to the basic problems of poverty are the grave injustices which have been and are still being done to all native people by the systematic undermining and belittling of their cultural history, their customs and languages.

41. Most often the native woman shoulders her responsibilities alone, for any of a multitude of reasons. Their way of life demands that men be absent from the home to go elsewhere to find work and they cannot afford to take their families with them. They hunt or trap; they are sent away for training, often creating a gap between her experience and that of her husband when he does return; patients requiring hospitalization usually must be sent away from their own areas. Frequently the burden the native man carries becomes unbearable and he gives up; it is the woman who is left to cope with the on-going family problems.

42. The average life expectancy of an Indian woman in Canada is 25 years, and the infant mortality rate among Eskimos is more than 10 times the infant death rate for the population as a whole.¹³ It is unrealistic therefore to assume that all women in Canada today are given the same opportunity to achieve a decent standard of living, for themselves and their children. Beyond the cares the native woman has for herself and her family are the difficulties she faces in a society which considers her and her people at the bottom of the heap in every way - not only in an economic, educational and physical health sense, but also in the sense of social, moral and individual worth.

Special Senate Committee

43. The following are some specific RECOMMENDATIONS for changing the situation in which the indigenous woman in Canada finds herself today. It must be emphasized that all of these recommendations are considered urgent and should be carried out without imposing the standards of the white man and in consultation with the people involved - both the native woman and the institutions.

- (1) While material help is necessary and important, it is submitted that more emphasis is needed in individual counselling of women heads of families and their children, and that this personal service should be the main part of the program;
- (2) More possibilities for education and job training for women heads of families while receiving assistance with fees and living costs, and the establishment of convenient day care and/or homemaking services;
- (3) Motivation provided by the Indian Affairs Branch towards the involvement in various community activities to encourage contact with other people, such as workshops providing self-help for women in caretaker systems. These educational workshops could deal with the causes of poverty, and the psychology of women enmeshed in the situation.

44. The members of our committee charged with obtaining information on poverty among the indigenous families headed by a woman alone have compiled many examples which illustrate not only this situation but also the difficulties of the native poor generally, and in some instances the plight of poverty-stricken families whether Indian, Eskimo or White. While it is outside the scope of the brief, we felt that these cases might be of interest to your committee and have included them as an addendum.

UNMARRIED MOTHERS

45. There is a need for growing reality of specific vulnerable groups as poverty-risks. There is some evidence that unmarried mothers are retaining their children. While this acknowledgment of her responsibility may be a desirable trend, it does require corresponding acceptance by the community of the necessity to meet the special needs of these one-parent families.

46. In one particular province the number of unmarried mothers has increased by 10% per year in the last ten years despite the general decline in the birth rate, indicating a general increase in the problem. In this same province, 30.9% of women receiving Mothers; Allowance in urban centres are mothers of children born out of wedlock.¹⁴

47. We RECOMMEND that maternity benefits, including hospital care, be provided under the Medicare Plan in those provinces where these benefits are not now covered.

DESERTION AND MAINTENANCE OF FAMILIES

48. One topic which was suggested frequently by our members for inclusion in this brief was that of the deserting father. Another was the difficulty of enforcing judgments when the deserting father moves from one province to another. On these subjects the comments were not dealing in generalities, but citing cases all across Canada of which members had personal knowledge. Often separated and unmarried mothers run into problems when endeavouring to establish eligibility for General Welfare Assistance, Mothers' Allowance and Supplementary Aid.

49. It is submitted that the Federal Government authorities should investigate more closely the problem of the man who leaves his family thereby creating a financial burden for his wife and/or the community. Consideration should be given to laws on a Federal basis which would allow these fathers to be traced either through their income tax returns or through their Social Security numbers.

50. It is RECOMMENDED that within the Department of Justice a branch be established to which any court in the land which orders support for a mother and family, whether through separation, divorce or desertion, would submit the name and Social Security number of the father, along with the amount of monthly payments and the location of the family concerned. This would allow the deserting father to be traced and appropriate collection proceedings taken.

51. It is further RECOMMENDED that the law be amended to make it mandatory that irresponsible fathers who desert their families be forced to contribute to the support of this family until all children are of age to support themselves, and, as a deterrent to establishing a second family, legally or illegally, the first family should supersede any other families.

52. Court enforcement procedures employed as a qualification for welfare, places the onus of proving need on the mother, already physically and emotionally burdened. It is submitted that this requirement should be relaxed.

53. It is submitted that some consideration be given to families who are attempting to become established financially after difficult years, and it is therefore RECOMMENDED that a study be made of the possibility of income taxes being pro-rated over a five to ten year period. While this has a general application, it would be of particular benefit to the deserted woman struggling to raise her family.

DAY CARE CENTRES

54. Because the need for day care centres was so consistently voiced in the opinions submitted to our committee, it was decided to treat this topic as a separate heading.

55. In many instances the mother of the family suddenly becomes its head and must seek employment, and often retraining, if she and her dependents are to exist without becoming a liability by going on welfare. If she has small children, the burden of caring

for them while she works must be eased. The pre-schoolers need care all day, and other children need care at lunch time and after school.

56. Day care is a service for any child who is threatened with neglect during any part of the day. The service is needed by many millions of children from homes that are well-to-do and homes that are poverty stricken, from homes that are broken or disrupted in communities that are urban, suburban, or rural.

At times it is felt that the child needing actual home environment should be cared for in her own home and this day care service is provided where a day care mother looks after the pre-school children in their own home all day, and the school-age children after school.

57. The need for day care service by mothers who must work and those who require re-training prior to work is so obvious that it will probably be included in every brief presented to this committee. The demand for the service is so consistent that provision of an extensive day care centre service is considered to be one of the most urgent requests of our organization.

It is clearly established that there is a shortage of day care facilities throughout the country and competent help for the in-home care is almost impossible to secure, even in emergency situations, particularly within the means of the female head of a family on welfare, or living on a minimal salary.

58. With the aid now being offered by the Canada Assistance Act, it is RECOMMENDED that municipalities be encouraged to set up day care centres, and those which already have them be encouraged to increase the number. Industries might provide nursery accommodation for small children whose mothers work in their factories, and indeed it is possible that many of the mothers concerned could be given training and find employment in the care of these children, whether in home or in established centres. (See also 65(b))

GENERAL WELFARE ASSISTANCE

59. Untrained women heads of families are every day finding it more and more difficult to cope with the high cost of living

especially if solely subsidized by the government. To remedy some of the multi-problems confronting women heads of families, it is imperative that existing government benefits be updated to meet present day needs.

60. We submit that the recipient of such benefits should be given every incentive to work and not be penalized if she seeks employment to supplement her allowance. This could be the means by which she could retain her dignity, allowing her to purchase much needed household equipment or repairs to her home.

61. In 1963 a joint study (by the departments of Public Welfare of the Province of Ontario and the City of Toronto) of Long Term Assistance Families was undertaken, and it was proved effectively in a demonstration project that families can be moved to independence and improved circumstances through concentrated services. "Of 100 long-term assistance families, 21 found continuing employment, 21 others also left the municipal rolls and in 54 of the remaining cases some definite benefit was experienced."¹⁵

62. It is therefore RECOMMENDED that current government programs and policies should be improved to cope more effectively with the problems of women heads of families living in poverty in Canada by

- (a) more re-training and rehabilitation programs for untrained welfare mothers, and
- (b) provision of supplementary income or greater tax exemption for baby-sitting costs, thus providing more motivation to self-support for working mothers with inadequate incomes.

Such programs would eventually benefit all Canadians since the number of welfare recipients would be decreased by a sizeable number.

63. Greater emphasis placed on the importance of family life through pre-marriage courses would be an asset in prevention of future broken homes because adolescents would be better prepared for marriage. Many young people today have not learned home

management, how to handle family finances, basic child care, etc., with the result that they have difficulty maintaining a good family relationship after marriage, and for a substantial number of young people these difficulties become serious to the point of requiring appearance in court. We therefore re-affirm a resolution passed at our 1969 National convention RECOMMENDING to the Departments of Education of the Provinces of Canada a serious study of the possibility of implementing such a course of study in the two grades prior to the legal age for leaving school. Such courses as these would assist young people in acquiring the knowledge and understanding of themselves and others needed to make intelligent decisions now and in the future, and could only benefit the social structures of our country.

64. Since opportunities for self improvement are vital emotionally and culturally to women heads of families, an educational program for small groups of women who intellectually and socially consider themselves misfits in larger organized community groups would be greatly beneficial. We therefore submit that every encouragement, including grants if necessary, be given to volunteer organizations such as Parents Without Partners and Single Parents Associated in their efforts to provide such programs.

65. It is further submitted that projects and programs be undertaken at the local government level to assist sole support mothers through assistance to them as consumers of goods rather than of services. This group falls within the definition of poverty in that over 70% and often as high as 100% of income is spent on subsistence items of food, shelter and clothing. Instruction in purchasing techniques, budgeting and nutrition, as well as homemaking skills, is often required. This kind of training has been proven valuable by projects undertaken in Metro Toronto in 1969.

- (a) Groups which require attention in this category include those in-migrant women and immigrant women who have hopefully followed the fathers of their children to the large urban centres. These women

are doubly disadvantaged due to cultural barriers and/or language barriers and for them the new way of life in a large urban area is complex and confusing. In the City of Toronto a successful project was undertaken with the Settlement Houses to educate immigrant welfare mothers in homemaking skills. It is our submission that this kind of program should be continued and expanded.

- (b) In the West Central area the Department of Public Welfare, in cooperation with George Brown Community College, used a mobile van equipped as a classroom to involve those women on welfare who sought re-training. The course offered prepared them to operate day-care centres by providing training in child care management, and served the dual purpose of personal education and training for employment.

66. Since the cost of living has constantly increased in the last 18 years and personal exemptions for income tax purposes do not adhere to this factor, we again urgently RECOMMEND to the Federal Government the consideration of an increase in the basic exemption under the Federal Income Tax Act from the present \$1,000 to \$2,000, thereby giving assistance to those Canadians in the low income bracket. This provision would be of particular assistance to the woman head of a family on a minimal income.

HOUSING

67. Adequate low cost housing was consistently requested, often demanded, by our members who submitted opinions for this brief. Pressure for the single parent to find low cost adequate shelter is an additional financial strain. Indeed, inadequate housing has been given as the reason in some instances for the breakdown of the family structure.

68. The Catholic Women's League of Canada has repeatedly expressed its concern for the welfare of the family, pointing out the right of all Canadians to the fundamental essentials of food, clothing and shelter through resolutions to the Federal Government in 1967 and 1968,

and now reaffirms these RECOMMENDATIONS in this brief, as follows:

- (1) We RECOMMEND that legislation be enacted immediately to permit home owners to deduct mortgage interest payments from their income for the compilation of income tax; and
- (2) We further RECOMMEND that the National Housing Act be extended to allow for a program of rental supplements to families living in rented accommodation other than public housing.

This latter program was demonstrated successfully in a project undertaken in the City of Toronto in 1966 when 54 families, accounting for over 200 children, were accommodated for a year for \$20,000.¹⁶ Our organization undertook responsibility for an additional 2 families under this program, thereby preventing the disruption of the lives of 15 children for the period of the project.

69. Presently in one large urban area, where a housing crisis exists, nearly three years is required from the initiation of a housing project to its completion. A plan must pass a total of 52 desks in the three levels of Government before it is approved for construction.¹⁷ Steps should be taken to streamline this procedure with a view to providing adequate reasonably priced homes for more Canadians in the shortest period of time. This could be facilitated by amending antiquated municipal building by-laws to permit new and cheaper methods of construction, using modern and more economic materials.

CONCLUSION

70. There are more than sufficient resources in Canada at this precise moment to change the many faces of poverty. If, while definitions and causes are being studied, Canadians are hungry, without shelter and clothing, it is indeed imperative that each of us, in whatever position of influence, power and authority, after considering well the problem, say sincerely:

Special Senate Committee

"I am only one, but I am one.

I can't do everything but I can do something.

What I can do I ought to do,

And by the grace of God, what I ought to do I will do.

'Let me do it while I can.

No delay, for it is plain

I shall not pass this way again'" Anon

All of which is respectfully submitted

THE CATHOLIC WOMEN'S LEAGUE OF CANADA

REFERENCES

1. Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World,
Chapter III, Paragraph 69.
2. Pacem in Terris, I:II
3. Economic Council of Canada, Fifth Annual Review 1968
p. 104-105
4. The Housing Dilemma, 1969, by Robert B. Bradley,
former Director, Toronto Housing Authority
5. Social Policies for Canada, Part 1. A Statement by the
Canadian Welfare Council, January 1969 p.11
6. Ibid.
7. Social Policies for Canada, Part 1. A Statement by the
Canadian Welfare Council, January 1969 p.13
8. Economic Council of Canada, Fifth Annual Review, 1968, page 118
9. The Economic Council of Canada, 6th Annual Review, 1969, p.117
10. Proverbs 10:15
11. Research done in Toronto, Ontario, 1968
12. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Special Labour Force Study,
Educational Attainment in Canada; Some Regional and Social
Aspects #7. Cat. #71-512 Occasional p.p. 18-19
13. The Economic Council of Canada, 5th Annual Review, p. 121
14. Health and Welfare Services in Canada 1968. A publication
of the Department of National Health and Welfare; prepared
for the Canada Year Book.
15. Long Term Assistance Families, A Demonstration Project, page 36,
published by the Ontario Department of Public Welfare, 1964.
16. The Housing Dilemma, 1969 by Robert B. Bradley
17. Ibid.

In this brief the following RECOMMENDATIONS for the assistance of women, heads of families are respectfully submitted:

- 1.....that a Government-sponsored in-depth study be undertaken on "Problems of Women Heads of Families" to discover the underlying causes of family breakdowns and means of providing assistance to the mothers of such families;
- 2.....that benefit coverage should be extended in all provinces to include items essential to an adequate standard of living, related to the cost of living in the province;
- 3.....a greater development and collaboration of community services involving public welfare departments, schools, hospitals and the Canadian Mental Health Association in the promotion of an increasing number of group therapy facilities to establish a total health service;
- 4.....that whatever assistance is necessary be given to organizations such as the Big Brother Movement to provide this very essential service;
- 5.....(a) more emphasis placed in individual counselling of indigenous women heads of families and their children
 - (b) more possibilities for education and job training while receiving assistance with fees and living costs
 - (c) Motivation provided by the Indian Affairs Branch towards involvement in various community activities to encourage contact with other people, such as workshops providing self-help for women in care-taker systems.
- 6.....maternity benefits, for unmarried mothers, including hospital care, be provided under the Medicare Plan in those provinces where these benefits are not now covered;
- 7.....within the Department of Justice, a branch be established to which any court in the land which orders support for a mother and family, would submit the name and Social Security number of the father, along with the amount of monthly payments and the location of the family concerned;
- 8.....that the law be amended to make it mandatory that irresponsible fathers who desert their families be forced to contribute to the support of this family until all children are of age to support themselves, and as a deterrent to establishing a second family, legally or illegally, the first family should supersede any other families;
- 9.....that a study be made of the possibility of income taxes being pro-rated over a five to ten year period;
- 10.....that municipalities be encouraged to set up day care centres, and those which already have them be encouraged to increase the number:
- 11.....that current government programs and policies should be improved to cope more effectively with the problems of women heads of families by (a) more re-training and rehabilitation programs for untrained welfare mothers and (b) provision of supplementary income or greater tax exemption for baby-sitting costs, thus providing more motivation to self-support for working mothers with inadequate incomes;

- 12.....to the Departments of Education of the Provinces of Canada a serious study of the possibility of implementing such a course of study (pre-marriage courses in home management and child care etc.) in the two grades prior to the legal age for leaving school;
- 13.....to the Federal Government the consideration of an increase in the basic exemption under the Federal Income Tax Act from the present \$1000 to \$2000;
- 14.....(a) that legislation be enacted immediately to permit home owners to deduct mortgage interest payments from their income for the compilation of income tax; and

(b) that the National Housing Act be extended to allow for a program of rental supplements to families living in rental accommodation other than public housing.

ADDENDUM

The information which follows is quoted from reports of two committee members whose work is with the Indian, Metis and Eskimo population of their communities.

1. In the Provincial Government's C-12 report, issued in 1967 for the north-eastern section of Alberta, we find that out of 757 houses surveyed, 627 or 82.8% lacked any modern conveniences. 300 of these houses were one-room dwellings and 179 were two room dwellings, indicating that 63.1% are substandard on the basis of space available alone.

2. A survey was carried out at Kikino Metis Colony in 1967 by the Human Resources Development Authority. Of the adult female population, only 22.9% had more than primary education, compared to the provincial average of 56%.

3. Looking at the admissions to correctional institutions in one province, 74% of all female prisoners are of native descent.

4. All of these matters are more difficult to cope with by the woman who is the one to shoulder responsibility for the entire family.

5. In order to promote greater understanding, some specific examples of the difficulties encountered by the indigenous woman and her children in Canada today are listed, as reported to one of our committee members during her interviews researching this submission.

- (1) Attention was called to an article in the Edmonton Journal of December 13, 1969: To quote a book written for children and given to this writer when he was young - "The Red Indians were fierce and cruel howling savages". Nothing was said about Caucasian savages who slaughtered Indians, not in isolated incidents, but more or less as a matter of policy.
- (2) An Indian woman reports: (a) that she studied the reactions of children watching television, and then play acting. The Indian children all wanted to be the cowboy - no one wanted to be the Indian; and (b) "At an Indian hostel where part of our recreation (for 67 students) was movies, I have seen students hostile and emotionally and physically sick after being shown a movie that degraded the Indian and left no room to believe that the Indian people had contributed anything except cruelty, treachery, murder, etc."; and (c) "In the encounter with Indian teenagers who are disturbed I find it takes a long time to help the person to think in a positive manner about his or her future. 'My mother doesn't read or write' and 'What's the use - I'm Indian and I just can't make it'."
- (3) Eskimo culture is not downgraded by the mass media in the same way as that of the Indian, but the Eskimo person is still often treated as a less than human representative of a primitive group. The well publicized stereotype of the Eskimo is one of a cheerful gnome,

industrious, and in some mysterious manner endowed with mechanical genius. This does not allow the Eskimo to be an individual human being with his own personality traits.

- (4) Eskimo children are still sent away to residential schools or to schools in southern Canada where they live the white man's way and learn nothing of Eskimo traditions, or even respect for Eskimo culture. It is reported that one boy returned home after his year at school and refused to go hunting with his father, to eat food from the land, to wear clothes his mother made for him, or speak his own language. How difficult to bridge a generation gap already wide enough, when the mother speaks scanty English and the child no Eskimo.

6. Further examples in specific communities are the following:

- (a) "In one community a major problem is welfare. A report says, "some of our people don't get enough welfare to feed a chicken". A woman with two small children, who asked for a clothing order, was told to go out and work. Even if there was work, should a mother with two small kids go to work? She applied to keep boarders who were taking up-grading courses. She was told she lived too far from the school: three blocks!! What kind of nonsense is this? Another mother with small children got a clothing order. The Welfare told her they would deduct, this amount from her monthly cheque at the rate of \$25 per month until it was paid back. This will leave her with only \$100 a month, of which she pays \$60 for rent and \$20 for fuel. Also, they would like to see something done about hospitalization. It is too much for the Indian and Metis families to pay.
- (b) "Houses need to be modernized. Many homes (government built) look nice on the outside. Enter one and you will see a home with no power, no running water, no toilet facilities - wood-burning stoves for cooking and heat, and walls so thin you could put your fist through with little effort.Kerosene and coal oil lamps are a novelty in a city, but in most Indian-Metis homes they are a necessity. Have you ever enjoyed the morning routine of entering your own bathroom? Well, one should be as lucky as the Northern Indian and natives who rise and in winter receive the bonus of tingling fresh air, a jaunty morning walk and outdoor plumbing like that of the first white settlers.

"Some general explanations are given within the Indian and Metis community today concerning their health conditions. The foods on which the Indians once lived are no longer available, or at the very least, difficult to acquire. Protein-rich game and fish resources, the nutritious wild plants, greens, nuts, fruits are depleted. The introduction of European foods into these formerly balanced ecological systems removed game sources, diverted or reduced water supplies, and provided as replacements are the staples available on market shelves, most often at considerable distances from Reservations. The substitution of white flour for the staple acorn meal, made inroads upon health and resistance to disease, according

to medical practitioners in pediatrics and dietetics. Another major cause of disease currently, is that proper medical care is not available to the Indian people, particularly those in the rural areas and on or near Reservations."

7. It was suggested by these committee members that existing controls be enforced in the mass media concerning programming or publication of materials that are derogatory or defamatory to the Indian and Eskimo culture and people, and that emphasis be given in the education of all Canadians in an understanding of how the present situation developed, with increasing efforts through the activities of the Indian Affairs Branch to develop a sense of wider horizons for the individual Indian and Eskimo woman, head of a family.

8. Over two hundred thousand Indian Canadians - the descendants of our original inhabitants - now live outside the main stream of their native country. They are deprived of the social justice, human dignity, and the equality of opportunity which other twentieth century Canadians claim as their heritage.

9. Our organization supports the following recommendation of The Economic Council of Canada, published in its 5th Annual Review (page 124):

It would also appear useful to initiate an immediate study of federal and provincial legislation and administrative practices affecting native peoples. Two main objects of such a study would be to avoid allowing compelling needs to remain unmet because they fall between jurisdictions, and to identify instances where existing aid programs are not well-adapted to meeting the particular problems of Indian reservations and similar areas.

And we further trust that an immediate survey will be conducted of health conditions and medical needs both as scientifically determined and as defined by the Indian community at large.

The foregoing is respectfully submitted in the hope that it will be of some assistance to the Committee in its investigation of over-all poverty in Canada.

The Catholic Women's League of Canada.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 25

THURSDAY, MARCH 5, 1970.

WITNESSES:

ONTARIO WELFARE COUNCIL: Mr. Trevor Pierce, Executive Director; Mr. J. H. Craigs, Member of Executive Committee and Board of Directors.

APPENDIX

"A"—A brief submitted by the Ontario Welfare Council.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche,</i> <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, March 5, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), (*Deputy-Chairman*) in the Chair; Carter, Fergusson, Inman, Lefrançois, MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (9)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

ONTARIO WELFARE COUNCIL:

Mr. Trevor Pierce, Executive Director

Mr. J. H. Craigs, Member of Executive Committee and Board of Directors.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

The brief submitted by the Ontario Welfare Council was ordered to be printed as appendix "A".

At 10.45 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, March 10, 1970, at 9.00 a.m. in Toronto.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,

Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mr. Trevor Pierce: Executive Director, Ontario Welfare Council, 22 Davisville Avenue, Toronto 7, Ontario. Graduate, University of Wales in Social Science.

Mr. J. H. Craigs: Welfare Director, Ontario Federation of Labour, 15 Gervais Drive, Don Mills, Ontario. Member of Executive Committee and Board of Directors of the Ontario Welfare Council. Member of the Board of Directors, Family Service Association of the Metropolitan Toronto.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, March 5, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9 a.m.

Senator Edgar Fournier (*Deputy Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Deputy Chairman: Members of the committee, as you know, the chairman, Senator Croll, is in Toronto today. I shall do my best to keep the meeting going in the right direction.

We are privileged this morning to have with us two gentlemen from the Ontario Welfare Council. On my immediate right is Mr. Trevor Pierce, who is the Executive Director of the Ontario Welfare Council. He is a graduate of the University of Wales in Social Science.

Next to Mr. Pierce is Mr. J. H. Craigs, the Welfare Director of the Ontario Federation of Labour. He is a member of the Executive Committee and the Board of Directors of the Ontario Welfare Council, and also a member of the Board of Directors of the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto.

Gentlemen, we shall not ask you to read your brief because it has already been read and studied by the members of the committee, but perhaps you would give us a resumé and a brief history of your organization, after which you will be open to questions from the committee.

Mr. Trevor Pierce, Executive Director, Ontario Welfare Council: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators. It is a privilege for us also to be here to meet with you and offer some of our thinking on behalf of the Ontario Welfare Council. I should like to take just a few minutes, if I may, to highlight some of the concerns that we have.

It is important, perhaps, to make clear the context in which we appear here. As a voluntary provincial organization in Ontario our experience is inevitably related to this province, but perhaps some of this experience might be useful to you.

We should like to make reference to the fact that during the past year at our provincial conference and annual meeting we invited for the first time in our history—and we are over 60 years old as an organization—consumers of the social services, people in receipt of public assistance and the working poor, as well as professionals who are concerned with the administration of services, volunteers from a variety of voluntary organizations concerned with human need in the province, and representatives of the provincial and municipal governments, to talk in general about the social need in Ontario. In order to focus discussion we had at that conference four workshop sessions over a three-day period, where these kinds of people were able to discuss with each other ways and means of improving services, identifying need, and so on. These workshops focused on poverty, housing, Indians and youth.

The Deputy Chairman: When did that take place?

Mr. Pierce: This took place in May, 1969. We were surprised, in fact overwhelmed by the response to our invitation for this variety of participants to attend our conference. Their interest was such that at our annual meeting, which took place on the last day of our conference, it was decided that the traditional method of electing members to the board of directors was challenged. We accepted nominations from the floor and four recipients of service were elected in a democratic fashion to our board. Our experience with the participation of these people on our board of directors and committees since that time has been very helpful.

We would like to emphasize that there is some experience in trying to bring together those who have special needs but have not, generally speaking, had an opportunity to participate in discussion of the policies and programs that affect their lives. Another point to which attention should be drawn and which is implicit in the material that we have sent out is that as a provincial organization our main concern is to endeavour to influence

public social policy in Ontario. This involves not only our broad membership, but communities and people across Ontario. In this context we draw on the experience not only of the voluntary organizations, but also that of governments at different levels.

One of the concerns very clearly expressed by a variety of people at our conference was repeated in our brief to the provincial government, which was presented to the Minister of Social and Family Services at the end of January. It is essentially the same brief as we have submitted to this committee. We are concerned about jurisdictional problems in connection with those of poverty. There is a tendency for governments at different levels to see the weaknesses in other areas. There are jurisdictional problems connected with the involvement of the federal Government, largely in the area of cost sharing. This is particularly so far a municipality which in Ontario has the responsibility of administering the General Welfare Assistance Act. This is mandatory on the municipality yet the municipal Government has limited opportunity to make decisions as to what it can do or cannot do. There are some real problems in this jurisdictional area, where the responsibilities of different levels of government tend to create conflict and impede progress in the development of social policy and programs.

Another point which is implicit in our brief is that while we refer to the social welfare programs which are related to a variety of categories of citizens in need, most of these programs require an eligibility test before individuals can benefit from them. We are concerned about the fact that the working poor are denied service very often because they do not qualify under the variety of categorical programs. We are fully aware that this point has been made several times, but our concern is in relation to bringing together the variety of interests in the Province of Ontario. One example of this occurred at our provincial conference last May, where we tried to bring people together for similar purposes in relation to the implementation of the Canada Assistance Plan in Ontario. We have organized meetings across the province in different localities each time, instead of having them at one focal point. These meetings were arranged in municipalities and the experience was different in each. We not only invited the social agencies, both voluntary and public, but elected representatives of the people at the municipal, provincial and federal levels.

The recipients of service and the working poor came to discuss their reaction to the Plan and how it might best be implemented in Ontario. One of the conclusions derived from the meetings is that there is a tremendous amount of ignorance concerning responsibilities and relationships, not only in the area of government, but in that of the relationship between voluntary agencies and public departments, whether they be municipal, provincial or federal.

There are also attitudes towards poverty and the responsibility of the individual for his own well-being. As a result of these meetings we found that these attitudes towards the poor, those who are really unable and unwilling to accept responsibility, do not appear in one particular segment of society. We discovered, for instance, that even amongst the poor themselves there was evidence of an attitude towards other poor, particularly the working poor. We found that there is a tremendous need for discussion and dialogue involving this type of people.

This is the first time that we have been able to bring together in Ontario a federal member of Parliament and a provincial legislator in an open session where the public are present, followed by more limited sessions where administrators of welfare service talked to recipients. In referring to the involvement of people, we are as concerned with providing an opportunity for the silent—I do not know whether these are the silent majority or the silent minority—but, as I am sure we are all aware, there has been a strong trend towards groups of citizens who are taking an aggressive and active interest in their own affairs trying to influence public policy. We have had individuals from these groups within our own organization, but we are concerned that we should also invite the less vocal to discuss their problems. We hope to be able to continue this educational process so that a greater variety of people, at least in our province—we hope that this might be reflected across the country—will have a better understanding of the problems arising from jurisdictional responsibilities and of the nature of poverty and human need, and will be able to find ways of overcoming some of these difficulties, to relieve poverty and need with a variety of innovative programs.

Mr. Chairman, those are the main points that I wanted to make as a general background. We have not set out to document this in statistical terms. First of all, we do not

have the resources to do it, and we felt our main concern as a voluntary provincial organization was to pinpoint some of the kinds of problems we have illustrated. We would be very happy to elaborate on any of these points, and I am sure that Mr. Craigs would, from his vast experience, be able to add to those I have made.

Senator Person: May I ask a question now?

The Deputy Chairman: It is up to you, but I suggest that we now hear Mr. Craigs and then start the questions.

Senator Pearson: I just wanted to know how extensive the voluntary organization was throughout Ontario. Does it cover it completely, west to, say, Kenora and Sudbury?

Mr. Pierce: Perhaps the simplest way to answer that is to say that we are currently working on a series of company type conferences, but it is related to the effort to get people involved in a public discussion centered on the social needs in Ontario. With the provincial government we are, as partners, co-sponsoring a series of regional conferences, with their staff and our staff working together. The first will be in about three weeks time. This year we will have six of these. There will be three in Northern Ontario, one in Kenora, one in Thunder Bay, covering the whole of the northwest. Obviously, this is very general, but we are a provincial organization and try to stimulate interest locally. The other meeting will be in Sudbury next September. These plans are well under way, and will include the districts of Algoma, Sudbury and Manitoulin. We are using places like community colleges, which is a new type of resource in our province, and we are reaching out to a variety of agencies, both public and private. In Southern Ontario we will have a meeting in the Guelph-Wellington area, another in the Peel and Halton area. There is a varied composition in the eastern area, where we will have one in Belleville involving four counties. Again there is public and voluntary participation and things are going really well. If that does not answer the question, I would be glad to elaborate on it further.

Senator Pearson: How do you supply the news of war to this organization?

Mr. Pierce: In terms of dollars, we are financed partly by United Appeals across Ontario. Last year, out of a budget of approx-

imately \$120,000 we had \$65,000 from United Appeals, but the Toronto United Appeal provided almost \$40,000 of that. We have not been as successful as we would like to be in persuading others to support us. The provincial government makes a grant of \$28,000 a year. We get roughly ten per cent from the membership. We have some endowments here and there, and we have a very small amount, depending on what we are asked to do, from fees for services and so on; if we undertake a study for an agency or a community, sometimes they are able to make a contribution towards our costs.

Senator Pearson: Thank you.

The Deputy Chairman: Mr. Craigs.

Mr. J. H. Craigs, Member, Executive Committee and Board of Directors, Ontario Welfare Council: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, I do not propose to say a great deal. Perhaps most of what I will say is explanatory more than anything else. The organization I have the honour to represent is the Ontario Federation of Labour, which as a trade union organization accounts for 600,000 trade union members in the Province of Ontario. It will be no surprise to you that my comments will focus primarily on what are generally described as "the working poor".

The dilemma of the working poor is extremely serious, primarily because they exist in an area in which they literally balance on the razor's edge; the margin separating them from total catastrophe, both economic, social, familial and everything else, is a very real thing. It is ironic that the working poor are subject to the most exploitation. In spite of legislation purporting to protect people from exploitation, there is nevertheless a great deal of human sweat expended.

The problem of the working poor is that when they do work, they invariably work in small enterprises and small operations, where it is extremely difficult for surveillance by government inspectors of one kind or another to reach. In larger industrial plants infractions relating to health, working conditions, minimum wages and so on are relatively easy to spot and police. However, in the garment industry, for example, although it has done a commendable job in some respects, there are a great many of what we call sweat shops, a term that will not be strange to you. There are also in this category bakeries, all sorts of jobbing enterprises, small contractors, sub-contractors—the list is almost endless.

The working poor are seriously exploited, and in addition, any kind of domestic trouble with recalcitrant children, illness and so on leads to a situation in which the family unit can easily and simply be destroyed in a remarkably short time, which in turn merely produces more social problems.

The problem of the low wage income worker is, of course, overtime and strain. The demand for more and more work in order to provide better income leads to the second job—working all day and driving a taxi at night. Here again there is a very real danger that the family is literally, as I said before, living on the razor's edge.

It is also ironic that the working poor are very difficult to organize. They work in small units. Usually they are widely scattered. Even where organization has taken place in spite of some rather difficult legislation in the province, the servicing of these people is very expensive and difficult. The result is that, in spite of the best efforts of trade unions, it is very difficult to raise the level of these people's income sufficiently to remove the danger in which they always live.

In making provision for future income, retirement income via pensions, it is difficult for the small employer to fund the pensions, with the result that where they do exist the pensions are usually too meagre for either present or future needs. The Ontario Federation of Labour is extremely concerned about these problems. It realizes that we have an overlapping in which we have provincial and, of course, federal jurisdiction. There is also the question of how far the federal Government can reach down to implement legislation or programs that would alleviate the matters which I have just explained to you. That is all I have to say at the moment, Mr. Chairman.

The Deputy Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Craigs.

Senator Fergusson: I should first like to congratulate the Ontario Welfare Council for having had the vision to call into their meetings people on assistance, and the working poor. This certainly was quite an innovation. I am pleased to know that it seems to be working out and that they are contributing. I am familiar with your council, because actually I am a member, having been drawn in by belonging to the Ontario Committee on Aging, which eventually was amalgamated. Even though I belong to the council and do not

contribute anything except financial aid, I do find your news letters of tremendous interest. They give us a great deal of good information. I wish to also congratulate you on your brief which will be very helpful to us.

You spoke of the three meetings in which you were going to discuss things to be done under the Canada Assistance Act, and you intimated that we have not been doing as much as we could. Have you come to any actual conclusion as to other practical things which could be done under the Canada Assistance Act that we are not doing at the present time; that is, without any further legislation at all?

Mr. Pierce: I would have to answer by saying that when we first launched this idea of meeting with communities across Ontario, in order to find out from local communities opinions as to ways of implementing the Canada Assistance Plan, we felt that we would be able to go to the provincial government and tell them that we wanted this or that. We had come to a conclusion as soon as we saw the legislation. For instance, regarding the emphasis on the possibility for developing services in the area of prevention of social deterioration and the rehabilitation of those already dependent, we saw great hopes through this piece of legislation and we were quite sure that it was the logical thing to do. We felt that this would get general support from the public at large who would not argue against a program calculated to prevent social deterioration and poverty and those who would argue against improving the social services which would rehabilitate those already dependent. We were already prepared to take to the provincial government our recommendations that this should be immediately implemented. As our discussions with the community progressed, we began to realize the ignorance about responsibilities at the federal and provincial levels. Before provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan could be implemented the provincial government had to be persuaded to do so. We also found that municipal councils had some reservations as to how quickly they would be able to move.

In Ontario, for the past five or 10 years, but particularly the last 10, there have been substantial changes in the kind of monetary assistance and implementing types of programs and improvements in public assistance programs. These have been quite substantial and we feel they have moved quickly. They have picked up on a number of recommenda-

tions over the years which the Ontario Welfare Council suggested. There has also been improvement in monetary assistance and the establishment of programs, such as visiting homemaker services and nurse services where we participated in the influence of developing this policy. We do not take full credit, because if the Ontario Welfare Council had not existed this would not have happened, but there is a relationship in the area of improving nursing home facilities, primarily for older people. We conducted a province-wide study. There have been improvements, but we have to also contend with the thinking in certain areas and certain segments of our population. This came out in our meetings. For instance, there was a morning meeting at which the local politicians were invited. They seemed more concerned about saying that many of the people who had been dependent for a long time did not want to get out of this dependency position. They gave a little lecture to the people who were there and departed. There was no real interest in participating in the discussion about their own attitudes towards the poor. They were quite convinced that they were correct and, as the leaders in that community, they were responsible for protecting the "good guys" against the "no-good guys".

In another meeting which we had, the chairman of the welfare committee of that particular municipality, which happened to have a city government, became very excited and involved in the discussion when he realized the possibilities within the existing legislation in the Province of Ontario. He said, "Let's take advantage of what we have got. Sure, I am very interested in this, but why can't we do this?" We got into discussions in which we explained that they could not really move very far in that area because there is an education program to be done. You then involved the educational system and in these meetings you found that it was necessary to provide an opportunity for people to talk to each other, including municipal welfare officials, having their own clients present. As long as they were protected from reporting in public, they were able to use illustrations, naturally not by name, in order to support their arguments. It seemed to us that for the first time there was an opportunity for the elected councillors to have an understanding of some of the problems that their own local officials were up against. The provincial representatives also had an opportunity to explain what would be possible but which the

local municipalities had not implemented. When we get into this broad area of federal responsibility, which is primarily in the area of cost-sharing, they are far away.

Our experience is limited, but I know that there was sufficient evidence there to emphasize the need to pursue further this kind of discussion. We found that rather than focusing on the legislation itself, the important thing is to get people talking about the real things hurting them as individuals, for example, the working poor saying they are denied services, or the recipient of public assistance being penalized for his willingness to be rehabilitated. So there is a tremendous need, we find, for pursuing this kind of discussion.

We are continuing at the provincial level. In our brief to the provincial government we have said we feel the provincial government ought to move ahead, even though the general public may not be fully aware and fully ready. We said, for instance, that in implementing the Canada Assistance Plan in relation to extending service to the working poor, they should not be cut off. As soon as they respond to the kind of service and treatment that I think the vast majority of society would support, we immediately cut them off from further assistance. We are very concerned about this.

The recent figures from Metropolitan Toronto, I think, show approximately 30 per cent increase in the number of people, compared with December of last year, seeking assistance under the General Work Assistance Act. Those are people who have become unemployed. This puts a tremendous strain on the local municipality. Sure, it is an 80-20 sharing, with the federal Government sharing 50 per cent. But on this level the impact of this kind of change is felt. I am talking now about our particular role as the Ontario Welfare Council in Ontario. We are not suggesting that we have the answers, but in trying to bring together these various interests, we are continuously working with the provincial government, we are trying to work in a more traditional way. When we appeared before the minister at the end of January, for the first time in our history (and we thought this was responding pretty quickly) in our delegation of five, one of the recipients of assistance who was elected to the board last May—and who was in the delegation—was able to illustrate from personal experience what it meant to try to find money to repair a washing machine when the regulations under particular programs did not provide for this. She

wanted to find \$20 to do a job that was not specifically provided for. This was an illustration of a need to be flexible in regulations. She had some other examples. So we had the combination of perhaps more experience, the professional, intellectual, almost the professional volunteers, in our type of organization, with the very respectable type of relation with the provincial government and we had always been well received. Here we were introducing some new elements and we were trying to establish a balance. I do not think they ran scared in the other direction. We were not marching on Queen's Park yet, and we are not likely to march on Parliament Hill, it is too far, we will leave that to others. We think we succeeded. On the very fact that we are collaborating with the provincial government in going out to communities, I suppose we can be criticized for being reasonable in our approach to the provincial government and saying, "Yes, we think you ought to implement the provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan, particularly in this year, by extending preventive services and helping the working poor and helping those on assistance so that there will be some encouragement for them to accept services."

We are making this kind of representation.

Senator Carter: On that question, you talk about collaborating with the provincial government and you describe a very close working relationship with the provincial government. Who takes the initiative? Does the initiative start with the government and they ask you to do certain things; or does the initiative start with you and you take it up with the government and get their sanction? Or how does this working relationship operate? How does it start?

Mr. Pierce: We still have our provincial conference bi-annually. It was decided some four years ago that people from across Ontario would not be able to come to one spot, to Toronto; so we decided to have these regional conferences from time to time. The Ontario Welfare Council took the initiative with the provincial government and said we would like to focus these conferences on the policies and programs of the provincial government in Ontario.

We felt that, in order to provide information and discussion about what was available under provincial programs, we really needed to have the provincial government participate. There had been some reaction in the

past that in our provincial conferences we were really setting up the kind of public forum where provincial officials were coming forward and then a pretty substantial group would attack the provincial officials because they were sitting ducks. Very often they were being asked to respond to criticism of policies which the civil servants were not really able to deal with—in other words, these were responsibilities of legislators.

There was some question on behalf of the department to become involved in this kind of program, so we said we agreed that there is not enough understanding of what they were doing and we encouraged the Department of Social and Family Services to work with us and they would provide their senior professional staff people to come to these conferences and they would talk about different programs available, in child welfare, in aging, in assistance, and so on.

In the first series, which was two years ago, we only had three, involving one in south-western Ontario, centred in Chatham, covering four counties; one in Cornwall, with only five counties in that area; and one in north-eastern Ontario, in Kirkland Lake.

The senior officials went and talked about these programs at the meetings. Then there was a discussion around the program. They were not the kind of conferences where the participants would attack the government for lack of progress—although this came in, too.

This year, as I have mentioned, we will have six conferences. It is interesting that the provincial government is responding to the kind of thing that we experienced last May, and we are now bringing in the recipients of service to a greater extent.

A year ago, I think the only group that might have been described as recipients of service, for these conferences—Senator Ferguson will be interested in this—was a group of senior citizens who came to a session on the needs of the aged. This was the first crack, if you like, in involving somebody other than the professional—which is a significant attempt in our collaboration in the federal-provincial work. They are very responsive to the involvement of people on public assistance and they are very eager to participate.

As a matter of fact, the first flier for our first conference went out last week, and in it they have an adapted cartoon with "people power". The provincial government is in on this, they are in on the planning, they will

participate. So I think our relationship is really a very good one, and they are participating in this dialogue.

While the initiative originally was ours, it is a shared program, and we feel very good about it.

Senator Carter: I gather from what you are saying, that your council provides the vehicle or medium through which government officials and the poor people can communicate.

Mr. Pierce: We have felt that for a long time...

Senator Carter: That is the missing link in many of the problems we have come across in this committee, that there is no dialogue, no communication.

Mr. Pierce: For instance, regarding the Canada Assistance Plan, it was touch and go whether it would be passed—that was at the time of our annual meeting, and the Plan was before Parliament. At that time we had the senior people from the federal Department of Health and Welfare come to our conference to talk about that. Also at that time the provincial government was in a very difficult position to be involved in because the Canada Assistance Plan has not yet been enacted federally. So they were not able to be involved.

Now, in respect of the Canada Assistance Plan, you must be aware that we work with the provincial government and then work with the Canadian Welfare Council, and we have collaborated in all these meetings I have referred to in Ontario. With respect to the regional meetings that are now current in northern Ontario and so on, again there is a focus on the provincial programs, but this does not mean that there is not an opportunity to discuss the weaknesses, even in terms of policy, but what we feel is that the provincial government really needed to come face to face with communities and talk about the programs. We felt they had not explained sufficiently, but it was easy enough for us to act as a vehicle.

In relation to this, and this is a side issue in a sense, another example of collaboration comes to mind; the Ontario Welfare Council publishes its standard reference in Ontario, which was originally produced by my predecessor, "Ontario: Its Social Services". This was originally produced in 1953, and the provincial government has apparently felt it appropriate for us to continue to produce it. That is another example of where there is an

advantage in having an organization like ours publish such a document, because in that way it is not simply a government document but, in other words, we are able to introduce some comment about the services as well.

Senator Fergusson: How many provincial welfare councils are there?

Mr. Pierce: There is apparently a new one in B.C., on which I believe we had some influence in respect of its development. It now has a full-time professional staff member. Inevitably, its role and purpose is somewhat different from ours, partly because of the very nature of the province being different, I suppose. In the province of Quebec they do not at the moment have a professional staff so they are not very active, to the best of my knowledge. In New Brunswick they did start but again I am not too sure what the present status is. For practical purposes, Ontario is the only province in which there has been any history of a provincial organization. We have been in existence for over 60 years.

Senator Fergusson: That is what I had understood. On page 5 of your brief you say that it was specifically pointed out that in Ontario low-income people have to apply to the welfare department to get day-care services, and you also go on to say that this was considered demeaning for those who had struggled hard to stay off welfare. The implication is, of course, that they were getting welfare. What I want to know is whether many applied and, if they did, did they get the services?

Mr. Pierce: I am sorry, but I cannot answer that specifically. The summary report on our meetings was done rather hurriedly, and I must apologize for that, but it is, incidentally, a reflection of the thinking of the people who attended those meetings, and I think the point they are trying to make here is related to the question of attitudes towards the poor and the needs of the poor, and that there are still many people who feel that, if they need a service like day-care services, they would like to have it in a somewhat different context than having to go to the welfare department in order to be admitted, even if they were part paid.

Let me illustrate the attitude aspect: last week when I was attending an annual meeting of a voluntary agency in Toronto there was a lady of 70 years of age sitting next to me. She had travelled to the meeting by city

transit and had used two fare tickets. I asked her if she had her card for the reduced fare in Toronto and she replied that she could not get herself round to going to apply for that and have herself photographed and fingerprinted. I asked her if she preferred to pay twice the amount than apply for the card and she said that perhaps she was old-fashioned, but it did hurt her. So this attitude cuts across the whole spectrum. What I am trying to emphasize here is that, while we may and do take aggressive action vis-a-vis the provincial government in order to make our case, we also recognize that in situations like this we have to work with the people to get a change in attitude. As a matter of fact, we are moving towards the completion of study on attitudes towards aging people. You may be aware of that study. In it we find that there are many wrong attitudes towards the aged. Although I don't wish to get into the question of our attitude towards youth, I should point out that we also have a committee on youth, and that the youth at our conference have certain recommendations which some people find frightening—recommendations about what we ought to be doing.

So we do feel that we must convince people to change and to recognize that there are some questions they might not have examined.

Senator Fergusson: We certainly have to make them change their attitude towards the poor. It seems to me the attitude is not changing as quickly as it should in view of information that is actually available.

The Deputy Chairman: Honourable senators, the time is passing quickly. There are quite a few members of the committee who wish to ask questions. I wonder, therefore, if the witnesses could make their answers as short as possible, and if there is time afterwards, we can come back to any questions they wish to elaborate on.

Senator McGrand: I have a few short questions requiring short answers. Outside the larger cities where poverty is very evident, in what other parts of Ontario, other than in the areas where the Indians live, do you find a great deal of poverty?

Mr. Pierce: One of the meetings of this series on the Canada Assistance Plan was held in Muskoka during the winter. There we found a great deal of serious rural poverty. That is just one example.

Senator McGrand: Now, I presume the working poor are usually employed in small industries. Do you find the working poor in the large cities such as Toronto or do you find them in what you would call the areas of Ontario where you have regional disparity?

Mr. Pierce: Both. Inevitably, we tend to see more of the poor people in the urban or metropolitan centres because there is more opportunity for association and they make themselves known.

Senator McGrand: They are more evident?

Mr. Pierce: Yes.

Mr. Craigs: There is no question, sir, that this is a pervasive thing throughout the province. It really does not matter whether you are in Kenora, Dryden, Sudbury, Chapleau, Toronto, Windsor or anywhere else. You will find the same proportions.

Senator McGrand: The same proportions. That is what I wanted.

Now, the people on welfare have had some attention paid to them by organizations who are interested in their welfare and who are trying to organize them to meet their needs. Has the work been in any way carried on among the so-called working poor, or have they not yet reached the point where you can give some organization to the working poor?

Mr. Pierce: A surprising number of the working poor did participate in our conference, and again in order to follow up on this I have met with some of them in groups locally. They tend to organize around questions such as housing and tenants' associations and so on.

Senator McGrand: Nearly everybody who comes before us seems to recommend a guaranteed annual income. Now I know you people have been in business for a long time and you have carried out a tremendous task. What would you estimate as being the cost of a guaranteed annual income, and here I am not asking you to give an estimate for Canada, but simply for the Province of Ontario.

Mr. Pierce: I have to say we do not have the answer to that question. I am sorry.

Senator McGrand: But you must have done some research on this.

Mr. Pierce: No, we did some research on the possibility of immediate increase in family allowances, and we decided for a number of reasons not to push this. We did try it out with the provincial government as an immediate step, but then we took it back. However, the general area of guaranteed annual income we have not studied.

The Deputy Chairman: Reference to a guaranteed annual income has been made in practically every brief which has been presented to us. But to my surprise very few people have given any serious thought to where the money is going to come from. So, if this is the answer, where is the money going to come from? Is it to be printed by machine or is it to be obtained from an increase in taxation? I think this committee would like some information on that aspect of the recommendation.

Senator McGrand: That is why I asked the question.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, in reference to that recommendation and under the heading of social security and guaranteed annual income, in subsection (c) there is mention of "a uniform income floor." How could this work when there is such a variation in the provinces in rents, prices and services and so forth? How could you have a uniform floor?

Mr. Pierce: I think the thinking here again was related to the kind of approach taken in such programs as family allowances, for instance, where there was a uniform and fairly general approach and also in the old age security program. I think the intent here was that while there may be need for consideration for regional disparities, the principle is that certain categories should not be treated differently. In other words, there should not be a fragmentation or breaking down into groups because this carries with it a very real disadvantage. This is why we favour a universal approach in order to recognize the fact that the cost of payments made to those who do not require them, can be recouped through taxation. Incidentally, this recommendation on all welfare income and allowances provided in a general way came out of our own conference of people on welfare, the working poor. Where such allowances are not needed, they can be recouped, so there is a certain transfer element here.

Mr. Craigs: Madame Senator, let me give you a classical example of the wide gulf that

separates the working poor from others and why we suggest there must be a floor. Take the City of Sudbury, for example, which by and large is dominated by the mining of nickel. Now the legal minimum wage in Ontario is \$1.30 per hour for a 48-hour week. However, the average rate per hour for an individual working in INCO is close to \$4 per hour for a regular 40-hour week. So here you have a large segment of the population earning good wages, and in my view quite properly so, but you also have a percentage of the population who are beyond help because the minimum legal wage does not reach the level to keep these people even within shouting distance of the vast working population of Sudbury. I am referring now to the people who work in small stores, secondary industries and secondary enterprises.

Senator McGrand: You have really answered my question, but I have another one. What is the proportion between the two groups? You mentioned that that segment of the population which is employed in the nickel industry would be in that high bracket of \$4 an hour.

Mr. Craigs: The minimum is close to that anyway.

Senator McGrand: What proportion of the population would be in that bracket and what proportion would be in the bracket of \$1.30 per hour?

Mr. Craigs: All I can say is that the membership of the United Steel Workers Union, local 65 in Sudbury is approximately 14,000, so that you have that number at least in the high category. Now how this relates to the total population is difficult to say at the moment, but obviously with 14,000 people on a good level of wages, this is reflected in prices not only of goods but of services as well. This in turn imposes a great hardship on that segment of the population which is not in that high bracket.

I do a great deal of arbitration work and I can give you a typical example of what happens where there is a lack of flexibility and where a decision was made within the existing legislation which imposed a tremendous hardship. We had two families both consisting of people who were barely literate. When I say they were barely literate, I mean they could barely sign their name rather than putting a cross. Now the male heads of these families were working for the Public Works Department in Sudbury as labourers, cleaning

out ditches, digging holes and filling them up again and so on. They were discharged by the city on the basis of an excessive number of garnishees. The union appealed the dismissal and it finally came to arbitration. The city, under the collective agreement between the union and the city, which contained the perfectly normal clause that exists in every one of these agreements, had the right as an employer to hire, fire, promote and demote. Now the total number involved in the two families was 17 persons. Now, these men had all these garnishees because they could barely read or write and consequently were fair game for the hard-nosed, second-hand car dealer and others like that. It is interesting to note that the only thing these garnishees were applied to were domestic appliances, a television set, a washer, an automobile and so on. There was no question of indebtedness to finance companies for borrowed money. So, as I have said, the city fired them. The union filed a grievance, and we took it to arbitration. I begged and pleaded the chairman of the Board of Arbitration to order the city to reinstate this man. I told the board: "I am not worried about their past seniority or past service. We will let that go. In discharging them all that has been done is that 17 people have been put on public welfare and they will never get off." The city would not take them back. At best they would give them only short term temporary employment. They were almost transient workers. The chairman of board refused my request. He said: "The law requires that I interpret the collective agreement, and the agreement says that the employer has the right to hire, fire, promote, and demote for cause, and the employer has decided that too many garnishees is cause for dismissal." Here you have two families dumped on public welfare, and they will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. That was because of the rigid application of legislation.

Senator McGrand: A point that is often made is that there are small industries that cannot pay the maximum wage. From your experience over the years in this work do you think that many small industries would go out of business if they were forced to pay maximum wages?

Mr. Craigs: If you will pardon me I should like to clarify my answer by saying that organized labour is not suggesting, and never has suggested—and it would be insane to do so—that minimum wage rates should all be

raised to the average of a large city. What we are maintaining is that the present legal minimum of \$1.30 an hour is just too low, and that it could be increased by 30 to 40 per cent without doing any significant damage to small enterprises.

To answer the second part of your question I will say that there are many small enterprises that are badly managed. This, of course, is something over which you and I have no control. I do not know whether it would be an unfair punishment to drive a small enterprise out of business by insisting that it pays a better minimum wage, but it is not the fault of the individual worker that an enterprise, big or small, is badly managed.

Senator Inman: When I asked my question about uniform income I had in mind that it has been said that the minimum income to maintain a family of four people at the poverty level is \$4,200, and I know that there are small country villages, for instance, where rents are low and accommodation is easy to get, and where \$4,200 a year is affluence. This is what I was referring to when I asked how you could manage an income floor which in some cases barely keeps four people, and in other cases keeps them very well. Senator MacDonald will bear me out when I say that I know where you can buy a whole bag of turnips for 50 cents, while in the city you can buy only one for 50 cents.

Mr. Pierce: The allowance provided for children under the income tax system means a larger cash benefit to a person with a high income than to a person who is on a low income. I know that this does not answer the question, but this is not the only area where we have this problem of providing a basic income and trying to relate it to regional disparity across the country. What we are saying is that we start from a certain point and apply these variations in the area in respect of rent, fuel costs, and so on, and then make provision for regional differences. I would think that something of this nature might be woven into this kind of system. If we are going to accept a basic minimum income, then it should be an income floor.

Again, this is not to say that we do not recognize the fact that there will be regional disparities—we recognize this in Ontario—but there may be other ways of adjusting to that kind of difference.

Senator Carter: I will follow along the same line for a little bit. Your first recommendation concerns the guaranteed annual income, and

you talk about an adequate minimum wage. What do you consider to be an adequate minimum wage, and how would you combine it with the guaranteed annual income? I ask that question because you imply in this paragraph that you are opposed to what you call the subsidization of employers. What do you regard as an adequate minimum wage, first, for the country, and, second, for Ontario.

Mr. Pierce: I think the point we are trying to make here is that the people receiving public assistance in Ontario are actually receiving more in actual cash income than people who are working and earning the minimum wage. There are also people who are in full-time employment who are receiving less than the minimum wage. Our concern here is that if a guaranteed annual income is established there should also be some consideration for the kind of effect that was raised earlier about what this does to industries that are not able to pay the full minimum wage. It seems to me that there would have to be consideration given to some form of subsidy to industry which provides employment for a community. As so often happens—not so much with small industries, but with industries that may pay well above the minimum wage—an industry can withdraw from a community without any responsibility to that community, and leave a number of people unemployed. In other words, there is a question of social responsibility.

Sweden is an example of a country that has been able to cope with this kind of shared governmental and industrial responsibility for the community in which the industry operates and provides a livelihood for the residents. I think what we are trying to get at here is that these problems should not be attacked without recognition of the fact that there are areas where the minimum wage has to be related to some form of minimum income across the board.

Senator Carter: I cannot say that I find your answer very helpful. Did I understand you to say in your reply that somebody, people on welfare are getting more than the minimum wage?

Mr. Pierce: Yes.

Senator Carter: We had a table presented to us a few days ago showing the welfare rates of the various provinces compared with the minimum wage. It showed that in Ontario the welfare rates were far higher than the

minimum wage. Have you brought this to the attention of the provincial authorities, and asked them to bring their minimum wage rates into line with the welfare rates?

Mr. Pierce: We have. When we met with the minister we drew attention to this, and the reaction was that it was hoped the Department of Labour would deal with it.

What we are getting at is that this kind of discrepancy does not help to attack some of the real pockets of poverty. That is what we are saying. These cannot be treated as separate approaches. They must be looked at together. This is the emphasis we are trying to get across here. I am sorry if my reply does not satisfy you.

Senator Carter: This is better, but I really could not understand your earlier answer.

Mr. Craigs: The honourable senator mentioned figure of \$4,200 per annum income. The present maximum of the minimum legal wage in Ontario is \$1.30 with some qualifications for learners, and so on. Working a legal 48 hour week in Ontario only earns in round figures \$3,500 which is, of course, substantially below the income of \$4,200 mentioned by the senator. Only last week we appeared before Mr. Robarts and his cabinet, pleading this very point, that the legal minimum wage is a farce in Ontario because it ignores at least one very vital aspect of the so-called working poor. That is, in the rather trite phrase, that they have rising expectations. The reason they have rising expectations in their own minds is because they are working, not because they live in a North American, materialistic society. At \$1.30 they have no rising expectations at all.

Senator Carter: We have had two proposals with regard to attacking the problem of the working poor. One is to subsidize the individual worker with some sort of work incentive so that it will pay him to continue working; secondly, to subsidize the small employer. I gather that you are against subsidizing the small employer?

Mr. Craigs: Yes, sir.

Senator Carter: On page 2 reference is made to Old Age Security and the Canada Pension Plan. It is stated:

Old Age Security and Canada Pension Plan payments should be continuously reviewed and adjusted to the cost of living.

My understanding is that the Canada Pension Plan is adjusted to the cost of living. Is that not so?

Mr. Pierce: Yes.

Senator Carter: What do you mean by this recommendation?

Mr. Pierce: Reference to Recommendation 1 (f) will explain what we have said in Recommendation 3 (a), that the basic amount of Old Age Security should be raised. We refer to the recommendation of the Canadian Welfare Council in its statement of social policies for Canada that:

Payments to Old Age Security beneficiaries should be increased sufficiently to protect beneficiaries fully against erosion in purchasing power and to relate payments to changes in general living standards for the country as a whole.

You are quite right that there is provision for adjustment in the cost of living in the Canada Pension Plan.

The Chairman: Do you differentiate between the cost of living and the general living standards?

Mr. Pierce: Yes.

The Chairman: Because there is a difference; it depends how you look at it.

Mr. Craigs: Without question; we would support that.

Senator Inman: I refer to paragraph 3, quality of service, on page 3 of your recommendations. We have heard complaints regarding social workers and their approaches to people. You say in subparagraph (b):

Welfare administrators and personnel should be appointed on the basis of administrative leadership, and personal suitability as well as appropriate education.

I am in agreement with that. Why is it not done more? Should persons employed as social service workers not be screened more? Education is not all.

Mr. Pierce: In the area of the traditional public welfare there was a tendency to employ people who were not qualified, either by education, training or even personality very often, to handle the job they were expected to do. I must go on record as saying that in Ontario there has really been a sub-

stantial effort made to improve the quality of service and the understanding of what the social services are all about. The Ontario Welfare Council, for instance, works very closely with the Ontario Welfare Officers' Association in an attempt to improve the quality of service and understand the needs of those who require public assistance. This is related to a point I made at the beginning regarding the problem of jurisdiction within the province. We have on the one hand the municipalities, who say to the provincial government your are pushing us too hard, you are forcing us to do this and we do not want to do it. On the other hand the larger municipalities are saying, we want you to take advantage to a much greater extent of the Canada Assistance Plan, for instance. There are examples in Ontario where the welfare administrator has taken the initiative in developing new kinds of programs, having people in receipt of public assistance with other recipients. There is a very definite trend toward improvement, but there are pockets where there is still a negative, demeaning attitude towards anybody who requires any assistance outside the family.

Senator Inman: Your attitude means a great deal to these people.

Senator Cook: Your Recommendation No. 1 is for a guaranteed annual income. On page 2 you suggest as an alternative or until guaranteed annual income becomes reality, an increase in the family allowances and the basic amount of Old Age Security. Assuming that there will be money available some day to take care of these matters, it would be helpful if you could give us some amounts. Has any research been carried out to determine what the guaranteed income should be or, until it comes into effect, what the increase in the basic amount of the Old Age Security or family allowances should be? We must be realistic about it. The poverty level is said to be so and so, but you cannot give a guaranteed income to take care of the whole amount. What would be a starting point?

Mr. Pierce: We did explore the possibility of doubling the family allowances. It was estimated that for doubling the current amounts for children and youth allowances...

Senator Cook: Which are how much per child?

Mr. Pierce: This was from \$6 for a child under 10, \$8 for a child aged 10 to 16 years and \$10 for those from 16 to 18 years of age under current provisions. The doubling would amount to \$12, \$16 and \$20. Our calculation here was that the doubling would mean a gross additional cost for Canada of \$616.6 million. We recommended a cost recovery by taxing the payments, which would produce \$199.3 million so the net additional cost would be \$417.3 million. That is on that specific proposal.

Senator Pearson: What is the present cost of family allowances? Do you have those figures?

Mr. Pierce: I am sorry, I do not have that.

The Deputy Chairman: It would be half of that.

Mr. Pierce: Half the \$616.6 million. That was gross.

Senator Cook: The increase would be \$300 million, in other words, not \$600 million. How much would the cost of the increase be?

Mr. Pierce: The net addition would be \$417.3 million, but this provides for a tax recovery through taxing the payments, because we recommended that they would be taxed. There is a certain transfer involvement here, too, but this was on doubling.

Senator Carter: At what income tax level do you start the recovery?

The Deputy Chairman: All incomes, I imagine.

Mr. Pierce: Yes.

Senator Carter: At the present rate it becomes taxable.

Senator Carter: In recommendation 1(d) you say "by taxing benefits 100 per cent above a certain income level". I did not know whether you were talking about a certain income level or the present level.

Mr. Pierce: That is not related to what I am quoting. This was something we had not presented to you, for a number of reasons. Frankly, it was because this was thought of as an immediate poverty aid because of the increase in unemployment. This was a program that could be adapted immediately without changing administration, legislation or anything else. We were afraid that if we recommended this as an interim measure it

might become a final arrangement. As I recall, the Senate Committee on Aging recommended certain changes in old age security as an interim measure, which has become permanent up to now. We were a little confused about this in looking at the question of the minimum guaranteed income as a long-term measure, but we had not worked out the cost specifically.

Senator Cook: Of old age security?

Mr. Pierce: We had not worked that out.

The Deputy Chairman: Why did you object to giving us these figures?

Mr. Pierce: We had presented them to the provincial government because we wanted the provincial government to consider this as a proposal they would take to the federal Government, because of our relationship to the provincial government. This was not supported, so we had some reservations about taking it to the federal Government, as we indicated earlier. We usually relate federal matters to the Canadian Welfare Council, who have an appropriate role in that regard. However, we thought we had something to say in interpreting this.

Senator Cook: Have you done anything on the guaranteed annual income?

Mr. Pierce: No.

Senator Cook: On the amount or the cost?

Mr. Pierce: No, we have not worked on that.

Senator Cook: It is all very nice to suggest to this committee a guaranteed income, an increase in family allowances and in old age security. We are all against sin and in favour of motherhood. But how much will it cost, and how much should it be?

The Deputy Chairman: And how are we going to do it?

Senator Pearson: Referring to the first paragraph on page 3, I should like to ask as a matter of record what causes unemployment? Could Mr. Craigs say something about that? Everybody knows what unemployment is, but what causes it?

Mr. Craigs: At the risk of being facetious, I think you ought to ask Mr. Stephen Roman, who wants to take his marbles elsewhere.

The Deputy Chairman: I think you could say a few words on that subject.

Mr. Craigs: The causes of unemployment, of course, are manifest. Probably nothing has a more significant impact than the general attitude of confidence within the country. How that confidence or lack of confidence comes about depends on many things. I do not think personally, and I believe my organization would be of the same opinion, that taxation per se is necessarily a factor that creates unemployment. Unemployment is caused by a mix of ethnic groups, for example, where there is an abundance of one kind of skill, or a lack of skill and a superabundance of another. It is brought about by failure to develop resources, and also by the excessive development of resources. I would give the typical example of Dryden, which is virtually a one-industry town; it is a pulp and paper town. The problems of pollution there are very significant and are causing unemployment; the sheer productivity and efficiency of the industry in Dryden is creating unemployment.

Geography is another factor. Mobility or lack of mobility is another. By mobility I am talking not at the provision of transport but of the attitude towards moving from one place to another, the willingness to do it and the encouragement and assistance available to do it as against the lack of facilities and lack of encouragement, as a defined social attitude against change of any kind.

Last, but by no means least, of course, is the economic policy of the country or the province. This is a hotly debated subject at present and I will not get into that.

Those are all factors, and in these times it is difficult to say there is one major contributing factor towards unemployment. I certainly share the Prime Minister's opinion, expressed yesterday, that however and to whatever degree we are taxed we are not going to see an exodus out of the country. Quite the contrary. I am sure that my organization, if I may speak for it, simply does not believe it, and for the reasons that Mr. Trudeau gave.

Senator Pearson: If a sufficient guaranteed annual income were introduced would there be any necessity for family allowances or other welfare programs?

Mr. Pierce: I would not think we are likely to achieve a situation in which a minimum is established beyond which there is no need for special intervention and aid. Certainly we see the need for service for a considerable time. In fact, once a minimum income is established, service could be more meaningful,

more productive, and could contribute to the prevention of poverty and the rehabilitation of those needing assistance. Somehow in this society it is becoming more and more difficult for individuals to become self-sufficient; the choice for individuals is becoming more and more complicated, so some kind of service available to people will be required in the future, because life seems to be becoming more complex. There may also be need for some special assistance in the area of certain categories and this may be handled in another way. I think that the provision of institutional facilities may be one way of dealing with it.

Senator Pearson: In your recommendations of social security you say that a guaranteed income plan should be universal. Don't you think that is rather a cumbersome or expensive way of handling things? It could be taxed back of course, but it seems to me that a tremendous number of civil servants would be necessary in order to handle this.

Mr. Pierce: As against the present system where we have a variety of categorical programs that crisscross in all directions, in terms of assistance and geography, we have said that this one needs more or that one needs more. In other words, all the time we are finding another category which needs more. The principle we are trying to establish is to start with a universal approach and then make adjustments as required, just the same as looking at some of the legislation where the regulations are specific and you can't have flexibility in order to meet an immediate need.

The emphasis which we are putting here starts with the universal approach, because it is easier to administer. Family allowances are much easier to administer if there is a choice in relation to the category.

Mr. Craigs: May I add something, sir, in order to clarify some of the contradictions that have arisen from what Mr. Pierce has just spoken about? May I offer this to this distinguished committee to wrestle with. I am talking in the area of Workmen's Compensation. This is a national problem since every province has it. As you well know, for a permanent industrial injury you can get a permanent disability award, either partial or total, depending upon the severity of the injury. In the Province of Ontario and elsewhere in this country a man can receive a permanent partial disability award of X number of dollars per month for the rest of

his life and continue to work. In such situations it is not uncommon to find a man who has suffered an injury, to have his income raised because he is able to return to employment and in some cases to even more fruitful employment than he had at the time of the accident. His permanent disability award is added to that so his gross income increases. It has been seriously considered that in the event an individual in receipt of a permanent disability award retires at the mandatory age of 60 or 65, whichever applies, he should lose his permanent disability award on the theory that added to his Canada Pension Plan and possibly a private pension plan with his employer, his income would significantly exceed at retirement what he had been earning during his working life. What we are saying is that if a man is able to work and go ahead and do so without any detriment to his income, how can we logically argue that when he retires he is not eligible, in spite of the fact that a permanent disability award is society's attempt to put a cash value on a disability? It is not intended to support him in life, but it is a payment. You may say this is crude. Nevertheless, it is our attempt to give a cash value to the loss of a finger, arm or hand. This idea has been seriously put forward and I ask this committee what could possibly be the results, and it is fair?

Senator Pearson: You can get ordinary casualty insurance from an insurance company for the same thing and that is for life, which puts you in a different category to the Workmen's Compensation.

Senator Carter: Following Senator Pearson's question, in your brief you stated that it would be desirable to have a guaranteed annual income and to have Family Allowances increased, and so forth. In terms of the working poor, and subsidizing his income, if you had to choose between, say, \$600 million and whether you would use this to impose a maximum guaranteed income or increase Family Allowances, which do you think would be the best way to spend that money from the standpoint of the working poor?

Mr. Pierce: If you are thinking about the immediate situation, there are advantages to the current Family Allowance programs. Administratively this is very simple to handle and can bring assistance to families whereas a wage approach does not since it is not geared to the size of a family. There are very positive advantages in promoting an increase in Family Allowances as an immediate step.

Returning to the point I was making earlier, we made this proposal at the provincial level. The alternative is to introduce a negative income tax type of approach. This could also be administratively simple by raising the personal exemptions. I am not sure that I am able to give a categorical answer to the long-term approach. We still feel that there is a need for continued discussion of the alternative approaches for the establishment of some form of guaranteed income.

Senator Carter: We have had experts before us who have said that even if we introduced a guaranteed annual income it could not take care of everything and that there would still be special needs which would have to be looked after in some other way and that therefore we would need, in addition to the guaranteed income, some sort of Canada Assistance Plan, particularly to provide services. When we talk about the guaranteed annual income we are not talking about it in isolation as one thing that is going to eliminate everything else. We must think about it in terms of part of a structure, but the structure must also include provisions for special needs and services. That is what the Canada Assistance Plan was set up to accomplish.

I want to ask you two questions about the Canada Assistance Plan: to what extent do you think it is feasible to gear and consolidate the present welfare programs under that one umbrella instead of eliminating disability payments, such as allowances for blind persons? I realize that you have had a lot of experience with the provincial government in these welfare matters. How many could be consolidated and brought in under the same administration of the Canada Assistance Plan?

Mr. Pierce: First of all, in Ontario the Family Benefits Act was the province's way of implementing a part of the Canada Assistance Plan and there was consolidation of categorical programs under the provisions of the Family Benefits Act. The administration would still have to be provincial, because the federal act provides for cost-sharing.

I think that this could be extended further. One area which we have advocated to the provincial government is that where one now sees a separation between the family benefits approach, which is in effect a long-term assistance category, as against the general welfare assistance which is theoretically a short-term assistance. We considered this

should be in the general welfare assistance program, which is in the hands of the municipality but is mandatory in the provincial legislation. We have a long-term dependency position, but it is on and off. Our consideration is that this is likely to be dependent over a long period of time and should be included in the broader group.

Also advocating one important element in the Canada Assistance Plan, the provision of preventive services that may be extended to the working poor—we see a very real need for this kind of extension, because of the possibility that the result would be that we would prevent people from falling back into a dependency situation.

Senator Carter: You state on page 2 that Ontario is not making full use of the Canada Assistance Plan. With your close relationship with the Ontario government, have you been able to find out why they are not doing so?

Mr. Pierce: Partly that was its cost and they had to make choices in the area of where they are going to expend additional money even though there is federal sharing. But they do assure us that the possibility of extending services in Ontario under the Canada Assistance Plan to provide assistance to the working poor is under serious consideration by the provincial government. We certainly have been pushing this.

Senator Carter: One of the problems in administering the Canada Assistance Plan is that it is geared to be paid on the basis of need rather than on a means test as it was heretofore. But the problem is that the need, or the definition of "need" is made by the province, and every province works out a definition to suit itself, therefore there is no uniformity. Have you found out why Ontario has such a restricted definition of need?

Mr. Pierce: We are still trying to find out.

Mr. Craigs: I was part of the delegation before the Robarts' Cabinet only last Thursday and, perhaps to misquote the late Winston Churchill, it was a sort of mystery wrapped in an enigma. I think we have to be

candid about this and recognize that in the present government of Ontario there are some portfolios of higher status than others. The cabinet is composed of human beings, with all their frailties and strengths and weaknesses and so on. As far as organized labour is concerned, we have no evidence to convince us that the present portfolio has any real status within the cabinet. In other words, it has no political crunch. For that reason it is relegated to a lower order of priorities as the cabinet sees them.

Senator Cook: You mean, the labour portfolio or the welfare one?

Mr. Craigs: Both. Emphatically, both portfolios.

The Deputy Chairman: I think it goes away beyond the province, to the municipalities; and in some provinces you may have 15 different interpretations of the rules.

If there are no more questions, I would like to express our thanks to this delegation. I want to thank Mr. Pierce and Mr. Craigs. We had before us this morning two valuable men with a lot of experience. I wish we had time to spend a whole day with you because you have so much experience and knowledge. I am sure we have learned something from you this morning. It is interesting to see that others are finding the same troubles that afflict us—conflicts between governments, trying to bring more people to participate in their organization, trying to build up a public social policy adaptable to everybody, trying to bring varieties of organizations and interest together. They are finding also in many cases that the politicians have not the full knowledge, even of their own ridings, about the poverty situation. This is especially so, I would say, with federal members, who have a very limited time to spend in their own ridings.

We appreciate the effort that you have been making and we hope that you will be successful. We are grateful for the information you have given us, and we hope you did not find the senators to be "tough" with you this morning. Thank you very much.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF
to the
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
on
POVERTY

The Ontario Welfare Council is grateful for this opportunity to make recommendations to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty.

The existence of this Committee is a reflection of the nation's concern about poverty. The Ontario Welfare Council is a provincial organization and we have in the past confined our recommendations to changes in provincial policies while supporting, as a member, recommendations made by the national body, The Canadian Welfare Council.

It is not the Ontario Welfare Council's intention to take your time defining poverty since brief after brief has said what poverty is and what poverty means. In this presentation we have eliminated proposals which are peculiar to Ontario, and confined ourselves to improvements which we believe should be made across the board.

The recommendations at the conclusion of this brief are based mainly on the findings from the Poverty Workshops at our annual meeting and conference last Spring. We believe ourselves to be among the first organizations to invite those on assistance to come to a conference and tell those who make the decisions and deliver the assistance and services, what is wrong from a recipient's point of view. Included in the workshops also were members of the "working poor". Many of these working poor are so precariously close to the edge of that week's illness could push them from the independent category into the group requiring assistance.

The resolutions out of these workshops have been reviewed by the Ontario Welfare Council's Social Policy Committee and put into a form where it would be practical to incorporate them in legislation. They have already been presented to the Honourable John Yaremko, Minister of Social and Family Services of Ontario.

These proposals, which are our recommendations to your committee, are attached to this brief.

Concurrently the Ontario Welfare Council has been concerned that in Ontario full use is not being made of the provisions of the

Canada Assistance Plan. Consequently, last Fall we arranged for three meetings in widely separated areas and invited those concerned with social and welfare services, including welfare recipients.

The discussions in all areas quickly moved away from the provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan and concentrated on the problems of poverty.

You will note that these findings only serve to reinforce the Social Policy Committee proposals which are our recommendations.

Canada Assistance Plan Meeting Findings

Some of the findings from these meetings applied to Ontario only. However others would seem to apply all across the country and we include them here for your information.

1. Rate of unemployment has an important effect on the financial picture. Insecurity of job tenure produces a marginal group for whom poverty becomes a way of life. They are characterized by high residential and geographic mobility, instability of expectation, inadequate housing, high debt rates and inadequate budgets. These factors produce instability of family life, inadequate performance of children in school and eventually in jobs.

2. There was agreement that the co-operation of public and voluntary agencies in health, welfare and education, is necessary to break the cycle of poverty which conditions children to the same way of life as the older generation.

Recommendations which came out of these meetings were:

- (a) The implementation of a guaranteed annual income.

- (b) The raising of Family Allowances which have not been increased since 1945. (It was stressed that the needs of large families cannot be met through the wage structure.)

- (c) Greater federal participation in meeting the financial needs of municipalities.

- (d) Purchase of service from the private sector under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Other concerns out of these meetings on the Canada Assistance Plan follow:

Service provisions for marginal income families: those on public assistance have access to day care, homemaker services, health services, counselling, etc.—the low income

family has difficulty meeting the cost of these services and may go into debt which ultimately may mean that it may require public assistance. Consequently the implementation of the provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan regarding preventive services is extremely important.

Implicit through all the discussions were the attitudes toward the poor. The stereotype of the poor being lazy, promiscuous, improvident, drunk and generally different emerged time and again. It was interesting that this view was often presented by the respectable poor as well as by the providers of services.

Throughout the Canada Assistance Plan meetings it was pointed out repeatedly that almost everyone in our society receives some kind of social service. Even the middle-income may need day care for children, care for the aged, homemaker or medical services.

However some social services are attached to income maintenance programs. There was a feeling that receiving a service within the "welfare" system was qualitatively different from receiving the same service on the basis of social or private insurance or for a fee.

The distinction is important because the dignity of the recipient is involved and may be the clue to some of the complex causes of perpetual poverty. Specifically it was pointed out that (in Ontario) low income people have to apply to the welfare department to get day care services. This was considered demeaning for those who struggle hard to stay off welfare.

At all of these meetings there was a great deal of concern about the life style of financially dependent people. Both those who were sympathetic and those who were critical agreed that in a work-oriented society, financial dependency does not mean loss of income only, but also the loss of control over one's way of life, the loss of social status and the ultimate loss of initiative.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations resulting from the conference Poverty Workshop and The Canadian Welfare Council's Statement "Social Policies for Canada" follow.

The Ontario Welfare Council hopes that they will receive careful consideration.

RECOMMENDATIONS PROPOSALS RESULTING FROM STUDY OF THE CONFERENCE

The broad areas in the Ontario Welfare Council Recommendations can be divided into two: SOCIAL SECURITY and SOCIAL SERVICE.

SOCIAL SECURITY

1. Guaranteed Annual Income:

The Ontario Welfare Council supports the principle of Guaranteed Annual Income. It recognizes that it is a complex issue and that it will take time before it can be translated into a feasible program.

In any implementation of a Guaranteed Annual Income Plan the Council recommends;

(a) All welfare income should be subject to taxation.

(b) Income structure should be related to family size.

(c) A 'uniform income floor' is a "must" because provisions under social assistance programs are providing assistance in different amounts, which are not uniform and often provide only for subsistence.

(d) A guaranteed annual income plan should be universal. The present system is geared to particular segments of the population, excluding many who cannot provide for themselves and must rely on categorical programs. These are complex and expensive to administer and subject to widely different interpretations depending on the region or the administrator. (We point out here that by taxing benefits 100 percent above a certain income level, a universal plan could meet the needs for adequate income distribution without benefitting those who do not need it.)

(e) Provisions for an adequate minimum wage should be combined with guaranteed annual income to avoid the possibility of subsidizing employers.

(f) Inflation: Public social security programs should be adjusted realistically and on a continuous review basis to the rising cost of living. In this context the OWC also supports the Canadian Welfare Council's Statement, Social Policies for Canada Recommendation, Part 1, page 72:

"Payments to old age security beneficiaries should be increased sufficiently to protect beneficiaries fully against erosion in purchasing power and to relate payments to changes in general living standards for the country as a whole."

2. Universal Health Program:

The Council recommends that: existing medical, hospital and drug coverage should be expanded to include everybody and these programs should be administered by one authority, with a dental plan providing preventive dental care initiated.

3. Old Age Security and Canada Pension Plan:

(a) The basic amount of Old Age Security should be raised.

(b) Old Age Security and Canada Pension Plan payments should be continuously reviewed and adjusted to the cost of living. IT WOULD BE COMMENDABLE IF PENSION PLANS IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR would follow the principle above.

(c) The Council points out that the Canadian Welfare Council policy in (f) above is equally significant here.

4. Family Allowances:

(a) As an alternative to guaranteed annual income, or until such time as it becomes a reality, Family Allowances should be substantially increased to a realistic level, to meet the financial needs of dependent children.

5. Family Benefits Act and General Welfare Assistance Act (Ontario):

(a) The maximum allowance clause of the Family Benefits Act and the General Welfare Assistance Act should not apply to the overall amount. It may be necessary to retain maximum clauses for component parts of the budget.

(b) The present provisions in the areas of rent and pre-added budget should be reviewed and the maximums increased to meet actual costs.

(c) It is recognized that public welfare at this time is geared to a subsistence level, not to an adequate minimum standard of living. Therefore benefits should be extended to cover family requirements beyond the bare necessities.

(As a general comment the Ontario Welfare Council wishes to point out that it is aware that very few recipients get the maximum allowance, and that it has some doubts as to whether provisions in some other areas are adequately implemented.)

SOCIAL SERVICES

1. Day Care and Homemaker Services:

(a) Day care and homemaker services should be extended to all single parent families.

(b) Working mothers should be able to get help in case of sickness in the family.

(c) The cost of these services should be geared to the ability of service recipients to pay for them.

2. Vocational Retraining:

(a) Retraining programs should be changed to develop the potential of human resources. Currently they meet only the manpower needs of the economy.

(b) Machinery should be set up to counsel and direct potential trainees to appropriate training facilities.

3. Quality of Service:

(a) Municipal welfare services should be incorporated into county, region, district or city units so that they are able to hire adequate staff.

(b) Welfare administrators and personnel should be appointed on the basis of administrative leadership, and personal suitability as well as appropriate education.

(c) The competence of welfare personnel should be fostered through staff development, appropriate administrative supervision, education and training.

(d) There should be easily accessible channels for complaints of recipients. Information concerning the rights of welfare recipients should be readily accessible to them.

(e) Welfare recipients must be protected effectively against the violation of their civil rights.

SOCIAL SERVICES—GOALS

The following four recommendations apply to all organizations, government or voluntary, including the Ontario Welfare Council itself, whose decisions may affect the quality of life of those who are not able to operate without assistance. It is based on the philosophy that these people should have some control of their own destiny, some part in the making of decisions carried out on their behalf.

(a) Assistance should be given to the development of community projects in the social service field, in which the people who are to be affected by these services, define their own program, form their own groups and choose their own leadership.

(b) When decisions are to be made which affect the nature and quality of services, encouragement should be given to the participation of those who may receive these services on decision-making

bodies, such as boards of directors of voluntary agencies, government commissions, etc.

(c) Funds should be provided to allow organizations of low income people to set up neighborhood centres or other facilities for helping the poor. While the funds may come from public or private sources, the Council feels there is urgency in

taking advantage of the Canada Assistance Plan provisions where they affect community development and preventive programs.

(d) This is an extension of (c) to emphasize its importance. The Council believes the preventive potential of the Canada Assistance Plan should be carefully explored and implemented through innovative programs as soon as possible.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON
POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 26

TUESDAY, MARCH 10, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Welfare and Housing Committee of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. The Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto. The Victoria Day Care Services. The Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto. Ontario Federation of Citizens' Associations. The Staff of the Duke of York School of the Board of Education for the City of Toronto. Neighbourhood Youth Corps. Community on the Move, *Lawrence Heights*, and Community Association, *North York*.

(See the MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS for the names of the witnesses who were heard by the committee.)

APPENDICES:

(See the MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS for a list of the Briefs printed as appendices.)

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Fergusson	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Carter	Fournier (<i>Madawaska-</i>	McGrand
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	<i>Restigouche,</i>	Pearson
Cook	<i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Quart
Croll	Hastings	Roebuck
Eudes	Inman	Sparrow
Everett	Lefrançois	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Mada-waska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TORONTO, Tuesday, March 10, 1970.
St. Lawrence Hall.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Cook, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier, Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow. (11).

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE WELFARE AND HOUSING COMMITTEE OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO:

Controller Karl Mallette, Chairman;
Mr. John Anderson, Welfare Commissioner;
Mayor True Davidson, Borough of East York.

THE ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN ELECTORS OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO:

Mrs. H. W. Rowlands, President;
Mrs. Audrey Berger, Executive Director;
Mrs. Pat. Murphy, Executive Director;
Mrs. Pat. Rice, Chairman, Regional Welfare Committee.

At 12.00 noon the Committee adjourned until 2.00 p.m., at which time it resumed sitting as two separate Sub-committees:

Sub-committee "A", Honourable Senator Croll, (*Chairman*);

Sub-committee "B", Honourable Senator Fournier, (*Chairman*).

At 2.00 p.m. Sub-committee "A" met at St. Lawrence Hall.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*); Cook, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson and Inman. (6)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director;

THE VICTORIA DAY CARE SERVICES:

Mrs. Barbara Chisholm, Executive Director;
Mrs. Craig Davidson, President;
Mrs. A. Seepee.

THE BIG BROTHERS OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO:

Mr. Geoffrey Brown, Executive Director;
Mrs. Laura Ferrier, Research Associate.

FROM THE FLOOR:

Mr. Denis Colby;
Mrs. D. S. Kent;
Miss Alice Setchell.

At 4.40 p.m. Sub-committee "A" adjourned until 8.00 p.m.

At 8.00 p.m. Sub-committee "A" met at the Warden Avenue Public School, Scarborough.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*), Cook, Everett, Fergusson and Inman. (5)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

ONTARIO FEDERATION OF CITIZENS' ASSOCIATIONS:

Mr. P. Green, President;
Mr. D. Davis, Executive Director;
Mr. R. J. Murrell, Principal, Warden Avenue Public School.

FROM THE FLOOR:

Mr. Alfred Carwell;
Mr. Dan Fletcher;
Mrs. Virginia Forgie;
Mrs. Pat Colby;
Mrs. Dawson Fuller;
Mrs. June Egoroff;
Mr. Wilfred Mountain;
Mr. Ken Radford;
Mr. J. Weatherhead;
Mrs. Beatrice Roden;
Mrs. G. Smith;
Alderman Bill Belfontaine;
Mrs. Helen Effer;
Mrs. J. Tremblett.

The briefs listed hereunder were ordered to be printed as appendices:

"A"—Brief submitted by The Welfare and Housing Committee of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto;

"B"—Brief submitted by Mayor True Davidson of the Borough of East York;

"C"—Brief submitted by The Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto;

"D"—Brief submitted by Victoria Day Care Services;

"E"—Brief submitted by Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto;

"F"—Brief submitted by Ontario Federation of Citizens' Associations.

At 10.00 p.m. Sub-committee "A" adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Wednesday, March 11, 1970, at St. Lawrence Hall.

TUESDAY, March 10th, 1970.

At 2.00 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" met at the Duke of York School, 14 Pembroke Street, Toronto.

Present: The Honourable Senators Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*) (*Chairman*), Carter, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow. (5)

In attendance: Messrs. Michael Clague and Alan Holman, Community Liaisons for the Committee.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE STAFF OF THE DUKE OF YORK SCHOOL OF THE
BOARD OF EDUCATION FOR THE CITY OF TORONTO:

Mr. Walter Sinclair, Principal;
Mr. William J. Quinn, Inspector of Schools, District No. 7, Toronto;
Mr. James E. Laughlin, Inspector of Schools, District No. 8, Toronto;
Mrs. Zelda Feldbrill, School Social Worker;
Miss Tanis Sigurjonsson, Teacher;
Mrs. Bernice Laski, Teacher; and
Miss Rosemary Draper, Teacher.

Following a tour of the Duke of York School, a formal presentation was made to the Committee by the Principal.

NEIGHBOURHOOD YOUTH CORPS:

Mr. James Steele, Advisory Chairman; and
Mr. Samuel Rotenberg, a local merchant in the city of Toronto.

MR. ALAN WALDRON.

At 5.10 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" adjourned until 7.45 p.m. at the Flemington Road Public School, 10 Flemington Road, Toronto.

At 7.45 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" met at Flemington Road Public School.

Present: The Honourable Senators Pearson (*Chairman*), Carter, McGrand and Sparrow. (4)

In attendance: Messrs. Michael Clague and Alan Holman, Community Liaisons for the Committee.

Representatives from the COMMUNITY ON THE MOVE, Lawrence Heights, and COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION, North York, were heard:

Dale Shuttleworth, Flemington Road Public School;
Jim Montgomerie, Principal of Flemington Road Public School;
Harry Zwerver, Lawrence Heights Family and Child Service;
Mrs. Barbara Aoki, North York Department of Parks and Recreation,
Lawrence Heights Community Centre;
Mrs. Marilyn Gross, National Council of Jewish Women;
Len Chester, Bathurst Heights Public Library;
Rev. Issac Tiessen, Mennonite Brethren Church;

Mrs. Janet Gilmour, Lawrence Heights Family and Child Service
Volunteers;
Saul Cowan, Trustee—North York Board of Education;
Fr. David Clarke, St. Philips Anglican Church;
Eldon Comfort, Yorkdale Vocational School;
Jesse Deane, Twelve Madison;
Supt. Charles Bond, Metropolitan Toronto Police Department;
Al McChesney, Legal Counselling Service;
Paul Godfrey, Alderman, Borough of North York;
Mrs. Leona Morley, Mrs. Mary McNeilage, Mrs. Sylvia Parker, Mrs.
Grace Sherman, Mrs. Ivy Barker, Mrs. Jean Dale; and Messrs. John
Frotten, John Cadieux, Denis Bulman, and David Burrows.

The briefs listed hereunder were ordered to be printed as Appendices.

“G”—Brief submitted by the Staff of the Duke of York School of the Board
of Education for the City of Toronto.

“H”—Brief submitted by the Neighbourhood Youth Corps.

At 10.30 p.m. Sub-Committee “B” adjourned until 10.00 a.m., Wednesday, March 11th, at the Vocational Rehabilitation School of Metropolitan
Toronto, 74 Tycos Drive.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Toronto, Tuesday, March 10, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m. at The St. Lawrence Hall, 157 King Street East, Toronto.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will call to order the meeting of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. There are a few preliminary remarks that I need to make. The committee will be sitting in Toronto today, tomorrow and Thursday. We have 23 briefs that have already been spoken for and presented to the committee. We shall be sitting here and in other parts of the city, as indicated.

Senator Fournier, the Vice-Chairman of the Committee, along with Senators Carter, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow, will form one committee, and the rest of us who are here at the present time will be in the other committee.

Senator Fournier will have to return to Ottawa for a very important obligation that he undertook some time ago, and Senator Pearson will take the Flemingdon meeting tonight.

Tomorrow, Wednesday, we have three meetings by the Fournier committee, and Senator McGrand will be chairman of the morning committee, Senator Carter of the afternoon committee, and Senator Pearson will again take the evening committee.

The administration officer for Senator Fournier's committee will be Mr. Clague, and of our committee Mr. Lord. The clerk for Senator Fournier's committee will be Mr. Savoie, and for ours it will be Mr. Coderre.

The people who drew the schedule apparently did not appreciate the considerable distances involved between the hotel and where we have to meet in the evening. I assume, Mr. Controller, that they thought the Spadina Expressway had already been built. They are a little ahead of time. For that reason all of you will have to be on time. If it calls for leaving at seven, it must be seven, or you will hardly make it in time for the meeting.

We have had a couple of calls from people who said that they had some presentation they wanted to make to the committee. I suggest that they get in touch with Mr. Joyce, who is the Director of the committee, on my left. If they will get in touch with him we will try to make some arrangements that are suitable within our capacity considering the obligations we have already made.

We have a submission prepared by the Welfare and Housing Committee and the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, represented by Mr. John G. Anderson, whom you know; on his immediate right, Controller Mallett, who is chairman of the committee.

Then we have a very old friend, Mayor True Davidson of the Borough of East York, who is making a presentation of her own.

The rules are the same as we always apply. Mr. Anderson will speak for about fifteen minutes; Mr. Mallett will speak for about the same time; then we will ask questions. Later on I will leave room for Mayor Davidson who wants fifteen minutes.

Mr. John G. Anderson, Welfare Commissioner, Welfare and Housing Committee, Metropolitan Toronto: Ladies and gentlemen of the Committee. I being the first speaker and this being the first experience in Toronto with this Committee, I was not prepared for a ten or fifteen minute presentation beyond the content of the submission itself.

Very briefly, this report of the Municipal Committee is not going to cover the whole field of welfare administration or poverty in Canada by any means. We are trying to deal with those things that the Welfare Committee of Metropolitan Toronto considers to be some of the most significant factors in the problems of the municipality, particularly as they are or should be affected by federal or provincial programs or commitments.

A single area, even one as large as Toronto, cannot introduce plans for wage supplements without contributions from the senior levels; beyond contributions from the senior levels towards such programs, it is hardly feasible for us to do anything significant in this field

and create greater incentives for migration to this area of unskilled labour that affect us on a unilateral basis.

If Toronto is to be the only place in Ontario, as an example, which provides wage incentives and wage subsidies, then obviously Toronto will become more and more singled out as the place that would receive the higher rates of unskilled and uneducated labour.

I believe that no-one in Toronto, particularly those members of our committee and our council would wish to discourage migration of people within Canada or immigration to Canada. We understand full well that the migration is basically intended by the people involved to improve their own circumstances and to improve the opportunities for their children.

We feel that everything is being done at the present time that is required by legislation on our part, but much more should be done in this area, particularly in the places from which the people are departing. It does not need repeating that in Toronto, as far as the Welfare Department is concerned, one in five of all new welfare recipients has arrived in Toronto almost immediately prior to their application for assistance. Five per cent of all the people on welfare at any time in Toronto are people who have arrived in Toronto within the year.

These could not be significant factors alone, if it could be assumed that such arrivals and such requests for assistance were of a short term nature, it is becoming more and more obvious that many of the situations with which we deal are conditions that will require long-term assistance.

In one week in one of our offices—and we have nine—five teenagers from a single province arrived requesting assistance, all of them having less than Grade 5 education. Dealing with our family hostels, within the period of a month we received several families which are mother-led with four or five children, with no accommodation, no household effects and no plans for long term residence in Toronto beyond an appeal to the Welfare Department for assistance, for accommodation and for financial needs. These situations are multiplied many times over, and indicate the need which our Committee stress as vital, for information services not only with regard to welfare but with regard to education, health, family planning and a variety of other services—not only in Toronto, where steps are being taken to provide this information ser-

vice, but at the point of departure. The Committee has emphasized what we consider to be a need for not only planning for the departure from the place of origin, but some assistance—probably at the federal level—with the financial requirements of a family coming to Toronto as settlers.

Now, we feel that this is not something that should be regulated or regimented as far as moving from place to place is concerned. If families are going to move and if their moves are going to be stimulated by their local governments, then a financial arrangement would be an added inducement to these families to make their plans known and to have those plans forwarded in advance to the place where they would be received, so that we can not only consider their needs in terms of welfare but we can plan for their reception with regard to accommodation, which would mean long-term planning of housing, for hospitalization, education and all of the requirements which a family have when they come into a new area.

In some parts of Ontario, particularly rural parts of Ontario, the reception of one large family can mean a disruption of the whole school system for the area. This may seem rather incongruous, but if you have a very small school and a family of twelve arrives, it can upset the school system for the particular area. This is an aside which does not concern Toronto basically, but this problem multiplied many times over does indicate some of the need we have in the educational field alone.

For the balance of the brief, the Committee has instructed me to state that combined with any program of increased benefits based on family allowance, such as is recommended in the brief, there should be combined a strong emphasis on the need for limitation of family size and for family planning. Family size can contribute significantly to poverty.

We recognize that a full public health program, including the provisions of family planning information, must be a part of any total approach to the poverty problem. This again re-enforces the need, recognized by the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, for a strong and effective information service for all citizens. Family planning, to defeat poverty, must begin before the welfare services are required.

Linked with credit buying, unplanned families can create instant financial chaos among young couples who are committed to high payments, used to a double income, and are

suddenly required to live on the earnings of the husband alone. It is difficult to assess the financial problems which are linked to this last-mentioned problem of our society. The alteration in living standards that stems from the elimination of working wives from the family income for varying periods cannot be over-emphasized.

We are all aware of the young couples, relatively unskilled, who can start out in marriage with incomes which themselves are relatively low, possibly in the neighbourhood of four or five thousand dollars per week. On this double income, such young couples are encouraged to live and buy at a rate of income in the junior executive level. They may be living on a standard of eight to twelve thousand dollars a year with two incomes, and a sudden pregnancy reduces this at a time of most financial need to half of what they have been used to over a period of a year or two years, with the commitments that have been made in this regard.

Much has been said throughout the country about the need for a guaranteed income floor. The Committee of Metropolitan Toronto has not gone further in this recommendation than to emphasize the existence of such a system within the family allowances program. Some years ago the family allowances program was a significant item in family budgeting; it could represent, in a family of four, as much as 25 to 30 per cent of the family income. If this were related to the cost of living today, family allowances would be perhaps in the neighbourhood of \$40 to \$50 per child.

While we realize that this is possibly not a program which the federal government want to embark on at the present time, since they have indicated some desire for selectivity, we think that the tool to do the job is immediately accessible in the family allowance program. It only requires to be re-programmed for larger amounts of money; and if this income is then linked with the income tax system on a graduated basis, the selectivity which the federal government seems to want can again be applied with the system of collection of family allowances back in the form of income tax from those who do not require it as an income floor.

There are other points in the brief that you may wish to ask questions on, and certain of these points have been particularly identified by two members of my council or of my committee who are here and would possibly want to answer questions on these points themselves.

Without identifying the opinions, I think that particularly those questions relating to housing are of interest to the two elected officials who are with me today. One in particular has made reference to the need for smaller homes, for lower cost homes for working people; another has put particular stress on the credit purchasing problem.

With those remarks, I think I will introduce Mr. Mallett.

Controller Karl Mallett (Chairman, Welfare and Housing Committee, Metropolitan Toronto): Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee, ladies and gentlemen in the audience. I am Controller Mallett, and I represent Scarborough on the Metropolitan Toronto Council. I happen to be the chairman of the Metropolitan Toronto Housing Committee this current year.

Mr. Chairman, I wanted to bring to the attention of the Committee some factors involved in the cost of housing that I feel should be in part reviewed and, secondly, taken into account in your future thinking.

The second item on the brief is the point that shelter is one of the major outlays of each family. In the Metropolitan Toronto area these shelter costs are about the highest on the continent, if not the highest; and they are high for a number of reasons.

I would like to bring to the attention of the Committee the fact that the federal government has often primed the construction industry in the past to create employment, as an economic means of increasing employment. The means by which they did that in the 1950s, and particularly the early 1950s—not everybody here today will recall that we had a surplus of housing in around 1955 or 1956 when this was occurring—the devised means and they interfered with the basic laws of supply and demand.

I bought my house in 1949, and up until that year you had to save up 40 per cent down payment before a mortgage company would supply you with the rest of the money to purchase a house. It meant, of course, that you were a little older and a little more responsible at the time that you purchased your house.

Concurrently at that time there was a great deal of unemployment. The federal government took advantage of the fact that when you build a house you can create a lot of employment in producing the material that goes into a house, the furniture that goes into

a house and the appliances that go into a housing unit. They set up regulations under the National Housing Act which allowed persons to obtain a house with 10 per cent down. They were also allowed to take two-thirds of the wife's income to qualify them for the mortgage.

We have had the most experience of any place in the country in my municipality of Scarborough. We have the greatest number of minimum size N.H.A. homes in Scarborough of any municipality in Canada.

As a result of the lower payment, and also what in my opinion were illegal second mortgages allowed for gas-heating equipment, gas dryers and gas refrigerators, some persons got into homes for \$150 with up to a thousand and eight hundred dollars mortgages on gas equipment.

Of course, the point that Mr. Anderson made just a moment ago applies, because when young couples have the privacy of their own homes, their families come along quicker. As a result, we had a higher birth rate in Scarborough for a number of years than India or China; we suddenly had this great influx of young couples, and 50 per cent of our population was under the age of sixteen.

It is all very well for the federal government to say that there is a constitutional problem which prevents them from considering the cost of education, but those families that were attracted to Scarborough had to be educated. We had to supply parks; we had to supply recreational facilities; we had to supply libraries; and, believe it or not, we had to supply hospitals.

Shortly after the 1950s, we were in the throes of trying to provide these facilities, the schools and the libraries and the hospitals, when the federal government made another mistake. They offered a scheme whereby you could borrow money for something for which you had not planned, so long as you completed it in 1967 as a Centennial project. At the same time, they encouraged the creation of Expo in Montreal. Now, the damage to the economy will never be gauged, because in an eighteen-month period ending in 1967 the cost of construction rose 30 per cent. This had the effect of increasing the costs of the hospitals that we were attempting to build at the time from about \$22,000 a bed up to about \$30,000 a bed. It increased the cost of all the construction in which the municipality was involved, including schools, including hous-

ing, and this is all included in the shelter cost today.

There is another factor that the federal government appears to ignore. As evidence of that, I draw your attention to a large four-column ad in the *Globe and Mail* this morning by Central Mortgage and Housing, under which they are calling for builder proposals for loans at 7 7/8 per cent, when, as you know, the going rate is 10 1/2 per cent. I think you should all be cognisant of the fact that a one per cent increase in mortgage rate adds twelve dollars to the average cost of a rental unit, and certainly adds a great deal to the cost of a house.

More recently the federal government made another mistake in the result—not in the initial action; they introduced the Canada Pension Plan. The first month that the Canada Pension Plan was introduced, the financial pages of the *Toronto Daily Star* reported that \$75 million was lost to the insurance companies that normally provided most of that money for mortgages. The federal government was advised by economists that they would have to replace those mortgage funds. They failed to do so, and they increased the shortage of mortgage money by allowing the Canada Pension Plan money to be turned over to the provinces. In the case of Ontario, the Ontario Capital Corporation was set up.

The pension fund moneys that you pay into the federal government are turned over to the province, and they re-loan to the municipalities to build schools. In this way, the Ontario Government avoided increasing taxes conveniently until after the election.

The net result, of course, is that this is all added cost on the cost of shelter.

The fact that the federal and the provincial governments take advantage of the municipalities in times of unemployment, have the exact opposite effect today. The federal government has cut down the funds for building; they have reduced the mortgage funds by the introduction of the Canada Pension Plan; they have encouraged the increase in construction cost by Expo; they have left the municipalities to cope.

On the provincial level, we are contained to repayment of debt of 25 cents on the dollar, so that the Ontario Municipal Board refuses the municipalities the opportunity to service land; and because we cannot service land, we require the developer to service land. He has to hire an extra set of engineers and he has

to pay the 11 per cent sales tax on the federal level on all housing and servicing for the housing. He has to pay the provincial 5 per cent that is compounded on top of the 11 per cent. He has to pay corporation income tax to the federal government and provincial government; then, by golly, as an individual he has to pay his individual income tax on top of that.

Now, you have to be realistic. A developer is not there for the good of the country; he is there to make a dollar; so he adds his profit on top of that, and when you buy a house you pay it all.

So in my opinion it is somewhat a posturing position when the Central Mortgage & Housing places an ad in the paper this morning suggesting that they have a fund of \$200 million to build housing, that cannot be taken advantage of in Metropolitan Toronto because the municipalities are not in a financial position to accept the low assessed housing. In Scarborough we simply had to zone up to a size of house that would give the financial return to the municipality, whose only source of income is the assessment of houses and businesses; we had to zone up so that that house paid its own way within the municipality, because south of 401 we already have the greatest number of single family N.H.A. houses in Canada.

The Chairman asked me to speak for ten minutes. I would just like to bring your attention to one other factor. The federal government utilised the limited-dividend financing procedure to build quite a number of apartments. There are 2,545. I notice from your schedule that part of your Committee will be visiting Warden Woods in Scarborough this evening. I would like to ask you, sir, that you have some of your Committee visit some limited-dividend apartments. I have visited rental accommodation yesterday in North York and I have the prices for the rental accommodation, the condominium accommodation, in my briefcase. You will find that it costs from \$217 basic upwards for a two-bedroom apartment, either to buy or to rent. I can arrange, sir, that your Committee visit three-bedroom limited-dividend apartments of equal size which are electrically equipped and rent for \$109 a month.

I would like to suggest to your Committee that there be a suggestion to the government that greater use be made of the limited dividend features of the National Housing Act in this growing municipality also that they

make arrangements so that municipalities can afford to absorb them.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That families with children be given priority in provision of an increased and realistic income floor through Family Allowances;

2. That in view of the pressing need for low-cost housing, consideration be given for rapid increases in public housing stocks in areas of rapid urban growth, and that standards be approved for provision of smaller, economical units of housing as single family dwellings;

3. That Federal immigration and migration plans be developed to provide for training and settlement allowances for families and single persons;

4. That earning exemptions and incentives be provided in income maintenance programs;

5. That welfare schedules be re-examined for inclusion to a greater degree of social needs of family above the subsistence level;

6. That welfare schedules provide for incorporation of annual living cost adjustments at specified dates;

7. That documentation requirements be standardized to the various levels and departments of government to the convenience of the recipient;

8. That the senior governments undertake extensive public information campaigns relative to the dangers and costs of credit buying as it affects the low-income group and that increased protection be afforded this group through credit regulations.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, gentlemen. Senator Fournier.

Senator Fournier: Mr. Chairman, in the brief on page 3 I read this:

Families go hungry to repair a television set, buy a birthday present, or to spare an older child the embarrassment in high school of not being able to buy a gym suit...

What is your experience in this with the people who receive welfare? Is welfare money always well spent? I have a long list of my experience, but I would like to hear from you. Do you think that welfare money is always well spent?

Mr. Anderson: No, no one could say welfare money is always well spent. I think when a family does a reasonably successful job of raising a family, seeing that they are clothed and fed and housed on welfare money, then it must be well spent because the money is only adequate just to do those things. If they are doing that, then they must be doing marvelously as far as financial budgeting is concerned.

Certainly there are situations where the intelligence level or mental health of the individual is such that they are not able to accomplish good family budgeting. This particular section is referring to many of the welfare families who do a good job.

In the case of Toronto, particularly, much of the public housing that has been going on has been to decentralize away from the downtown areas, with the result that many families who have lived in what were concentrated poverty areas are now living in areas of relative affluence, or at least middle-class standards. When you put a public housing project with, say, forty or fifty or a hundred and fifty children into a school section where the rest of the children are reasonably affluent, then these children have the kind of problem—and this is only one of the problems that was cited—where the child in a public housing unit on welfare goes into a school where the balance of the children are from families with incomes of \$10 to \$15 or \$18 thousand a year range. They are put into situations that are very embarrassing, where school trips are planned, where even outings are planned, in which they cannot participate.

Here is an example, we felt, where the school system either should withdraw this as part of the school program, or some arrangement should be made within the school system—not necessarily within the welfare system—to make these self-supporting ventures rather than individual contributions from children where in a class of twenty-five, twenty-two of them can participate and three must withdraw from almost all activities.

This is just an example. To get back to your question, certainly in Toronto there are all kinds of examples of drunkenness on welfare, flagrant misuse of money which often results in Children's Aid Society intervention. The only thing we can do with that is to try to intensify a small program that we have in Toronto of a home economist going into the home to teach home economics, family budgeting and family or household duties, for the

benefit of some of the people who do not have the capability.

Senator Fournier: I thank you, sir.

Senator Carter: I would like to follow on the question raised by Senator Fournier, because the type of phenomena that Senator Fournier refers to is pretty general, and it is not confined to Canada. I remember in Italy in 1966, when we were going from Naples to Pompei, on the way we passed a little community which was really a slum—just a collection of huts with corrugated roofs and bits of cardboard, sheets of iron, anything they could get to put together and make a building; and the one thing that was noticeable about that community was a whole forest of television antenna. It seemed incongruous.

In your definition right on the first page you say:—

...poverty includes the inability to acquire and enjoy without stigma those goods and services which are necessary to preserve human dignity.

I think this is part of the explanation of that type of phenomena: it is an attempt on the part of those deprived people to stay within what they consider to be the community, to have some outward sign of the goods and services which they feel are necessary for human dignity. I think that is an inner urge that we must accept. I would like to get your opinion on that.

Mr. Mallett: We were concerned, sir, as noted in one of our recommendations here, with the huckstering that goes on in advertising. If you pick up the paper any day, you will see ads in there from Air Canada, for instance, urging you to fly to Britain and pay later, and urging you to go south in the wintertime. The poor people are exposed every bit as much, and perhaps more so, to this type of advertising on-spot as perhaps persons that are out working harder. They feel they are entitled to it because that is what the ad says. That is what the advertising says, that you are entitled to it whether you work or not: you can go now and pay later. So that if they have not the opportunity to watch television, as your story suggests, or if they have not the opportunity once in a while go get out and do something, they feel they are being left behind as compared to other people.

Senator Carter: Do you not think it goes a little further than being entitled to it? Do you not think it is the necessity on their part to

have and to try to hold on to some outward sign that they are still part of the community? Do you not think that it goes beyond this, that there is an urge inside of them?

Mr. Mallett: Yes, clothes perhaps, vehicles, television: they are outward signs of prosperity.

Senator Carter: Mr. Anderson gave us some breakdown of welfare cases on the basis of their time of arrival and the period that they had been resident in the municipality. I wanted to ask him if he has any other type of breakdown besides that, based on other criteria?

Mr. Anderson: No, I do not have them with me, but at any given time we can produce the number of people who are on welfare as the result of unemployment directly, but, there again, we tend to talk about people who are employable and who are unemployed, and simply on the basis of a medical certificate usually; but quite often this does not get to the bottom of the problem of the unemployed person who is unemployed for a variety of reasons, including emotional problems, illiteracy. There is a tendency to call these people employable, whereas in fact many employers would reject them from the type of job that is available in this industrial society in Toronto.

We know what the figures are with regard to desertion, with regard to unmarried mothers within a given time.

Just the economic impossibility of living on what you are able to earn is sometimes a factor. If you have eight or ten children in Toronto, your welfare benefits can go up as high as four hundred dollars a month for a family of that size, plus drugs, dental programs, health programs that go with it. If your earning capacity is sixty-five or seventy-five dollars a week, at the present time it becomes uneconomic for some families to work under those situations. That is why we have strongly recommended this income floor.

Senator Carter: How are these scales worked out? Do you have a general scale for Metropolitan Toronto; does each municipality have a scale of its own?

Mr. Anderson: No. The Province of Ontario, under the General Welfare Assistance Act, lays down the scale which must be provided. It budgets for every adult in the family, every child on the basis of three age groups over its period of time from one to sixteen years of

age. We are required to pay that scale as a mandatory feature. We must pay a rent scale as a mandatory feature, or a mortgage scale as the case may be, a shelter allowance, a fuel allowance, a household items allowance, and utilities allowance.

Senator Carter: Do you know the basis on which that scale is compiled?

Mr. Anderson: The basis is presumably on the basis of the home economists from the Department of Social and Family Services of the province, and it is up-dated periodically. It is one of the recommendations that it is behind times at the present time.

The Chairman: When you say it is up-dated periodically, there has been no up-dating since 1967, the cost of living has gone up twelve-and-a-half or fifteen per cent, so it is not periodic.

Mr. Anderson: This is exactly the point I make, that although it is done periodically it is not obviously done on a continuing basis. We have recommended in our brief that it be done on an annual basis. This is the recommendation from the municipality to the province.

Mr. Mallett: One major factor, Senator Carter, is the fact that the province does not make allowance for the higher shelter cost areas in the province. The maximum, I believe, is around \$85.00 a month, which simply would not get you accommodation in Metropolitan Toronto.

Senator Carter: One last question. You mention on page 2 in paragraph 3.4, that:

Much of the client bitterness at the local level of administration comes from the local inability to ignore or exempt the casual or limited earnings of the recipient.

If you were in a position to exempt the casual earnings of the recipient, how would you go about it? Would you do it on a flat rate basis or a percentage basis, and, if so, how much exemption would you give?

Mr. Anderson: The province has already laid down a standard which applies to their own long-term assistance cases, which could be applicable to ours. It is on a flat rate base plus a percentage of earnings to a given amount and reducing percentage from there on.

I think that unless we get into, at the federal level, wage supplementation, this is a thing

that might continue to be discretionary and limited in period of time by the municipality involved; because it can involve such situations as the family limit their intention, their hours of work, to the most economically profitable situation.

So I would like to see in the case of employable people, having time limits and being discretionary, but at the same time having the authority.

Senator Carter: I am sorry. Did I understand you to say that the province does give exemptions now?

Mr. Anderson: Under the Family Benefits Act, the province does provide exemptions on earnings of any member of the family.

Senator Carter: How much?

Mr. Anderson: Part-time. As I say, it depends on the size of the family. There is a small amount which is permitted without any deduction. Beyond that, depending on the size of the family, the exemptions increase or decrease.

The Chairman: It is thirty dollars without, is it not?

Mr. Anderson: I could not give you the actual figure. There is a member of the audience who could.

The Chairman: Who is it?

Mr. Anderson: Mr. Bassett from the Family Court.

The Chairman: Let him tell us. What is the amount, Mr. Bassett?

Mr. Bassett: I believe it is \$24.00 for one person.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Anderson: It grows with every member of the family. That is not the total exemption; that is the point at which percentages start to be deducted.

Senator Carter: Can you give us the percentage?

Mr. Anderson: I am afraid I do not have the Family Benefits Act.

The Chairman: We will get that in the next brief.

Senator Carter: I just want to get his opinion as to whether the present state is satisfac-

tory or he has some ideas as to whether it should be changed and how it should be changed.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Mallett: What we are concerned with is that when a person goes on to family benefits, what we used to call mothers' allowances, after they have come off general welfare assistance they have those incentive provisions, but presently those incentive provisions do not apply to the general welfare assistance section of the Act that we have to administer.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to refer to Section 7 on page 6 of the brief, where you refer to the need to involve in welfare decision-making the people who are the recipients of welfare. I think all of our Committee have heard this before, and I think they are very sympathetic and we all agree that this is very important; but it has been brought out to us that only recipients of assistance, as you say, can really comprehend what the problems are.

You go on in your brief to say that there is danger in this, and you say that you hear complaints often that it is only the best educated or most intelligent of the consumers or recipients that take part in these things. So it seems to me that even if we do draw into participation with the administration some of the recipients, we are not getting the participation of those who actually need it the most.

What I particularly want to refer to is the last paragraph, 7.3, where you say:

Too often these client groups have themselves displayed a lack of understanding and compassion for the illiterate, the alcoholic, the emotionally ill or mentally retarded.

I do not remember, in any evidence before us, that we have been told of this lack of understanding by people of the group. I wonder if you find this quite often in your Committee?

Mr. Anderson: I don't think the Committee finds this, because the Committee has not such involved discussion; but this is simply, in one sense, my own thinking, I guess, that people on welfare are, generally speaking, the same as people everywhere else, and if these failures to understand exist in population as a whole, then this exists equally among welfare recipients.

We have not said that only recipients understand the problems of the welfare recipient. I would not agree with that, and I do not think the members of the Committee would.

The Chairman: You used the words "client groups," and the only client groups that Senator Fergusson is talking about are the welfare people.

Mr. Anderson: I said that there often emerges the opinion that only a recipient, but that is not necessarily the opinion of anyone else. I think that this is an erroneous opinion; I think probably the Committee feels that, that the recipient of the particular service, because of a particular need understands that particular need best; but the problems of the welfare recipient as a group are so diverse that no one of them, any more than one of us, can understand all the problems of the other welfare recipients. I think that this kind of simple attitude towards the welfare recipient as a single type of person is one of the problems that is involved with this client group approach. Quite often we have seen the client group becoming administered by certain members either of the group itself or by outsiders who have a particular understanding of a particular problem but ignore others within the organization.

We simply do not believe that welfare recipients are a single type of person with a single type of problem.

Mr. Mallett: I would like to add this, senator, that there is the source to be considered, and you certainly cannot have people receiving benefits saying how much they shall be entitled to, without consultation with the people who are providing that source. Somebody has to create it before you share it.

Secondly, as to administration, of course our people are human beings and we need feed-back from the recipients as to the ability of our workers to do the job and get along with people, so from two sources we need some feed-back from the recipients.

I think you would appreciate that a situation such as marching into the Ontario Housing Corporation and dumping garbage in the offices there, shows a lack of consideration; and certainly a threat to go on strike by people who are already in Ontario housing indicates a lack of understanding of their position relative to the people paying the taxes that are subsidizing their rent.

It comes home to you very clearly in an election when you talk to people living in assisted housing, and they say they want more recreation facilities. Your normal response to that would be that "fine, if you are willing to pay more taxes, we will provide more facilities and more services," but they are not, of course, in their situation subject to the market place. Their rent is geared to their income. It does not matter how much it costs to service the building or provide recreation or anything else: their rent is still fixed. So that it is simply irresponsible to say that you can go to recipients and have them advise you how to improve their situation. Naturally they will ask for more, but there has to be the ability to pay on somebody's part in order to provide it.

Senator Everett: I wonder if I may ask a supplementary question, Mr. Chairman. In Section 7.4 of your brief, Mr. Anderson, you state that:

In an effort to identify with such groups, some workers now repudiate counselling, training and education efforts because they are not pertinent to the group, but knowing full well they have complete validity among other parts of the welfare problem.

Would you say this is very widespread with the workers?

Mr. Anderson: No, I would not say it was widespread. I would say it possibly comes from small groups who receive—and the welfare situation throughout the country does receive—great attention from all segments of the information media; so that the opinions of small groups might seem to receive or might seem to carry much more weight and be more reflective of the total situation than they really are.

Senator Everett: There you are talking of the public, presumably. Your brief is talking about influence it has on the workers. Presumably these are the professionals who really understand the problem, and you say they are influenced by these client groups to that extent?

Mr. Anderson: Some workers who really believe they understand the problems exclusively. I do not believe they are necessarily reflective of all professional workers. There are some groups of professional workers who work very intensively with client groups who may hold more conventional opinions; there are others who might have more radical

opinions. I do not know what the ratio of these is to the total professional groups. I do not think the profession has spoken out on this particular matter, but this is simply what has been observed or seems to be observed of some groups, and this might be a false assumption on our part.

Senator Everett: In any event, it is not widespread.

The Chairman: We will have that group before us some time at the end of this month.

Senator Everett: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson, had you finished?

Senator Fergusson: I have one or two more, but I think I would rather let somebody else put some questions.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, I have been on this Committee since its inception, and so have all these others who have been at the hearings this week, and we have heard a great many briefs up to now. One of the things that we run across all the time is the fact that people do not understand that there is a cure for poverty. Every time we have a talk with somebody saying, "I am going down to Toronto or going to so and so on this Poverty Committee", they say: "Well, what are you going to do about poverty? Poverty has always been with us and always will be with us".

As a committee we do not admit this. We feel that we are going to be able to come up with something that is of advantage to this country.

As to your statement you made there about your financial problems in the municipality, we realize too that the finances of the province or the municipality must come from the senior government as far as we are concerned. What I was wondering is whether or not you think that you could do a lot of work in educating the general public to the fact of the poverty in their district, so that they become more involved in the thing. Do you think there is a possibility that you could do anything in that line?

Mr. Mallett: In reply to that, Mr. Chairman, first of all I want to point out that everything we tax for, including this suggestion, reflects in the shelter costs, which are already too high.

Then, poverty is a matter of comparison. If our standard of living keeps climbing, more

persons have to be classified as poor because of the comparison.

There is a limitation on providing truth to people. As an example, it is generally assumed that people with large families are the core of the poverty problem, when in fact if you examine the application list for Ontario housing, for instance, a 16,000 list, you will find the bulk of their requests are for one bedroom apartments, indicating small family units. This is a factor that is simply not understood. In newspaper and radio work it is a matter of sensationalizing something, and the publicity given to a large family creates the impression that all families are large.

I find it difficult to keep the poverty problem in focus in relation to the rest of the municipality. No doubt if we had more money available to us, sir, we could perhaps do a better public relations job between those that are poor and those that are paying the bill.

Senator Pearson: You say there are young people moving into the city here who immediately go on relief. Where do those young people come from, small towns or farms, or where?

Mr. Anderson: On that particular point, I was speaking specifically of migrants to Ontario.

Senator Pearson: Migrants to Ontario from outside of Ontario?

Mr. Anderson: Yes.

Mr. Mallett: We have had figures indicating that in the last year the greatest number of the migrants came from areas east of Quebec. We also have quite a number of migrants coming from the western provinces, as well as the rest of Ontario.

Senator Pearson: Are they looking for work?

Mr. Mallett: Yes, they are looking for work opportunities, sir.

Senator Pearson: Another question I want to ask.

The Chairman: Senator Pearson, I think we had better get this clear now. Those migrants have been coming to Toronto and Ontario for the last fifteen years, have they not?

Mr. Mallett: Well, sir, to put it in perspective, Metropolitan Toronto absorbs 50 to 60 thousand persons a year, and we have in the last twelve to fifteen years. Amongst those

new persons, of course, is the birth rate here, migrants from elsewhere in Canada, and we receive 95 per cent of the immigration allowed into Canada.

Senator Pearson: But they are not all relief recipients?

Mr. Mallett: No, sir, but this is the rate of growth in Metropolitan Toronto.

The Chairman: Not 95 per cent of the immigration to Canada?

Mr. Mallett: My understanding is that about 95 per cent of the immigration to Canada arrives in Metropolitan Toronto.

The Chairman: It is not pertinent, except I think my friend is mistaken. Let us get on.

Mr. Mallett: Mr. Chairman, I would be glad to be corrected, but these are the figures I have been supplied with.

Senator Pearson: On the question of housing, in Scarborough are the houses mostly single units or in multiple units?

Mr. Mallett: For many years it was almost exclusively single units, but in the late 1950s and early 1960's the City of Toronto had such restrictive building requirements that there were few apartments built there. At that time and at about the time of the introduction of the limited dividend financing, there were apartments begun to be constructed in Scarborough.

At present about 46 per cent of our housing would be single family units, but because it is not economically feasible to supply single family units in the present tax system, we are moving strongly to the multiple family type.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, I have two or three questions. On page 5 you say:

In the absence of a definite plan for movement and reception of migrants, too many persons travel to major centres on their last pay cheque, their last welfare allowance or their last unemployment insurance benefit.

I presume this takes place when people go to meet their relatives who are coming from foreign countries. Now, is that just occasional, or is it common?

Mr. Mallett: We differentiate, sir, between immigrants and migrants. Migrants, in our opinion, are persons who are coming into the

metropolitan area from elsewhere in Canada; immigration is from outside the country.

The Chairman: But, Senator McGrand, the Canada Assistance Act and the law of the land says that a Canadian can move any place, any time, anywhere, and he is the responsibility of the place where he is located.

Senator McGrand: That is not my question. My question is: these people that travel on their last pay cheque or their last welfare allowance to meet relatives, and they are migrants, is that common or is it just an occasional occurrence?

Mr. Anderson: I think there is a misunderstanding here. When we talk about migrants, we are talking about a person who has left somewhere else and come here to Toronto, and he has done that on the last bit of savings or the last income that he has.

Senator McGrand: It is the migrant that is travelling.

Mr. Anderson: It is the migrant that is doing the travelling on his last cheque, and he arrives in Toronto with an immediate need for assistance with housing cost and housing location. If something could be done at the point of departure to see that he has enough money for settlement here, at least to keep him away from welfare offices for two or three months, the situation with regard to employment and housing would be much better, and his emotional stability on his arrival in the city would be much better if he did not have to make his first call to a place that he considers to be not suitable for his first call, that is, the welfare office.

Mr. Mallett: I would like to say, Mr. Chairman, just in case this has created any impression that we are against migrants, we certainly are not. The papers put us in that position, but we are not. We have suggestions in this brief that we think there should be a federal responsibility to facilitate the movement within the country. We are quite prepared to take the political attitude that we are part of Canada, and we are quite willing to accept migrants in the metropolitan area.

Senator McGrand: You mention something like 50,000 people coming into Toronto in a year, is that right?

Mr. Mallett: Yes, our population increase every year has been 50 or 60 thousand in the metropolitan area.

Senator McGrand: And that includes people who are immigrants from other parts of Canada and people who are immigrants from foreign lands?

Mr. Mallett: And as a result of the birth rate.

Senator McGrand: Then you mention that most of these come from east of Quebec, is that right?

Mr. Mallett: No, I am saying, sir, that our figures in one of the recent reports to our committee show that in the past year, of those persons coming on to welfare, over half of the new recipients for the past year came from areas east of Quebec.

Senator McGrand: That means the Maritimes, is that right? What percentage of Toronto residents are on welfare, and what percentage of Toronto people are in the working poor?

Mr. Anderson: It is impossible to say what percentage is in the working poor, because that is completely in the area of opinion.

The Chairman: How many people are there on welfare in Toronto?

Mr. Anderson: I am not aware of how many people are on welfare in Toronto. There are roughly 1.8 to 1.9 of the population in receipt of municipal welfare. There is a percentage unknown to me at this time of people in Toronto who are on provincial welfare in the form of family benefits. Anyone whose expectation is to live on welfare for more than six months continuously is likely to be on family benefits.

The Chairman: Our statistics indicate that you have had about an average of 15 thousand families with about 50 to 60 thousand people...

Mr. Anderson: Forty thousand.

The Chairman: Forty thousand people on welfare during the course of the year.

Mr. Anderson: No, in the course of a month.

The Chairman: But that has been the average, in the course of a month, for a year.

Mr. Anderson: No, the average would be 35 thousand men, women and children on municipal assistance, but that is not the question that is asked. The question asked is how

many people are living on welfare, and you have to differentiate between municipal welfare, which is intended primarily to be for the unemployed, employable people, or for short-term disabled; but there is a greater number living on almost identical welfare scales at the provincial level; and this is not to take into consideration other people over 65 who are in receipt of old age security who may be considered to be living on the welfare scale because if they are getting the minimum and that is their total income then they are living in a manner almost identical to welfare, so we do not have that figure.

Senator McGrand: A short question which needs a short answer. You have a great many new Canadians coming into Toronto from Europe. What percentage of those people become recipients of welfare within a year or two after coming to Canada?

Mr. Anderson: We only keep the figures for one year at a time, and we only identify them as such for one year at a time. Most current figures show that in a six month period approximately 1,700 families applied for welfare within the first year of their arrival here. Of that number only about 300 were immigrants from any other place than the provinces of Canada, which means that 1,400 of the 1,700 new cases came from within Canada but outside of Ontario.

Senator Inman: On page 2 in the first paragraph you have mentioned:

Municipal welfare payments now approach and in many cases pass the earning capacity of many recipients.

And then go on to say

Many others in the community not in receipt of welfare (including unemployment insurance beneficiaries) work and live on a level equivalent to or below the welfare standard.

I would like to know what are your thoughts on this. What would you suggest as a limit for his? Do you think welfare should be decreased?

Mr. Anderson: No, our suggestion through this brief and in our suggestion with regard to the family allowances being increased markedly was that that should be the income floor on which a family would live, because the families which have these welfare entitlements beyond their earning capacity are those with three, four, five, six or more children. If these people could get a definite large income

floor from family allowances, they should not need to go through the process of welfare administration. As long as a man is working, in our opinion he should not need a welfare examination of his income over and above his going to work every day, in order to qualify for what he needs to live.

Senator Inman: But at the present time in some cases, as we have heard in our briefs, welfare is above the average of the wages of the working poor, shall we put it that way.

Mr. Anderson: That would not be the case in Toronto; it is not above the average of the working poor, but there are many people who live close to the welfare standard. This suggestion that we have made would eliminate that group, and at the same time assist the people on welfare and just indirectly assist the municipality.

Mr. Mallett: We did a study very recently which showed that with two children the welfare benefits exceeded the minimum wage in Toronto. We are concerned, if I could refer to paragraph 3.2, that on welfare you are protected from garnishees if you are in debt. You have drug, medication, dental and optical assistance, whereas a family earning the equivalent amount of money is not given that protection.

In our recommendations we have attempted to recognize that in the case of two people doing identical work for an employer, because one man has three children at home and the other man is a bachelor does not alter the worth of the work being performed. We have tried to channel our recommendations to provide direct assistance to families through the family allowances, because they are the ones that need it until the children are earning for themselves. We have tried to address ourselves to that particular problem because we certainly recognize it.

Senator Inman: On page 7, paragraph 8.1, you say:

Much criticism is levelled at welfare spending and at welfare recipients which should better be directed at inadequacies in comprehensive health, education and other programs.

Is your thinking that consumer education is the problem there?

Mr. Mallett: Yes, madam.

Senator Inman: You think it is?

Mr. Mallett: Yes. So many people are unable to comprehend what they are getting themselves into, first of all, when they buy an N.H.A. house; secondly, if they buy a car or television set or anything on time. In this country, you know, it is rather peculiar that if you go into the bank and you want to borrow money at a reasonable lending rate, if you can afford it you can get it. If you can't afford it, you go upstairs and get it from the finance company which borrowed it from the bank in the first place. Too many people get in debt because they do not understand economics.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, the brief contains eight excellent recommendations. However, it is all going to cost money. I wonder, would the speakers indicate what level of government is going to pay the cost of these recommendations?

Mr. Mallett: It is obvious, sir, that the municipality can only tax and increase shelter costs, which is one of the basic causes of poverty; so it should be perfectly obvious that a broader based tax source has to be provided. To the extent that the government is successful in trimming inflation and keeping a level on the standard of living, if you can start levelling that off, then the persons that are rated as poor will not keep climbing up within the standard of living. So the federal government can limit it; if they limit it, that would help, and any further assistance or service to people must come from the broad basis of income and sales tax.

Senator Cook: In other words, the municipality cannot pay for it, so it must be either the federal or the provincial government.

Mr. Mallett: We have had to manage in the past and we could continue to manage, but it is an unfair way of taxation. Anything we tax increases one of the main components of poverty, that is shelter costs.

Senator Cook: The second question is: have you made any estimate of the cost of your recommendations?

Mr. Mallett: No, we have not.

Senator Everett: I believe in your verbal statement you stated that in the early 1950's the federal government had interfered with the law of supply and demand by permitting low down payments. Presumably that permitted people to get into housing who would not otherwise have been able to do so. What in

your judgment should have happened to those people?

Mr. Mallett: I think the government should have acted in that manner at that time. I think the government had the responsibility to consider the effect of their actions. When they now claim they do not have the constitutional right to assist with the education of those persons that resulted in the privacy of their single family housing for these young families, then they are abdicating their responsibility and ducking behind the constitutional issue.

Senator Cook: You do not think it was wrong for the federal government, as you say, to interfere with the laws of supply and demand?

Mr. Mallett: No, sir. At the time unemployment had to be corrected, and that was the most practical and fastest step. But the reverse is happening right now and unemployment in Toronto is jumping very rapidly because of action and reaction, and this is the reaction to the cut-down. What I am saying is that once they created that situation they should have had regard! I will give you one concrete example. Hospital beds in Scarborough, the last ones we built, cost us about \$30,000. The federal government provide \$3,200, as they have for the last fifteen or twenty years. We went down to meet Miss LaMarsh who was Minister at the time but they did not do anything.

Senator Everett: You were talking about the unavailability, I thought, of limited dividend funds. As I understand it, these funds were available under Section 16 of the National Housing Act; and about a year ago some of the restrictions of that section were removed and the funds available were markedly increased. Are they not available to Scarborough?

Mr. Mallett: They are available under the present conditions. As I recall it, the limited dividend were at $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent interest rate for fifty year mortgages, and the federal government put up 95 per cent. It is described quite well in this ad today, except it is now up to 8 $\frac{1}{2}$.

Senator Everett: I think you will find that those dividends have changed under the Act; under the Act the dividend was limited to 5 per cent return on capital.

Mr. Mallett: It is now 7 per cent.

Senator Everett: I do not think there is any limitation under the Act. The proposal...

Mr. Mallett: We have not had limited dividend buildings built in Scarborough, financed in Scarborough, now for quite a number of years.

Senator Everett: I am suggesting to you that under the old Act under Section 16 there were limitations that made it exceptionally difficult.

Mr. Mallett: That is right.

Senator Everett: But I think if you look at the Act today you will find those limitations do not exist. I think also you will find that there is a considerable increase in the amount of money that is available for limited dividend housing, and in fact there has been an increase of considerable magnitude in the applications that have been made for this sort of housing.

Mr. Mallett: Yes, I think you will see a surge on that now, because at $10\frac{1}{2}$ per cent you cannot build apartment buildings to rent to that market.

Senator Everett: You are not opposed to that?

Mr. Mallett: Which, the use of limited dividends?

Senator Everett: Yes.

Mr. Mallett: No. Not at all, sir, because we are sitting with a 2.4 vacancy rate for apartments. If more limited dividend could be introduced and continue to be introduced up to the 5 per cent, we would temper rents on the conventional plan as well.

Senator Carter: I would like to draw the witness' attention to page 8 of their brief Section 8.3, and I will ask a short question. If they had to choose between family allowance and guaranteed income, negative income tax or guaranteed income, which would you choose—assuming there is not money enough to finance all three and you have to make a choice?

Mr. Mallett: As our first recommendation indicates, sir, family allowances.

The Chairman: How far would the family allowances extend, to what age?

Mr. Mallett: I think it is obvious that they would have to be paid up to about age eighteen at least, because your length of time a

school now is extended because of the technocracy in which we are living. You have to stay at school longer to gain enough education to equip yourself to find a job. I think now it certainly should be up to eighteen.

Senator Carter: I do not think there is any point in pursuing that.

Mr. Mallett: I think, sir, the guaranteed income does not overcome the difficulty that people are not able to manage their money, and if inflation is occurring at the rate it has been at 4 or 4½ per cent a year, there is no sense in giving a person a guaranteed amount of money. It is like the Old Age Pension. When you started it was worth something, and when you get it it is not worth as much.

The Chairman: Let us understand each other. In the first place, any thought about guaranteed income would have to include the usual and necessary escalator clause to keep it up to the current living standard; but, moreover, when you speak about not giving these poor people money when they won't know what to do with it, no-one has ever given it to them to find out whether they do or do not, that is the difficulty.

Mr. Mallett: Mr. Chairman, we were asked just a year ago by the Metropolitan Credit Counselling Service to provide a grant of \$50,000 from the taxpayers' pocket to provide a service of counselling to people, to advise them how they should repay the companies who did not check their credit rating in the first place and loaned them more money than they could pay back. The number of debts and garnishees that you run into, both as an employer at the borough and that you become aware of as a public official, and the times that you investigate personally welfare situations and you find this debt situation, it is perfectly obvious that under this huckstering system people are not able to pay their way. They get into debt too quickly, and it is too easy for them to get into debt. It is encouraged; it is encouraged by the federal and provincial governments and it is encouraged by the larger companies.

Senator Carter: I was going to ask the Controller if he is not aware that what he has just said has been disproved by an experiment carried out in the United States in New Jersey.

Mr. Mallett: Yes, I was reading the results of that recently, I believe in yesterday's paper. I have not seen the detailed results,

but our experience has been that there are people in receipt of welfare assistance who are not able to manage.

There are two factors. As Mr. Anderson pointed out it is very difficult today to feed a family, but also when you get to the point where they are in debt and you find out why they are in debt, it is obvious there has to be some economic education for these persons.

The Chairman: Mr. Mallett, no one denies the need for economic education of persons, and that relates to me and to you as well as it does to the others. What you are talking about is that these poor do not know how to manage their affairs. They are only 20 per cent of the population of this country that we are talking about, but the other 80 per cent are in trouble too, right up to their necks, some of them. Wherein do they differ?

Mr. Mallett: As Mr. Anderson pointed out, Mr. Chairman, they do not differ. You get the same type of thinking with people who are welfare recipients as you do otherwise. The point is that we are simply not informed. We are led to believe that we should save a buck and put it in the bank and they make lots of money on it. We are led to believe we have to buy insurance. When I buy my home I have to pay 2 per cent insurance fee on my N.H.A. mortgage when in fact the federal government has already guaranteed the repayment of that money and this is just a straight grab. I have to prepay my taxes over to the municipality, and the mortgage firm has the use of my money until they turn it over to the municipality. I think our fiscal year in the municipality, for instance, ends with the calendar year. We cannot set our mill rate until June, because the province's fiscal year ends on March 31st. We are being taken left, right and centre. If there were economic education in the country, there would be an awful lot of people...

The Chairman: I have one question for Mr. Anderson. How many people are on the rolls for which the Canada Assistance Act pays the 50 per cent portion in Toronto?

Mr. Anderson: I could answer your question very briefly, but I am a little bit perturbed by something that has been asked in this hearing, and I would like to get it absolutely clarified. There has been a suggestion that we have said that people on welfare are not good economic managers. There was a question asked about the use or misuse of welfare funds. I said that certain people on

welfare did not manage well, but the bulk of people on welfare must be almost economic geniuses because they do manage well, because they manage as well as they do. So we are not suggesting that they do not have the capacity and that they do not exercise that capacity. That suggestion has not been made by this municipality.

The Chairman: Mr. Anderson, that was the very first question that you answered to Senator Fournier. I am very glad that you corrected it, because I was under the wrong impression. You elaborate it further, if you like, because we do not want any wrong impression.

Mr. Anderson: I think that is as far as I need to go, because I think as far as people on welfare are concerned once they get on welfare their credit ratings are such that they are not permitted in many cases to get into further trouble. That is not so much a problem of the welfare recipient as a marginal earner problem.

On your point, everybody who receives welfare in Metropolitan Toronto in the form of financial maintenance, is provided for 50 per cent by the Canada Assistance Plan.

The Chairman: The provincial government, too?

Mr. Anderson: Yes, our arrangement here in Ontario is such that everybody who goes on welfare at the municipal level, we receive 80 per cent subsidy from the province, who in turn receive 50 per cent of the total amount from the federal government under the Canada Assistance Plan. If we give them special assistance, the province recovers the whole of their share of 50 per cent.

The Chairman: The Committee is aware of that, and what I want to know is how many families are on welfare, as we refer to the term, in Metropolitan Toronto?

Mr. Anderson: Under general welfare assistance or under the Canada assistance?

The Chairman: Give me Canada assistance.

Mr. Anderson: I cannot give you the figure.

The Chairman: Give me general assistance.

Mr. Anderson: Approximately 15 thousand family units.

The Chairman: How many of them are single—that is 15 thousand family units?

Mr. Anderson: Yes.

The Chairman: Approximately three to a family, something like that?

Mr. Anderson: It averages out to three, but on the other hand half of those 15 thousand are single persons.

The Chairman: Half of the 15 thousand roughly are single persons.

Mr. Anderson: Roughly, yes.

The Chairman: Can you explain that, because that is a most unusual figure from anything we ever heard before, not as to the number of people but as to the percentage of those who are single.

Mr. Anderson: The assistance is mandatory for persons in need, so any single person unemployed is just as eligible as any married person.

The Chairman: No one is denying their eligibility, but is that normal, do you think, across the country?

Mr. Anderson: I would not say it was normal across the country. I think it is fairly normal in an urban area, because there are so many, particularly women, who are widowed between the ages of 55 and 65, who then become single people who have been out of work for as long as 35 years and are relatively unskilled, and they have a ten year waiting period.

The Chairman: For Old Age Security?

Mr. Anderson: Yes, so that a good number come in that category; a good number are emotionally ill.

The Chairman: I do accept the fact if it is so, but I was surprised when I heard it, because it is a most unusual figure, that large load of single people. However, that is neither here nor there. One question and we shall have to break off.

Are you aware or is your Committee aware that in seven out of ten provinces in Canada there is a wage supplement by the provincial government with some incentives, and that Ontario is not one of them?

Mr. Anderson: Obviously at the municipal level we are not necessarily aware of what goes on in other provinces by numbers, but we are obviously aware that there is provision and the extent that we have asked for that authority.

The Chairman: For wage supplements?

Mr. Anderson: Not for wage supplements for full time earnings. We have said that should come through the family allowances wage floor.

The Chairman: I am talking about supplements. Do you grant any supplements?

Mr. Anderson: No, not normally, because that is going to be a 100 per cent municipal cost, so we have restricted ourselves from doing it.

The Chairman: No, the wage supplements that I am talking about are shared by the federal government under the Canada Assistance Act. It is not a charge on the municipality or the province.

Mr. Anderson: They are not shared by the Province of Ontario.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Anderson: Since we do not have that legislation, we cannot do it. That is what we are recommending in this brief.

The Chairman: But are you recommending that you approach the province to ask them to do something about it?

Mr. Anderson: Yes, this Committee, as the Welfare and Housing Committee has.

The Chairman: Approached the province for the purpose of doing something about wage supplements?

Mr. Anderson: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Anderson, and thank you very much, Mr. Mallett.

We are now to have a brief from Mayor True Davidson, who has some views of her own in connection with welfare in Metropolitan Toronto, and she is hardly ever fearful of expressing herself.

Mrs. True Davidson, Mayor of the Borough of East York: Mr. Chairman, members of the Committee and members of the public. I felt I should present this brief because there were certain elements in our Metropolitan Welfare brief about which I have some misgivings, and there are points which are raised by members of your Committee also.

They had to do with the definition of poverty, and I tried to distinguish among three

kinds of poverty: absolute destitution which, of course, cannot be allowed and must be relieved; a sense of deprivation, in the manner of the birthday presents, the rompers and the television set and other things, and it goes as advertising costs; finally, honest poverty, which is something which I do not deplore. In any case, I represent a municipality of working people which, prior to its forced marriage with a wealthy bride,—the Town of Leaside in 1967 had the lowest per capita assessment in Metro, and yet was one of the proudest and most independent communities. The former Township of East York is full of deserving, hard-working poor, and I myself have been one of them and think I know something about how they react. They find it difficult to accept public aid, but they are gradually finding the maintenance of their homes more and more difficult as the property taxes rise, and the gas tax, if they have a car and so on. Life becomes more and more difficult every day for the deserving poor, for the hard-working poor.

My point is that I have not tried to go into the theory of this. I am a working politician and what I try to look at is what can be done, when there is only a limited amount of money. You keep raising the welfare standards higher and higher, and you keep putting more and more people on welfare as a result, and the thing is just a vicious circle.

What you have to do, I think, is to relieve destitution; then put as much of the extra money as you can into the prevention and reclamation of the kind of poverty which is really a mental hazard—this feeling of inferiority. This involves educational programs of various kinds, assistance of various kinds, and there should be a great deal more flexibility.

I am very impressed with the work that our Welfare Commissioner has done. You did not hear from him any example of the sort of individual things, except the one thing that he has done in introducing educational homemakers to try to help working families to establish themselves on a better budget and in better housekeeping habits. However, there are many other special features that he has introduced, and there are many more I know he would introduce if we had a little more flexibility.

I know also that in the days when there was local welfare instead of metropolitan welfare, we had many times given a few hundred dollars to a family because illness or accident or something of that sort had tem-

porarily descended on the family like an earthquake, and by giving them a few hundred dollars, which they were not entitled to under any law, you could help them to get on their feet again; whereas if you did not, the house would go and the job, and before you knew it the family would be on welfare for goodness knows how long. This is the sort of flexibility I would like to see more of.

I do not think you will ever cure poverty, but I do not think poverty is a disease. You must relieve destitution.

I would like to make one other comment. I kept out of the other thing because Mr. Mallett was Chairman of the Committee, although I am a member of it also; but you have spoken of the need for letting the poor decide what they want.

The Chairman: Not to decide, but to involve themselves.

Mayor Davidson: No, but there has been a good deal of talk by certain leaders of allowing them to decide what they needed. I would say that if you do this, I am going to lead a group of ratepayers to decide for ourselves what income tax we should pay. The one is about as sensible as the other. You elect people to do something, and you have got to go along with them.

The Chairman: I will go with you.

Mayor Davidson: I do not know that there is very much that I need add. You have the brief in front of you.

I notice that there is a good deal of time spent on questions, and I would be glad to answer them.

I know you all disapprove of this, because to say you do not want to remove poverty is like saying you do not believe in motherhood and you want to spit on the flag.

The poor have become the *enfants gâtés*, the object of all the social workers, the dedicated public-spirited humanitarians.

I am the champion of the working poor, the people who need to be encouraged, and I believe in head starts for their children; I believe in public services that will enrich their lives so that they will have an opportunity.

You, Mr. Chairman, are the last person who should say that being poor in Toronto is a handicap, if you are intelligent.

Senator Carter: May I ask the witness if she agrees with the rest of her Council about the family allowance and guaranteed income?

Mayor Davidson: I think the increase of family allowances would be a very much better way of increasing help than a basic minimum wage. The minimum wage will simply throw more people out of work.

Senator Carter: We are not talking about minimum wage.

Mayor Davidson: Negative income tax simply throws more burden on the other income tax payers. To me, it increases poverty and increases the demand for relief.

I think the only reason for the addition services is for the sake of the children, and if you put a greatly increased family allowance on that enables the parents to do for their children what they would like to do for them, and at the same time it can be taxed in the case of people for whom it makes a larger income than is exempt.

I would say, though, that if you are trying to equalize things, if you are going to make the low income person pay for all his medical care and various things of that sort which are paid, then the welfare person whose income is equal should also pay them. The income should be the same, and the payments then should be the same, the additional services. This is putting on a premium, and the person who loves his children might well feel that he had to give up his job in order to get the larger scale of benefits.

The Chairman: Are you satisfied that you have said what you wanted to say, Madam Mayor?

Mayor Davidson: Yes, provided you will read the brief, and provided you will think about it as a possible alternative.

I would like to draw your special attention to footnote 7, which refers to several of the suggestions in item 3. It refers to, on page 4, sections 3(b) and 3(e) and 3(f) are matters which have been raised again and again by the Association of Ontario Mayors and Reeves. It was the lack of reference to these which was another factor in leading me to present a brief.

The Chairman: Madam Mayor, I read your brief when I received it. As a matter of fact, my reading was more charitable than the *Globe & Mail* reading of it.

Mayor Davidson: I do not want to spend less money but I want to spend it on rehabilitation.

The Chairman: The comment when we met this morning with some of the senators was that they had read your brief. They wanted to know who you were and I said you would be here. Now we have answered the questions pretty well, too. Thank you.

(Recess)

Upon resuming at 11:15 a.m.:

The Chairman: The meeting will please come to order. On my right is Mrs. H. W. Rowlands. She is president of the Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto, who presented a brief to us. She will introduce the ladies with her, and then she will give you a short rundown on the brief.

Mrs. H. W. Rowlands (President, Association of Women Electors of Metropolitan Toronto): Thank you, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators. It is, of course, a particular pleasure and privilege to appear here before you this morning.

I would like to introduce my deputation. On the far right is Pat Rice, who is a member of our association, but more importantly, she is chairman of the Family and Tenants Association. She is a welfare recipient; she is on Mothers' Allowance at this point, a widow with a number of children. She will be very pleased to answer any questions about welfare or family allowances.

Mrs. Pat Murphy is former President of the Association of Women Electors and the observer of City Council in Toronto.

Mrs. Audrey Burger is my partner in crime; she is chairman of the Welfare Committee of A. W. E., former president of the A. W. E. and present president of Canadian Mothercraft. She has observed the Welfare Committee, first of all, of the City, and now of Metropolitan Toronto, for twelve years, so she has a very good background in what has happened at the city and metro level in welfare.

I shall just run through my presentation very briefly. I shall ask Mrs. Burger to bring forward the preliminary results of a pilot project in very young infant education. Mrs. Rice and Mrs. LeMay, who is down in the audience, will be able to answer questions that you may have with regard to welfare, family assistance, the problems faced by low

income tenants. Mrs. LeMay and Mrs. Rice are both working. Mrs. LeMay and her husband are both working and living down in the Trefann area.

In our brief we have tried to confine ourselves to those aspects of poverty of which we felt we had some experience and perhaps a little knowledge.

Consequently, of course, our brief is not comprehensive.

The most frequently recurring recommendation is the recommendation for a guaranteed annual income at or somewhat below the poverty line as established by the Economic Council of Canada.

It is necessary, we believe, to rationalize our approach to income maintenance in this country. We do, of course, now have income maintenance through various bits of legislation spread throughout the province and the federal government—the welfare assistance legislation, the old age pensions, unemployment insurance, and what-have-you.

If the guaranteed income is established at a level which is far below the poverty line, then, of course, we have the tremendous pressure on our social services and we are inadequate, of course, to meet this need. If the guaranteed income is set at a level very close to the poverty line, we run into this whole problem of incentive, and I think this is one of the areas that troubles Mayor Davidson. This we believe, though, can be overcome.

To meet the cost of the guaranteed income, we believe that there would be savings on administrative costs of all the various programs which we have now, lessening of pressure on our social services, and, as time goes on, an increasing proportion of the increase of the gross national product being channelled to this particular need.

In our brief we have talked first about the urban disadvantaged, and we divide them into three groups: the working poor, the elderly and those on small pensions, and those on public assistance.

Among the public assistance group, there are two groups. There are those who have the ability and the motivation to be at least partially self-supporting, and the other group who are physically or mentally incapacitated and who are largely unemployable and whom we refer to as the incompetent poor.

We discuss first of all the working poor, because we feel that this problem must be spot-lighted; it must certainly be drawn to

everyone's attention here in the metropolitan area. We have appended the excellent report of the Welfare Commissioner, whom you just heard, of Metropolitan Toronto, where he points out that within the metropolitan area of Toronto there are approximately 30,500 families—and these are working families—whose incomes are less than what they would receive if they were on welfare; and, of course, welfare payments are extremely low.

We are aware, sir, through our contacts in the downtown areas of this city, that many fathers desert their families because they cannot support them adequately on the wages that they are earning, and the families are forced then to claim welfare. We know this would be a very difficult situation to uncover, but we suggest some attention should be paid to it.

There are two statements that should be made in connection with the working poor. First of all, the working poor have insufficient income, and this is their basic problem. Secondly, that valuable as counselling is for troubled or disturbed families, no amount of family or budget counselling overcomes the basic deficiency of too few dollars.

Rather conspicuous for its absence in our brief is any discussion about the minimum wage. We did not feel this was within our area of competence to recommend certainly, and we would only comment that if the minimum wage is too high, of course the marginally productive become very hard to employ, all businesses run into problems, and the disparity between the de facto rate and the legal rate—the de factor rate being, of course, what a man will work for rather than be idle—if this is too great, your local problem becomes reasonably serious.

On the other hand, if the minimum wage is too low, there is very little we can do for welfare recipients, and indeed their rates being to bump up at the minimum wage.

On the other hand, if we develop a guaranteed income of some type, if the minimum wage is too low, then the guaranteed income will be too heavily subsidising the inefficient or ineffective business.

The recommendations under this section, of course, are for income maintenance at a reasonable level, manpower retraining, and housing which we discuss later on in the brief.

Immediate recommendations are tax relief for families and individuals whose income falls below the poverty level, and, of course,

assistance with dental costs and prescription drugs.

Under the section dealing with senior citizens and people living on small pensions, we have suggested that the problem should be approached in a spirit of generosity. I think possibly we should have chosen our words better and suggested that it should be approached from the simple point of view of social justice; because many, of course, who felt that they were providing for their old age, through the pressure of affluence find that their 1930 dollars, of course, are not very valuable today. Again, our recommendations follow.

With the individuals and families on public assistance, generally the statement is, of course, that all these levels of income are entirely inadequate. We suggest that the Board of Review—and this is a forward step in this province—the Board of Review that has been set up have its area of jurisdiction extended to cover not only the mandatory parts of the legislation but also the permissive parts of the legislation which delves in the whole area of special allowances, and indeed many of the special allowances should not remain permissive but should become mandatory.

The recommendation for guaranteed income again; also that legislation governing general welfare assistance and family benefits be widely publicized so that the welfare worker as well as the recipient knows what recipients are entitled to under the legislation; and that the Board of Review's jurisdiction be extended.

Families and individuals that have the ability to become partially self-supporting under the welfare assistance today, are absolutely and utterly discouraged from any such action. They may keep back no part of any earned income. There is a ceiling, even though we are supposed to decide the income of a family on the basis of needs; the legislation imposed a ceiling of \$300 a month to a recipient with three children, and allowed \$10 per added dependent. I do not know how we can expect a family to support a child on \$10 a month plus, of course, what they get under the family allowances.

Under the Family Benefits Act this situation is somewhat relieved, in that a recipient with one dependent can earn up to \$24 a month, and then it is \$12 a month after that. A slight improvement would come about if people could simply save up this allotment

over the period of a year, and then perhaps for six weeks before Christmas work and replace the broken down sofa or buy themselves a washing machine; but the legislation definitely says it must be done each month, and this other thing is illegal.

We recommend, of course, for immediate action that the income allowance be raised substantially to the level of the Economic Council's poverty line.

Moving along to those families and individuals who are basically unemployable, in our Association we have become increasingly concerned about the plight of children caught in families that we refer to as problem families.

We refer briefly to the position that the Children's Aid Society find themselves in. This was the situation late in the fall, and I do not think it has really changed substantially now. We state very definitely that generally speaking the position of children of families where the parents are retarded or alcoholic or both is deplorable. Only by changing the destructive environmental or, failing that, removing the children from its debilitating effect, can any real change be brought about. In families where foster care is not the answer, long term supervision is the only way the problem can be controlled, and this is how I think we have to look at it, from this point of view of supervision and trying to control it.

Here we want to emphasize the role of the public health nurse. There is probably nothing that could be done as quickly as enlarging that could be done as quickly as enlarging the scope of her activity to tackle this difficult problem of the problem family. The public health nurse, is, of course, a respected person in the depressed areas, and she comes with service that is very much appreciated and very tangible.

Under this section we are recommending a very greatly expanded child care program concentrated in the depressed inner area.

The Minister of Health and Welfare's brief to you, sir, indicates that 23 per cent of Canada's children experience poverty in childhood. We suggest educational programs geared to the long-term disadvantaged parents.

St. Christopher House sponsored a few years ago a most imaginative program. The children that were referred to the settlement house from local schools as needing additional nutrition, their noon hour lunches were paid

for providing the mother went to the settlement house and took part in a course in nutrition. This apparently was very successful.

We are suggesting that legislation be enacted to make attendance at such clinics mandatory, and this, of course, can be done through the Family Court. We are thinking particularly of the Baltimore Housing Clinic, which proved to be a very successful sort of venture.

We are suggesting, too, that voluntary sterilization and therapeutic abortion be made more freely available.

Under the section on public health, we deal with the need for enlarged public health areas. One aspect of the public health program which we failed to include in our brief—and I am not sure how we could possibly have missed it because it is something that our association has supported over the years—is our family planning clinic. There are two or three in Toronto; there are two or three within the Metropolitan Toronto area. Many of the municipalities in Metropolitan Toronto have not taken advantage of the funding which is available at the provincial level. Information on family planning, of course, is freely available to the affluent majority in our communities, but it is not freely available to the poor and it should be.

Under Manpower retraining, we have some suggestions with regard to making the training in some way relative to the availability of jobs, to make sure that the jobs for which the trainee is being trained will be sufficiently remunerative for him. The medical services available at the induction centres are not sufficient.

Under housing, there are a few statistics that we think might be of some interest to you, sir.

In our section on urban renewal, we speak particularly of the need for rehabilitation of housing in urban renewal areas, with protection for tenants as well as home-owners. This is something we have spoken about for a long time.

Under the section on social development of areas under renewal planning, we are bringing forward this morning a specific proposal that the federal government require the municipality, when it requests funds to develop a plan for urban renewal under the National Housing Act, to file also a request for funds under the Canada Assistance Plan,

to bring forward a companion scheme for social renewal or community development; and that the two schemes together, one for the physical renewal and one for the community development, make up the urban renewal plan.

The provincial government should be requested to enact its share of the legislation to allow that particular section of the Canada Assistance Act to become operative in urban renewal areas.

Social planning, of course, in neighbourhood areas requires very close consultation with the people who live there, and this may be facilitated by the provision of a friendly meeting place. It only has to be a room somewhere with a coffee pot and a friendly project coordinator that can bring people in to discuss their hopes and fears for their area.

We believe that the goal for citizenship participation in urban renewal planning should be the development of neighbourhood councils or corporations capable of taking over the direction and coordination of community recreation and service programs.

The City of Toronto is shortly to start planning with the people living in the Trefann Court area for their urban renewal scheme. We are suggesting that this would be an ideal time to take hold of this opportunity that presents itself in the Trefann Court area, where there are two or three well-developed citizen organizations, to bring forward a pilot project in community development, so that we can begin to learn slowly some of the techniques involved in this activity.

In conclusion, sir, our brief emphasizes the need for greatly increased recipient participation, citizen involvement or participation, whatever you want to call it, in the programmed planning.

We endorse the Ontario Welfare's 1969 Conference of Workshops, in which it says:

Social agencies should help the poor to help themselves, by encouraging consumer participation on all boards of directors of voluntary agencies providing counselling and social services and on boards and commissions of government departments dealing in consumer services.

Our association is of the opinion that as a general principle, too, any service which is accepted in the community as a necessary and normal part of that community should be not financed as it is now out of voluntary

giving or charitable giving out of the United Community Fund, but instead should be supported in a very major fashion by the broad tax base.

If we were able to do this, the finding available through the United Community Fund could be freed up and could become responsive. We would be able to develop the type of flexibility in our programs which is very badly needed if there is any hope at all for us to keep up and remain responsive and remain flexible to the ever accelerating need and changing need in our community.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that those are all the remarks I wish to make at the present time. Mrs. Burger now can bring forward her points.

Mrs. Audrey Burger: Mr. Chairman, we had hoped to speak a bit more about the children caught in the poverty trap of their parents, because these children have really no future. For this reason, Mrs. Murphy and myself became volunteers with the Canadian Mothercraft Society in their joint program with the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education on a demonstration program in infant care and education. I think the ladies and gentlemen of this committee heard Professor Ryan from Carleton University talking about early education, and he did mention this project. Since he has been heard, Dr. Fowler, who is director of this particular project, from the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, has come out with remarkable findings. We have found that children from really very underprivileged families who came to us with an average I.Q. of 92—there were many under that—have all, within a period of nine months, starting from the age of four months, at their own age, now achieve an I.Q. of 111.

I think there was some discussion previously about children coming to school badly clothed and therefore not having a chance. What is far more important is that the children come to school with no powers of concentration, quite incapable of absorbing any information for which the taxpayer is paying; but if you catch them early enough and stimulate them, they are then at least able to keep still, to stop fidgeting and listen to what the teacher is trying to teach them. This is another aspect of education that perhaps we have not thought about enough.

I do not want to take too much of everybody's time. We would suggest that Dr. Fowler's paper should perhaps be worthy of your

consideration and he would, I am sure, be glad to let you have his report. It is entitled; "A Report on Demonstration Program, Infancy and Education, from September 1966 to June 1969". Both Mrs. Murphy and I know these babies and we saw what had happened we saw what happened to the mothers of those babies, the families. The children came to us first absolutely filthy, and the mothers were so despondent and helpless and hopeless. Then suddenly the children were clean after ten months they come to us in decent conditions, with motherly cooperation.

We have been able to get in touch with the public health authorities about our single mothers, mothers of illegitimate babies. We had one baby come to us at four months when unfortunately another baby was on the way. We got in touch with the public health authorities, and that mother is now having birth control information and guidance. If we had not intervened—and I am afraid I must say this because neither the Wellesley Hospital where these two babies were born nor the public health authorities contacted this mother—she might well have several more children. She is a teen-ager with her first child, and she is a very, very lonely person. This is what we have found out, that these mothers are desperately lonely; they have nobody to whom to go and they do not know what to do. They go into hospital, they have operations, they don't know why they have operations, but they are completely apathetic; they are not really living. They are being motivated by plenty of people and they do not know why. The loneliness of these single women, many of them teen-agers, in Toronto, is very desperate, especially if they are going to continue producing children who, without the type of care that these children are now getting in this project, are doomed to begin with. Thank you.

Senator Fournier: Mr. Chairman, my question is a follow-up from the previous brief which we had this morning. I am very happy to have the chance now to present this question to the women, because it deals with education and women.

Coming from a small community where you know everybody, you know the working poor and who is on welfare. I made it a point in the last six months to follow them in shopping centres and around Christmastime mostly. Believe me, I saw good management and some pretty pitiful sights. I will not go into the details, but they were on welfare in most cases.

I believe that in the case of the working poor and people on welfare and all the poor people in general, your woman is the manager of the home; she is the bank manager and she is the boss.

Now, with all the school systems that we have across Canada, all the education that we have built-in, very few people talk of consumer education programs. I believe that a lot of people who are poor remain poor because they lack consumer abilities.

You just follow some of these women in the shopping centres and see what they are buying. Some families on one side of the street you can give, say, \$400 a month, and the lady will make a wonderful job of it. With the same number in the family, same type of problem, across the street you have the same income but very different management, and it is a pitiful sight.

My question is, again: are you doing enough in training consumers by having consumer programs in education?

Mrs. Rowlands: I would agree with you, senator, that we are not doing sufficient. Mind you, judging from the people that I know, most of the families that are on welfare that I know manage marvellously well. I do not know how I would manage as well as they would seem to.

Certainly, this whole thing of household management, I think it should be more than simply consumer management or budgetary management, because there is a lot of things involved. I would say that in the high schools and in the commercial schools, certainly for the girls particularly, there should be some training in this whole business of household management, including nutrition, household buying, all of these things. I think it would be extremely helpful. I think it is through this kind of educational program, done at many levels and in many different ways, in creative and imaginative ways, that we are going to begin to tackle some of these problems that we really have not faced.

The Chairman: It has been a long time since I was in public school, but do they not teach this subject? They did in my day, household...

Mrs. Rowlands: Household economics, yes. There is certainly something being done along this line, but household economics when I went—perhaps it has changed a little bit—meant learning how to sew a straight seam and learning how to cook a few recipes.

I am thinking of something quite different. I am thinking of an approach perhaps of discussion and consultation, and developing an awareness in these girls of the very importance of nutrition and proper child training, perhaps psychology in a very simplified sort of way, an approach towards child psychology.

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, on page 3, paragraph 2, the brief says

We are aware that private agencies are anxious to enter into contracts with municipalities to supply counselling service. Valuable as counselling is for the disturbed and troubled family, no amount of family or budget counselling can overcome the basic deficiency of too little income. The working poor urgently require more money.

What were you suggesting, higher wages or government assistance?

Mrs. Rowlands: I think our recommendations are divided into two groups. The long-term cure possibly is a reasonable income maintenance program. We are suggesting in the meantime income tax relief for these families and added financial assistance with dental costs and prescription services.

We have not made a recommendation with regard to the minimum wage, because it is a very difficult problem, but it is perfectly obvious that \$1.30 in this particular community is much too low, there is no question about this.

Our other recommendations have to do with manpower retraining programs and a reasonable supply of housing at a rent people can afford to pay. We have low income families paying \$150 a month rent for their housing and having to heat it after that.

What do you pay, what is the rent for your house right now, Mrs. Rice?

Mrs. Rice: Where I just moved?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes.

Mrs. Rice: \$125 a month.

Mrs. Rowlands: Plus.

Mrs. Rice: \$38 a month to heat it, plus hydro—\$50 a month to heat it.

Mrs. Rowlands: Plus hydro, plus gas.

The Chairman: What does that amount to?

Mrs. Rice: I have no idea, sir. I just moved into the house. It does not look much better than an outhouse.

The Chairman: And how many of you in the family?

Mrs. Rice: I have five children myself.

Mrs. Rowlands: Mrs. Rice moved into a house just north of King Street. What is your income on your mother's allowance?

Mrs. Rice: Until they take my son off, it is \$292. I think they will be taking \$36 off of that this month.

The Chairman: What age is he, sixteen?

Mrs. Rice: He is seventeen now.

Mrs. Rowlands: He stopped school.

Mrs. Rice: He was laid off before Christmas.

The Chairman: What do you mean, he was laid off?

Mrs. Rice: He was working and he was laid off just before Christmas, but I wrote to the Mother's Allowance people and told them that he was out of school but they have not taken him off it yet. Now I am going to have to pay them \$200 and some back. We will make it.

The Chairman: Better forget I asked you that question.

Mrs. Rowlands: This is what she, of course, is going to have to find, scrape up \$200 somewhere to pay it back.

You can see the problem, anyway. Certainly it is the very high shelter costs, in answer to your question, which is a large part of the problem being faced by a low income family.

Senator Inman: In your recommendation No. 3 you are speaking about special allowances. What allowances do you suggest and how much?

Mrs. Rowlands: I am not just sure where you are, what page. I am sorry, we did not set this brief up in the way we were requested. We set it put before...

Senator Inman: I am speaking about where you mention about senior citizens.

Mrs. Rowlands: Senior citizens—again, we are suggesting that these allowances come up to the level of the poverty line as established by the Economic Council of Canada, which we consider reasonably fair, certainly no overly generous.

Senator Inman: These are where these people are in their own homes.

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes, I think so. I do not think there is any question about that.

Senator Inman: I was interested to know what special assistance you ask for.

Mrs. Rowlands: Assistance, of course, which could be rendered immediately—income tax relief. The present exemptions are very unrealistic.

The Chairman: You are not talking about the senior citizens?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes, I am talking about the senior citizens.

The Chairman: Their immediate need is an increase.

Mrs. Rowlands: They certainly do need an increase, there is no question. They also need increased assistance with the cost of prescription drugs and dental services and medical care.

The Chairman: As a matter of fact, there is a great possibility that there will be some assistance for them in the budget next week, we hope.

Mrs. Rowlands: Hopefully.

The Chairman: Well, it is a little more than hopeful.

Mrs. Rowlands: That is very good.

Senator Inman: Just one other question on page 7, the last paragraph, speaking about retraining and so on, and these people sometimes being trained for things for which they are not suitable. Do you agree that there is not enough screening done here?

Mrs. Rowlands: There is no question about that, there is insufficient screening. There is insufficient medical screening from the point of view of physical health and mental health, and there is insufficient attention paid to the remuneration that the jobs will afford after the training is completed. These people go through retraining, and then find the job will not pay them sufficient to support themselves and their families.

Of course, there are problems involved in this. There are administrative hang-ups that are reasonably unbelievable. The medical report, when it gets to the hospital, does not indicate what course the trainee is headed for.

Senator Inman: This is what I mean.

Mrs. Rowlands: All sorts of hang-ups of this type that should be eliminated and could be eliminated easily.

Senator McGrand: There was some reference made this morning to children from slum areas, downtown areas, being moved into the newer areas. I have been told that when children from low income families attend school with children from the more affluent areas, they are often not socially accepted by their school mates and they are neglected by their teachers; they become drop-outs and eventually as young adults they end up on welfare.

If this is so, then we have discovered a cause of poverty. What I would like to know is: is this discrimination common, is it only occasional, or is it only hearsay?

Mrs. Rowlands: Sir, I do not think that we can really jump to the conclusion that moving a poor family from the inner depressed area to the suburban area will cause the child to become a drop-out and that he will then not be able to cope and will become a welfare recipient; because if the youngster remained in the depressed area, I am not sure that his chances are any greater that he will remain in school.

The basic problem, I feel, with these youngsters is that when they start in school right at the very beginning they are not equipped to cope; they have not the linguistic ability, they cannot concentrate, and they are perhaps a year behind at that time. They continue through school, but by the time they get up to Grade 8 or 9 in the inner school they are usually a full year behind or more.

Then, of course, the real adjustment into the new suburban setting where the standard of schooling is probably higher and where the kids are different, where they speak and dress differently—certainly this creates tension, there is no question about that, but I do not think that we can jump from that and say that this will cause him to be a drop-out. It may well cause him to drop out. There is no way of knowing how far he has gone.

Senator McGrand: Has there been any study of this?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes.

Senator McGrand: There has been?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes.

Mrs. Burger: May I say that with the project with the infants, we wanted to call our

babies "under-privileged" babies and our staff said, "No, please do not use the word. There is sufficient discrimination already". So we used the word "inner city babies". So the staff are aware of this problem.

Mrs. Rowlands: I think Mrs. Rice can give an answer to this problem. She has lived in "Cabbagetown" all her life. She was educated there and her children were educated there. A few months ago she moved to a suburban area and her children started to go to a high standard suburban school. She is now back in Trefann because she could not afford the rent for the particular house, which was \$150 a month plus everything else. Now she is back once again in a very depressed area. Perhaps she could tell you what happened when the children went from the inner school to the suburban. What did happen, Pat?

Mrs. Rice: I am not all that sure that moving out of town and going to a more affluent school was a problem of my kids, because I had it here in the city. It got to the point where my older children were identifiable by their faded jeans and worn out shoes. I found my older ones became very resentful.

The Chairman: Boys or girls?

Mrs. Rice: Boys. I have had eight, two boys and six girls. It was another thing, too, that when they first entered school a note was sent home, "This boy needs \$5 or \$10 for an activity group". I could not afford it. Therefore my children are excluded from any activities within the school. They were pointed out, of course, because of their worn clothing and shoes. Then it became a battle royal between the kids and myself. They did not want to stay in school. I could not afford car fare and lunches. I am facing that today. Right now I have to supply my son in high school with car fare and lunch money, and it means an added meal at noon hour. I have not been to the Board of Education because I have not been here that long. Just last week we moved back in. I think the same thing is going to happen.

This boy now, I think he is more than average intelligence and I would hate to see him discouraged, but it is going to happen. I do not have the money for clothing, I do not have the money to put proper food on the table. You are "robbing Peter to pay Paul". I think the amount of money given Mother's allowance recipients, welfare recipients and the low income a man is making, causes us all to be dishonest in one way or another.

The Chairman: How many children do you have living with you?

Mrs. Rice: At the present I have five.

The Chairman: You have five children and yourself, and you have \$290?

Mrs. Rice: Yes, \$292 right now until the end of the month, and I think it will be \$260.

The Chairman: But that is less than the normal amount.

Mrs. Rice: I have the book at home, sir, Family Benefits Act, and each time I try to figure it out I should be getting over \$300, and I have not had it yet.

The Chairman: But according to my book you should be receiving that.

Mrs. Rowlands: Mr. Chairman, we discover that kind of situation over and over again. I have known families now for more than fifteen years living in depressed areas of the city and this problem recurs constantly.

The Chairman: If it recurs constantly and you are a pretty good spokesman, what do you do about it?

Mrs. Rowlands: We have the Board of Review now.

Mrs. Burger: This is something very recent.

The Chairman: But do not forget that on the Board of Review, if I read your brief correctly, you are not very representative. You rather forget it is kind of a closed club.

Mrs. Rowlands: Did we suggest that here?

Mrs. Burger: I think we suggested in the field of special allowances it is a closed club. For instance, I happen to know, observing the Metro Housing and Welfare Committee, that there was an allocation made, for instance, under special allowances for blankets. In, I think, October of last year suddenly there were no more blankets and, of course, December was pretty cold; and even though the Commissioner of Welfare would very much like to have given people blankets, he just had no more money left for blankets.

This is something that Metro Toronto very graciously took over, that they could make this allocation with the assistance of the province, but there are hundreds of municipalities which just do not make use of the special allowances. It is not mandatory, and this is what makes this a closed club.

Mrs. Rowlands: This is the reason for this recommendation of ours that these permissive allowances should be made mandatory.

Mrs. Rice would just like to further point out that her heating allowance is cut off at the end of March, and it does not matter what April weather is like; there is no more money after March.

Senator Carter: At the bottom of page 5 in your brief, you recommend that the working poor be allowed to keep an increased portion of their earnings as an incentive.

Mrs. Rowlands: I think we are not referring there to the working poor; we are referring to those who are on general welfare assistance or on the provincial allowance, family benefits, and that they should be allowed to keep a larger proportion of any money that they earn.

Indeed, under general welfare assistance they cannot keep back anything at all, but under the provincial allowance, as Mr. Anderson explained this morning, in theory a person is supposed to only be on general welfare assistance if he is temporarily either unemployed or ill. If it appears that he is going to need assistance over a period of time, he is transferred and comes under the provincial allowance, Family Benefits Act. In fact, of course, some people remain on general assistance for a very long time; and after that experience of not being able to earn anything or have a boarder in the house or anything, all incentive is taken away.

Senator Carter: What earnings are you talking about, casual earnings?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes, casual earnings, certainly, part-time work.

Senator Carter: That is what I am talking about. A person, if he is poor and he is working, he is working poor, is he not?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes, all right, you can look at it from that point of view, if you wish. We're talking about the people who are on welfare.

You see, for a mother with a number of children, it is a very, very big step for her to decide to try to support her family and go off welfare, because immediately she does not have any medical coverage for her kids, she does not have any way of getting dental care for them. She faces constant transportation costs and all the other uncertainties, so it is a very big step. Most simply cannot afford to

take the risk, to go off welfare and decide to try to support a family. If they were able to, or encouraged, as long as the children are not too young, or as long as the children are somewhat older—because we tend to think of a mother with children on family assistance as not working, whereas she is working very hard looking after the family. Once those children are older, it is a very healthy thing for her to get out and at least feel she can contribute something and perhaps provide some of the extras which, of course, on the kind of allowances which are paid they simply do not get.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, the question I was going to ask is: has the witness given any thought to the form of this incentive? She just says, "Increase the portion of their earnings". Would it be an increased flat rate, or would it be an increased percentage so that the person would have some incentive to continue earning?

Mrs. Rowlands: I would think that if the present rates under the Welfare Assistance legislation are not raised, then the welfare recipients should certainly be able to keep back the proportion of income which brought them up to at least the poverty line as established by the Economic Council. They should certainly be able to keep that part; they should be able to keep anything back which is a cost to them for working, that is, transportation costs, or costs for looking after children or what-not. These things also should be allowed; anything above and beyond that, perhaps 50 per cent taken back, but there has to be a real incentive.

Senator Carter: I think you have to be realistic.

Mrs. Rowlands: That is realistic, do you not think?

Senator Carter: It is realistic in theory, but when you have everybody starting to bring in transportation costs and all those little things, you are getting tremendous bookkeeping. It is much better to say: "Here is a lump sum", or "Here is a percentage", because what you gain one way you lose in administrative costs.

Mrs. Rowlands: This may be true, but certainly there is no question at all that they should be able to keep back any earnings which take them up to the poverty line as discussed by the Economic Council.

You see, the poverty line as discussed by the Economic Council suggests that for each

dependent \$600 a year income would be allowed. General welfare assistance allows \$120. There is the difference. That is what we are talking about. We are talking about utter deprivation, and you are talking about a family being allowed \$10 a month for a child; you are talking about kids going to school in running shoes at \$1.79 a pair in the middle of winter.

The Chairman: You do not need any help, I will give you some right now. The Economic Council figure for Mrs. Rice would be \$4,800 to \$5,400; if there is no male head of the family \$4,800. What she is getting at the most if \$3,600. That is just about what she is talking about, approximately within \$10.

Mrs. Rowlands: Mrs. Rice says she could go to Florida on that.

Senator Carter: In your last paragraph you speak about a rising discontent and uneasiness, and a feeling of separation between the affluent majority and the minority of the poor. Can you give us some of the signs and indications of that?

Mrs. Rowlands: I think the signs and indications are in our newspapers daily. My involvement in the downtown area of the city, particularly in Trefann Court, convinces me that this is so; that the poor, the disadvantaged are now beginning to discover that they can organize and they can make their voices heard, which is a great forward step. I think this is a tremendous thing that is happening. However, unless they feel that there is a responsiveness and understanding on the part of the affluent majority, this could become ugly. There is no question about that at all in my mind, and I think most people who are involved in the downtown areas realize the potential.

I think there has to be this horizontal integration, if you like, of people who are disadvantaged, to get to know one another, to get together and be able to talk, and to be able to put their case forward very, very strongly; but there is also the necessity for a vertical integration, and that is for people who are disadvantaged to be very strongly represented on boards and commissions.

Senator Carter: Is your Council doing anything to help them organize and pool their ideas?

Mrs. Rowlands: The job of the Association of Women Electors, I should have said at the beginning, is the association of women elec-

tors, and what we have done over the last thirty years is to observe everything that goes on at City Hall that is of a public nature. We observe City Council, Board of Control, now the Executive Committee, all the committees of the City, the School Board, both the Metropolitan School Board and the City Board of Education; we observe Metro Council, Metro Executive and all the committees. We publish reports, and they are sent out to our subscribers. That is the job we do.

Through this involvement, of course, we become extremely aware of what is going on in our community, and many of us are involved at many levels in many organizations. I just do not know how many organizations would be represented by we four here.

This is what we do—and, of course, presenting the brief to you this morning is another indication of the kind of action that we take.

We have three members now in our Association who are people from the depressed inner area of the city. There is Mrs. Rice here, Mrs. LeMay and another woman that was not able to come this morning. Does that help answer?

The Chairman: We have nothing but compliments for the work you are doing, take my word for it. I am very serious about that.

While we are on that subject, one of the things you put great emphasis on, which was a matter of satisfaction for myself, was the working poor. You have been at the City Council for twelve years; not only are you knowledgeable but able to present an argument. You are genuinely interested in the poor, and we give you high marks for that.

How is it possible that you have missed the fact that provinces like Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba and somewhat in the Province of Quebec they supplement the working poor; yet I have not heard a voice of protest raised about it in the Province of Ontario and in the City of Toronto.

Mrs. Rowlands: Sir, I attended the Welfare Conference in Baltimore this fall, and one of the workshops was on Canada and particularly the Ontario situation, and some of the officials of the Welfare Department were there. I raised this problem at that time, because the Americans were pointing out, of course, as you point out, that in many other places in Canada supplementation is what is done. This was reasonably stoutly defended by our Wel-

fare Department. Now, of course, there is a feeling at many levels, and certainly we support it, that this supplementation should be done. However, it seems to me that, again, this is another sort of ad hoc approach to the problem, and a reasonably guaranteed income would be so much better, but in the meantime...

Mrs. Burger: I think what you are getting at is that the Province of Ontario is not making use of the Canada Assistance Plan.

The Chairman: You could not put it a better way. We knew it; we thought you did too. That is not the reason we came here. It is all very well: you see people around here working very hard and trying to find some solution to this problem. They need help. It is no use your saying: "Let us get the poor and the others to organize to do it". You are a voice. It is nice to hear your voice in Baltimore and, of course better still, to hear it in Toronto.

Mrs. Rowlands: We raise our voice constantly here.

Senator Pearson: Coming to the question of housing, on page 8 you say that approximately one thousand dwellings have been torn down annually.

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes.

Senator Pearson: And these have been torn down for the purpose of putting up hospitals or schools.

Mrs. Rowlands: Or private re-development.

Senator Pearson: The question I would like to ask is: what happens to those people that are displaced?

Mrs. Rowlands: They get pushed from pillar to post. They move into other deteriorating areas of the city and then, of course, you get overcrowding of dwellings. You can go into a house where three or four families are living. Rents are extremely high. This causes, of course, further deterioration.

Now the Ontario Housing Corporation, with its building program, are putting it back into stock at rents that are reasonable, a certain amount of housing, so this is being replaced; but not only, of course, are we having housing demolished—and the houses that are being demolished, of course, are usually the older housing. This last year I just saw the figures and they are down somewhat approximately 200. This is, of course, because of the

decline in private apartment building at the present time.

It is a very serious problem, but added to this is the fact that low income areas that for years have been havens for working people are now turning into middle class areas through this whole thing of private re-location, as the more affluent move back into the city and take over whole areas. So not only are we losing them from this demolition, but this re-location process.

Unless public money is spent in some way to offset this, we are running into more and more serious problem as the older areas become more and more crowded.

Senator Pearson: Does the city not take over in particular cases in the displacement of these people?

Mrs. Rowlands: The City of Toronto, if you are talking about it, has divested itself of any responsibility in the housing field; has disbanded its Toronto Housing Authority and turned over its authority for supplying houses to the Ontario Housing Corporation. This is really what has happened. The Metropolitan Toronto government has some responsibility for housing for senior citizens. As far as family housing is concerned, the city has washed its hands and it is now the responsibility of the provincial government.

Senator Pearson: On the other hand, the city is the one that is getting these expressways through this city.

Mrs. Rowlands: Precisely.

Senator Pearson: And tearing these houses down.

Mrs. Rowlands: No question about that.

The Chairman: How you tread on tender toes!

Senator Pearson: It seems to me they have a responsibility there which they are neglecting and leaving it to the province to do what they like.

Mrs. Rowlands: There is something that goes on in the City of Toronto, which I should have mentioned earlier, concerning this whole area of by-law enforcement. The City of Toronto, for its size and age, has fewer slum areas than any other city in North America. Now, the City of Toronto developed a housing standard by-law back in the 1930's, the first one in North America, and while this has not

been rigidly enforced over the years, at least it took out the very worst and it prevented the very worst from happening.

Within the last four or five years we have had—we have now moved on to greater things—an extremely imaginative and good director of housing standards, and a most imaginative program has been developed in this city to do with housing standards. We have an appeal very different to the provincial appeal for welfare. This is an appeal against an inspector's order to repair your property. The hearing is in public and the chairman is a judge. There is on the appeal board a social worker, a minister, a person representing labour. There is somebody from the construction industry who actually will go out and look at the property and decide whether the estimate the individual has got is too high; a real estate person. This has been a tremendous forward step and, again, I think it is the first time. It may be almost the first time in North America to have this kind of committee. There have been other appeal boards.

So Toronto in this area is way out ahead and is doing an excellent job. A lot of private rehabilitation—I think last year it was up over \$2 million—has been effected through this program.

The other interesting part of it is that the housing inspector is not a disliked person. Somehow they have been able to do this job in such a way—the word that the chief housing inspector has always used, which I think we should try to remember, is the simple word “humane”—our approach is a humane approach.

I think if you will bear me out, Pat has often had the housing inspector in and people in her area have been visited regularly, and I do not think there is any resentment, is there?

Mrs. Rice: No, except the landlord gets on your back and says: “What is he coming here for?”, and then it is on your shoulders, but on the whole they have been pretty good.

The Chairman: We really have an idea for that: that humane building inspector, transfer him to the Welfare Department.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, in the brief submitted this morning the following reference was made:

Much has been written concerning the provision of an income floor through negative income tax. Surely the mech-

anism for this exists to a great degree by a major increase in family allowances and youth allowances.

In your presentation on your first page under “Introduction” you say:

However, it is obvious that some method must be developed to build into any such scheme sufficient incentive to encourage independence in the recipient. Also such a scheme should not be set so as to imply encouragement to families to have large numbers of children.

Are you suggesting that the family allowance program as such has encouraged or does encourage large families?

Mrs. Rowlands: I think it would be very difficult for us to make that claim. I think that what it tends to do is probably to emphasize or under-score the old idea that the more children you have the better it is for you and for society. I think everyone here in our Association agrees with me when we say that this is our position, that family allowances, to begin with, of course, benefit everybody equally. I realize, of course, that through income tax some of it goes back. We realize too that simply to increase family allowances would be a simpler way perhaps of getting at the problem. It is a simple way because legislation already exists. However, while the energy is being generated for trying to get these allowances increased, possibly it would take the focus off the need for a guaranteed annual income at a reasonable level. I think this is what we were afraid of. We are afraid that a very substantial increase in family allowances, which is what would be required and what some people are recommending, would have to be offset equally—and this is what some briefs neglect to mention maybe—by a very vigorous program of family planning, of household management, of proper nutrition of children and all this kind of thing, or our feeling is that we would run the risk of augmenting the problem.

Senator Everett: Do I understand that you are involved in this inner city children's program that was discussed?

Mrs. Rowlands: Yes, I am.

Senator Everett: Can you tell me how many children are presently enrolled?

Mrs. Rowlands: May I let Mrs. Burge answer the technical questions, if you do not mind.

Mrs. Burger: The sample of which we have the results was very small. There were only five children. We have now ten inner city children in the program, and we take them at four months old. What is interesting about this particular report is that the children who are tested at the age of five months—we allow them to spend one month with us before we test them, to get them used to our environment—show great progress; while those who are not necessarily inner-city children whom we have tested at the age of eighteen months do not show any particular change in their outlook by the age of two and a half.

In other words, what Dr. Fowler had discovered, as I hope you gentlemen will be able to see if you can get his report, is that you have to start this type of program at an extremely early age, to be at all beneficial.

Senator Everett: And it is not beneficial, say, beyond twelve months?

Mrs. Burger: In the studies which were done in the United States, I think they found that with eleven month old children you do get a beneficial program, but Dr. Fowler has found that the benefits are far greater for those between the age of four and five months.

Senator Everett: How long do you generally keep the children in the program?

Mrs. Burger: We are limited to two and a half years. Our society, the Canadian Mothercraft Society, decided that there are day care centres within the municipality and also private nurseries that accept children at the age of two and a half, so we have concentrated on the infant group. Primarily it was for working parents, and last year we succeeded in getting Metropolitan Toronto to subsidize ten underprivileged children in the program from inner city children in the program at public expense; but basically we were geared to a middle class society before that.

Senator Everett: What sort of program does this study indicate to you is necessary?

Mrs. Burger: I wish Dr. Fowler were here. I hope you will have the opportunity of speaking to him. We feel very strongly that, specifically with regard to welfare, this gives these infants the opportunity of arriving at school with, if not better, the same type of stimulation which the other children have. I think any of you ladies and gentlemen who have been into any school will pick out under-

privileged children, not necessarily by their clothing but by the fact that they fidget the whole time and they cannot keep still and concentrate. Nobody has ever read to them; nobody has ever talked to them; nobody has ever showed them any pictures. There has been no mother who said: "Five toes—one, two, three, four, five; five fingers on the hand". This is the type of thing that we do with our babies in our program, which we hope to be able to teach the parents, too, which the mother in the average, hard-core poverty family, especially the family which is naturally a large family, has not the time to do. She is much too worried about the mere fact of living to be able to do anything for her children. Therefore, they arrive at school unable to concentrate. They have never been taught how.

Senator Everett: If this were a broader program, how would the children be selected?

Mrs. Burger: I think it should be a sort of head-start program. I do not like to use the word because this has been used too often, especially in the United States, but there should be this type of program for children in very under-privileged areas—a head start for them at a very young age.

Senator Everett: How does your program compare to the head-start program in the United States?

Mrs. Burger: As I say, we have these ten children from Metropolitan Toronto which we are taking in at a very small amount of what the program actually costs, and we have a training school within our centre for young girls who we hope one day will be infant care workers or good mothers. This enables us to have a ratio of maybe one adult to three babies; therefore our results are stupendous.

I think the provincial legislation calls for ten to one in the older age groups, and I think in this particular age group they advocate four to one with infants, but there are not infant nurseries yet. Ours is the first.

Mrs. Rowlands: Could I add further to that, that this is the program we hear about when we go over to Hamilton. I do not know whether the Hamilton Family Service Association are going to be before you.

The Chairman: Yes, the Hamilton people are presenting a brief. It is one of the best. The Social Planning Council is coming.

Mrs. Burger: This is not the Social Planning Council; this is the Family Service

Association in Hamilton which started a 28-week project in a certain urban renewal area, very depressed area. All they did was take a group of these children, and they also had a test group that just remained in the normal situation. They took these youngsters for a period of 28 weeks and put them in nursery school three mornings a week. The improvement in their linguistic ability, especially those who were furthest behind, was measurable to the extent that they put it on charts and graphs. This was the improvement with just three mornings a week in nursery school.

Senator Everett: This is the improvement and, as I understand it, this is in the program up to two and a half years.

Mrs. Burger: No, I am talking about another program. I am talking about something which was done with a different group in Hamilton through the Family Service Association. These youngsters were older.

Senator Everett: I understand that. I am talking about your program.

Mrs. Burger: Unfortunately there have not been funds to do a follow-up, but I know several of our children have gone to municipal day nurseries, not necessarily the underprivileged group, and we do hear they are doing extremely well at the second stage.

Senator Everett: You do not have any way of following them through over the succeeding years?

Mrs. Burger: We have not any systematic way, but we do have some mothers who are bringing their children back because they know we are interested, but there are no funds for actually testing.

Commissioner Anderson who spoke to you this morning has agreed that we could follow these infants up if there were funds available.

Senator Everett: Have you made any application for funds?

Mrs. Burger: There has been application made, and Mr. McHugh from the Ontario Institute of Studies and Education is here, and I think he could tell you that the application has not been at all successful.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I know it is late and we have subjected our witnesses to a very difficult session in which they have done very well, but there is one thing I would like to ask before they leave. On page 6 they refer to the Children's Aid Society of Met-

ropolitan Toronto, and it seems to me that the preventive service the Children's Aid Society provides has not decreased but it has increased. Can you tell me what is the philosophy which caused the province to cut back the budget, as you say they did, in 1969? Are these preventive services going to be provided some other way or are you just going to do without them?

Mrs. Rowlands: I know that last year the Children's Aid Society were very, very disturbed about this situation of the cut-back in their budget. There was some suggestion that there were certain inefficiencies within their administrative set-up that had to be overcome, but the result of the cut-back was that the social worker staff was cut back by eleven workers. To me this is unbelievable, because, as you say, their volume of work is increasing tremendously, of course, with the increase in population in the Metropolitan Toronto area, in fact increased everywhere; and to meet this increasing need by cutting back a budget on so vital a service—I don't know, but I think they have presented their budget again very recently and I have not heard what the present situation is, but last year and late this fall this was the situation. They were simply not able to do the preventive work; they were merely there in a severe crisis situation to pick up the bits.

The Chairman: Any other questions? If not, let me say on behalf of the Committee to you, Mrs. Rowlands, and to all of the ladies, how much we are impressed with your delegation. We are delighted to know that you are here to do your work, trying to help the poor and trying to help the people of Toronto generally. We thank you for coming, and I can assure you that your presentation will be very seriously considered.

Mrs. Rowlands: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The committee adjourned.

Toronto, Tuesday, March 10, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Sub-Committee "A"), met this day at 2.30 p.m. at the St. Lawrence Hall.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Call the meeting to order. We have a brief of the Victoria Day Car

Services. On my immediate right is Mrs. Barbara Chisholm, Executive Director. She is a social worker with child welfare experience. She will introduce the people with her.

Mrs. Barbara Chisholm, Executive Director, The Victoria Day Nursery: On my immediate right is Mrs. Craig Davidson, President of the Board of Directors of my agency, board member of the Family Services Association, and a very active volunteer in Metro Toronto. On her right is Mrs. Elbyra Scepe, who is one of the parents whose children are in the care of the Victoria Day Services. She is a mother who is on public assistance. First of all we are going to show you a film which my agency has just last week finished making. The title of the film is, *Child of the Universe*. What we are hoping to introduce in this film is a visual position statement about part of the point of view we have taken in our brief, which is that services to children and their parents, to young families in Canada must become a service of involvement and sharing on the part of those receiving and those giving if in fact we are to move our programs away from the drawbacks of the system we have now, and what in fact happens if that kind of sharing is done properly.

(Film is shown.)

Mrs. Chisholm: Ladies and gentlemen, my name is Barbara Chisholm and I am the Executive Director of Victoria Day Car Services here in Toronto. I have with me my president and one of the parents whose children we share, helping the parent.

The point of view that we would like to represent in our brief is to depart from discussion of programs as such, debating the issues of how income access may be improved to the citizens of Canada who do not have access to it for whatever reasons; to acknowledge that the basic factors involved in the ideology of poverty are very complicated and interactional. There is no one single factor that causes it. Therefore, solution is no easier to come by. But we would like to concentrate instead on the point of view which we hope our film raises for you and echoes and that is that no program, however sophisticatedly it is designed, no set of income tax proposals no matter how creative, will help to move particularly the locked-in generational poverty victims out of that situation unless we do two things. One, recognize that human change is a process and that it cannot be brought about either by injunction or command or by

simply designing fiscal opportunities which give people without sufficient income access, a more gracious and favourable access, to some money. Human change needs human agents to help it happen.

The second point is that just as money is not the only thing missing from the households of the poor, we believe that supportive services such as our agency represents and which we have tried to demonstrate to you, are absolutely essential if we are to enable the poor and the near poor and the low middle classes to move with us into a more functional, more viably functional set of adjustments and standards and behaviours.

We feel that one of the most critical mistakes in the past 40 years in North America in its attempt to solve the question of need and dependence, has been the absence of these two points. There has been, and we attempted to develop, reasons for this in the brief. A polarization between the public and the private sectors which we feel is regrettable and which, instead of relieving poverty, have independently and together led to not only keep it alive but in fact have actively contributed to increasing it.

On the public side there has been the pressures on defined public assistance programs brought about by all of us. I don't feel that it is fair to say it is any department of public welfare's part. They, after all, reflect the conventional wisdom and our conventional wisdom has been very conventional but hardly very wise.

We have defined a loud human need and then we have not supported it very well. We have made it increasingly impossible for public welfare staffs to recognize the human condition in which recipients exist. And the antagonism which this has set up between them has made the recipient suspicious of the programs and the programs inaccessible to the recipient.

The private voluntary field of social work turned away in the forties and fifties from its concern with the kind of environment people had to have to a present occupation with adjustment to that environment, partly as a result of case work's behind-the-barn marriage with psychiatry. And its excitement about being treaters. And we did not communicate with each other. We had very little communication. So that the skill which voluntary social work did in fact develop about how to help people change and how long it took and how much help it took was very

slowly, if ever, communicated to the public sector. The use of interview as a technique, therefore, became reserved to people who could use it, who had language skills and who could conceptualize. So the middle and upper classes became the recipients of most of our private, voluntary efforts, excluding the poor and helping to alienate them and make them feel as we are now being told, and with right and justification, that we are irrelevant to the problems of actual environment.

We feel that whatever programs grow out of this committee's deliberations and recommendations, and we agree that many new ones are indicated, must involve in their implementation, regulations and recommendations, recognition for the need for proper counselling and supportive services with the recipients, not just to them or for them or on their behalf, but in fact planned with them. Unless we in fact wish to duplicate our mistakes in the past, and we will redefine our public welfare system under new titles, but we won't move poverty.

Thank you.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: On page 1 paragraph 5, you say, "We have not allowed the disadvantaged and the poor to tell us in fact 'like it is', nor have we considered including them in planning ways to solve their problems. Rather, we have tended to treat them as though they were the problem;" and this is contrary to some people's thoughts on this subject. What do you think of that, yourself?

Mrs. Chisholm: Perhaps the contradiction may come, senator, in terms of timing. I think there is now a very much more positive recognition of this. What I am talking to in this point is the pattern of what has brought us to the present dilemma in which I think both the public and the private sectors were preoccupied in doing things for clients or recipients, but we were unbelievably innocent about asking them whether this was what they wanted, in fact, in my field particularly. I am a voluntary, private social worker from the private social work field. I wish I could be paid minimum wage hours for the hours I have spent on committees with my own professional peers or with board people, the professional volunteers, working very hard to try to decide what it is our clients needed and we never had a client there to say, "Thank you very much, that is a beautiful idea, but as a matter of fact what I need is something

different." And this is the point I am trying to get at. I think it has been naive. I don't think it has been malicious. I just think it has been innocent and it is very important that we have people like my Mrs. Seepe who might come in and say, "Gosh, thanks very much, Mrs. Chisholm. That is swell, but what I and the children really need this afternoon is something else."

Senator Inman: And one more question. This is pertinent to different parts, but do you say that more parental involvement should be encouraged with regard to providing playgrounds and small parks and things for children? Now, I can understand they might have to be encouraged to do this, but I have in mind people, young people that we heard in one of the cities, a group of young students gets interested in the children in the area and with minimal expense, practically nothing, they got a piece of vacant land and they made the play equipment, and I am just wondering if parents could be interested in doing this sort of thing in the places where other parties aren't accessible? What do you think of that?

Mr. Chisholm: I think we would find, senator, that parents have the same kind of preoccupation about good things, most parents for their children as you and I. And that, given the opportunity, and a sincere opportunity, not tokenism but a genuine opportunity to participate in this, that most of them would jump at it. I think there is a genuine wish on the part of both parents, particularly parents who have come out of the locked-in system and who are seeing some light at the end of that tunnel.

Senator Inman: Do you think that perhaps more suggestions of such an idea would be a help? Perhaps they mightn't think of it?

Mrs. Chisholm: I think that anything that helps us to have the three-unit, really as a triad partnership can do nothing but help, of course.

Senator Inman: Thank you.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would certainly like to compliment Mrs. Chisholm and their group for this excellent brief which is one of the best we have had, I would think.

Mrs. Chisholm: Thank you, very much.

Senator Fergusson: And I am sure it is going to be very helpful to our committee in coming to decisions. I just have one or two

things I would like to ask about. One is on page 8, small "h", where you refer to encouragement for youth to remain in school. This is one of the things we must have through an assistant program which allows sufficient income to the family that youths are not forced to go to work in order to support the parents and younger children. Do you think from your experience that many youths are forced to go to work to help support their family?

Mrs. Chisholm: The information I have received from a number of my social worker friends is that this is still happening to a rather surprising extent, yes.

Senator Fergusson: The reason I ask is that we have had other witnesses who have said they didn't think that going to work, dropping out of school and going back to work was the reason for very many dropouts in these days, and I just wonder what your opinion is?

Mrs. Chisholm: I think the dropout phenomenon has been so often associated in the public's mind with the youth problem as such, in terms of drugs or rebellion or violence or the disenchanting uninvolved youth, and it is easy perhaps, "easy", to overlook the less obvious, more subtle kind of problem. The youngster who is leaving school at 14 or 15 to try and get a job is not going to be as visible in his community as a youngster who is dropping out of school and is more visible because of his behaviour. So that, the more visible youth are the ones that we are paying more attention to, either happily or unhappily, but my understanding is that there is enough of this still going on that we need to be concerned about it.

Senator Fergusson: Another thing I would like to ask you about is in replying to Senator Inman's questions you said you thought the parents would be very pleased to do anything they could to assist. I don't know whether this is relevant or not, but I was wondering if you could tell us if you had any experience with this battered children syndrome?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes, I have.

Senator Fergusson: And whether there is any connection with parents wanting to help them or neglecting them?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes. Over the past period of about two and a half years I have been used as special consultant to the coroner's office here in Ontario in cases of inquests on the deaths of small children in which the question

of battered child was a fact and cases where agencies were already involved in the situation, and yet, and still a child died. This has been a tremendous experience for me, personally. I have learned a great deal about it and it has stimulated a tremendous amount of the kind of rationale behind our brief.

I think almost without exception it is safe to say that the parent who batters his child, who beats his child up very badly, at some point before he did it or she did it or they did it gave off cries for help the way we are beginning to understand a suicide patient does. We know that there is something. I think that is what the doctors even call it, is a cry for help on the part of people who try to kill themselves. That is, there was a period in which they said to the world, "I am desperate".

I am convinced that with the exception of mentally ill parents, people who are in fact psychotic, there was a time when even the least competent, most overwhelmed and poor parent tried to let somebody know. And we didn't hear because we don't know how to hear. We haven't been geared to hearing. Almost without exception the families on whom I have been brought in as a consultant were families on public assistance programs, poor, uneducated, without internal resources for coping with problems, overwhelmed, living in appalling housing which got dirtier and dirtier, on a treadmill to absolutely nowhere. And the demand of these children was more than they could cope with. If we continue to say that this kind of poverty is to be removed by a shift in our economic kindness, we will continue to have just as many battered babies because the money is not the central issue. Someone has said recently that every parent is a potential child beater and I think this is true. Everyone can reach that point where you are so exasperated by a child you just want to take him by his head and sent him out a window without opening it. And the irony is that our least competent parents are the ones upon whom we have put the greatest burden to solve their problems alone, with the pressure of not quite enough money and then some kind of an injunction to manage it well enough. So that, yes, I think we could stop battered children. We haven't even tried to find the way into that. We need to find the way.

Senator Fergusson: How are we going to recognize this cry for help?

Mr. Chisholm: Well, could I ask Mrs. Seepe to tell you what it is like to be on public

assistance and what it is like to get help. Maybe she could answer it better than I because she has been there.

Mrs. Elbyra Seepe: I don't know if I can do a good job or not.

The Chairman: You just do the best you can.

Mrs. Seepe: I was very ill last year. Prior to that I tried to get public housing. I lived in a three-room flat with the four of us. The flat was exceedingly small and we lived on the top. Well, it made me frustrated. I shouted at the children and the children became more intolerable as we went along. Well, I finally had a stroke, last year. Then, things began to happen as soon as I came out of it. I was actually very fortunate because I hadn't much of a disability left. But, all of a sudden things began to roll. Ontario Housing got me a three-bedroom apartment which is heaven on earth and mother's allowance finally came over with giving me a substantial income which allows me to live, not, you know, not normal but reasonable, which I didn't have prior to that. Is it then always that it has got to be that something serious happens before anybody can do anything?

Now, the nursery has been very good to me.

The Chairman: How many children do you have?

Mrs. Seepe: Three.

The Chairman: How old?

Mrs. Seepe: One is 14.

The Chairman: 14.

Mrs. Seepe: One is 14. One is 13, and the five-year-old which is at the nursery. Now, the nursery has been good to me in the fact that, you see, in order to pay medical bills I have to pay them first and then hand the bill in and the welfare will pay. Well, under the services I am never able to do that because the way the prices are now, I just go on the 1st of the month and do my shopping and that is pretty nearly half of the money taken care of. So, I have been going to the nursery. They have been advancing me the money and then I have paid them back when the welfare paid me the money for the bill.

Another thing is, I couldn't dress myself the way I am if it hadn't been for the nursery. You see, all the volunteer workers hand their clothes in that they find have been either

outgrown or still, not bad enough to throw away. And, for a minimum amount I can buy them if I haven't got too much pride to wear them, which I lost a long time ago.

This is the unfortunate circumstance in my case, by being sick. Now, hopefully I will be able to go back to work in the fall but in the meantime I have got to manage. There is a lot of people that are much worse off than I am, really, but I think we should do something to get more services like Victoria Day Care, not the impersonal one. Where somebody still has a minute to spare and when you are really desperate. I have gone there. A cup of tea does remarkable things.

That is all I really have to say.

The Chairman: Well, you said the pride which you lost some time ago.

Mrs. Seepe: You see, people do have pride.

The Chairman: Of course. That is what we are concerned with.

Mrs. Seepe: And charity is something a lot of people consider below their dignity.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Seepe: Secondhand clothes are one thing that a lot of people consider below their dignity to wear.

The Chairman: So whatever comes to you comes to you as a matter of right.

Mrs. Seepe: Not necessarily, sir.

The Chairman: Well, the state...

Mrs. Seepe: Well, people do sometimes imply that we live off the taxpayers' money and if it wasn't for the taxpayers we wouldn't survive.

The Chairman: I am a politician. I live off the taxpayers' money too.

Mrs. Seepe: But people are shortsighted. They don't consider that the taxpayers' money.

The Chairman: You would be surprised when I try to get a raise. The point you made here today was something they did that restored you, made a different person out of you?

Mrs. Seepe: Yes, you see, more important than money is a broken spirit.

The Chairman: Then you said you had lost it sometime ago. Now, the reason I asked the

question is I thought you might say that it was being restored to you by these methods that were being employed, because that is the purpose of our exercise, isn't it?

Mrs. Seepe: Precisely. That is what it is. You see, I have got my backbone back and that means that I am now willing to overcome the fact that I felt useless after I had that stroke. I felt bad because I am too young to have it. Anyhow, I got the courage back and I can face the fact that as soon as I am able to get clearance I would like to work and make my own living without being a charity case. Let's put it the way it is.

The Chairman: But you keep using "charity case" all the time and that bothers us more than it bothers you.

Mrs. Seepe: It does.

The Chairman: It is not charity. The law of the land says that we must meet your needs as a matter of right. That is the law of the land in this country.

Mrs. Seepe: Yes, but, sir, not everybody thinks like you.

The Chairman: No, that is not me. I am telling you what the law is. The fact that those people will be so affected is another matter. That is the law. You understand? That is your right and when you take it you are not taking charity.

Mrs. Seepe: Yes, but when you take it over a period of time it isn't, it is an emergency rather than have to take it over a period of time.

The Chairman: Not an emergency. It is hopeful that you won't need it over a long period of time. That depends on the person. It doesn't make any difference whether it is a day or a year. If the circumstances warrant it that is the law and that is the intention of the law and people who don't give effect to that aren't doing what is right by other people. That is one of the reasons we are here today. People don't seem to understand that.

Mrs. Seepe: But, you see, it is made very hard because not many people get the opportunity to do what I am doing.

The Chairman: That is right.

Mrs. Seepe: And not many people have the opportunity that I have had, to have a friend and to have, well, the day care services too.

The Chairman: All right. Go ahead.

Mrs. Seepe: When I was in the hospital, I have no parents, no family other than the children, but one of the nursery workers came to see me, I wasn't really alone.

The Chairman: Senator Cook.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, as I read this very excellent brief it is borne out to me that there will always be a need, whatever improvement takes place in the system, as I read it there will always be a need for the Victoria Day Care. Now, with that in mind, how many children have you enrolled?

Mrs. Chisholm: In Ontario the numbers you are allowed to accept are set by the Day Nursery Branch, senator, which legislates under the Day Nurseries Act. So, our particular building is licensed to accommodate 45 children on any day, when we are full. We are not supposed to have any more than that. We run something, oh, depending upon the kind of year we have and whether we have a number of small children who start with us young and grow with us, which I think is the pattern. We may have a year with a small turnover or we may have a year in which we serve 90 or 100 children. We also have a small additional program called Family Day Care which is using the homes of families and we supervise and pay to help take care of children who have no place to go for lunch, who have no place to go after school.

Senator Fergusson: That is beyond the 45?

Mrs. Chisholm: That is beyond the 45, yes, senator. The 45 is only in our group centre program. This is, if you will, sort of extramural, outside of that. So, we are very small. We touch only a drop in the bucket of need right in this very community. But, it is very difficult to expand because of the problems of financing and, in a sense, community understanding.

Senator Cook: Do you operate throughout the whole year?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes, we operate 13 out of the 12 sometimes, yes. We never close except on statutory holidays.

Senator Cook: And how do you finance yourself?

Mrs. Chisholm: We are subsidized through the Metropolitan Toronto Department of Public Welfare for eligible families who qualify under their public terms, their qualifi-

cation terms for subsidy; parents who cannot pay the full fee but who qualify as being recognized by them as eligible for this service and they pay the fee and apparently it is the fee and then we bill Metro for the difference up to the maximum figure which we agree on each year. Then, we also receive money from the United Community Fund as a member social agency on a different basis for certain services which the public authorities do not yet recognize. For example, the Day Nurseries Act in Ontario does not recognize as a chargeable cost any of the social work services which Mrs. Seepe is saying were the things which enabled her to help rehabilitate her attitude and herself and which we are saying here is the essential ingredient which has been left out up to date.

Senator Cook: One final question. Are there many more such groups, do you know?

Mrs. Chisholm: No, there are not, sir. There are two, three other agencies in this community similar to ours, one of which is very similar and one of which has moved off in another direction, specially concentrating on the mentally ill children. We are concentrating essentially on the normal children, normally family, but family of risk, because the Mrs. Seepes of this world, if expected to raise their families alone, have a mathematical risk which is very much higher than other families that their children might not land on their feet. So, we try very much to concentrate on this type of family.

Senator Cook: Thank you, you are doing remarkable work.

Mrs. Chisholm: Thank you.

The Chairman: You do know, of course, that the day nurseries are covered under the Canada Assistance Act?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes, sir.

The Chairman: And that as far as the federal government is concerned, it is an open end deal. You bill us and we pay for it. We don't ask any questions.

Mrs. Chisholm: Would that it was that simple, Senator Croll.

The Chairman: But from the point of view of how we see it. We realize you have difficulties in the province.

Mrs. Chisholm: Right.

The Chairman: Oh, yes. But now, what provinces do a better job in that respect than Ontario?

Mrs. Chisholm: Alberta.

The Chairman: Alberta, yes. British Columbia?

Mrs. Chisholm: No, British Columbia is not as advanced as we are.

The Chairman: Do you know why Alberta does a better job?

Mrs. Chisholm: I wish I did.

The Chairman: I will tell you. Do you remember Charlotte Whitton?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes.

The Chairman: Do you remember when Charlotte Whitton went down there?

Mrs. Chisholm: Is she doing anything?

The Chairman: Not at the moment, but they never forgot her. Thank goodness for that.

Mrs. Chisholm: This is one of the enormous problems because the Canada Assistance Act being permissive legislation rather than mandatory put no sanctions on use and this is a real problem.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Senator Inman: Could I ask one more question? I am particularly interested in this brief having a lot of grandchildren. But in your introduction you say, "The sole-support mothers and the working mothers comprise our major parent group, although our service is not limited to them."

What other mothers do you give your service to?

Mrs. Chisholm: We have mothers who are at home who are not away from their children by the day but who are unable to cope full day with their responsibility. Now, this may be because of a physical reason. For instance, we have two little boys in the centre whose mother is totally blind and whose father has only ten per cent vision. Now, it is impossible for that mother, no matter how devoted or loving, to help her children through that critical period when they need to begin to cruise and explore and to involve themselves with other children. She can't see them. Therefore, there is no way she can supervise. So that is a very visible, that is a

pun but that is a very obvious reason for sharing the parenting responsibility.

We had another situation where two little children whose parents were both deaf mutes where the same problems of obvious inability to care and supervise, but we also have post mental breakdown mothers or pre mental breakdown mothers, mothers who are right on the edge, whose capacity to cope with the demands of young demanding pre-school children is just minimal, and these are what I call our eggshell mothers, the ones who are so brittle that it may be what you have to come to terms with is the amount of parenting they can give. It can be in this area. And in this area we, all of us, have to help provide this and this and this other part of it for them. So that there may be mothers at home not employed but who are as critically unable to parent as the one who is physically away for part of the day.

The Chairman: Senator Everett.

Senator Everett: You make a statement on page 4, I think, of your brief. You made it in verbal evidence that the private social sector has dealt mostly or assisted mostly the middle upper class. I think that is the way you phrased it?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes.

Senator Everett: I find that very difficult to believe, that the great benefit of the work of the private sector was realized by the middle and upper middle class, and if that is true that is a terrible indictment of our private social sector and the whole concept of United Appeal and everything else that we have associated with that over the years. Do you think you really mean that?

Mrs. Chisholm: I think I really mean it, sir. I don't think it was malicious and I think this is important to understand. Programs developed, emphasize developed, there isn't an agency I know that has ever been under-worked. You know, they have always been terribly involved with what they have been doing, but I think the polarization did in fact happen and I think one of the reasons why private social work lost sight of poverty for a while was a point I made elsewhere in here, that I think the fact that we did have basic social security around tended to quell anxiety about poverty. I think there was an assumption that it didn't exist because there were basic social security programs and that it was not the prerogative of the private sector to

deal with this any longer. Because, in a sense, it, quote, had been dealt with. So that it was not a malicious thing. It was an estrangement for various other reasons as well, but I do not believe that the private sector has been involved with poverty on any significant basis for the last 25 years.

Senator Everett: Would you care to name some specific agencies that you feel suffer from this?

Mrs. Chisholm: Any of the private agencies. I don't think I want to be placed in a position of appearing to criticize agencies because it is an across-the-board issue in terms of private agencies which, for example, some of which charge fees for services; agencies involving, counselling agencies with parent-child relationships, agencies involved with marital counselling, agencies involved in recreation programming. These kind of issues, all of which are in their place very valid, terribly important. I think the private sector tends to see, for example, the neglected child in terms of a state responsibility and if they become involved, if the private sector becomes involved with families which failed in their parenting, this was diverted then over to the public sector.

Senator Everett: Well, in a question of priorities what do you believe we should do with the private sector?

Mrs. Chisholm: Do with it? I think that it is not, if I may slightly rephrase that, senator. I would feel that one of the most implications for now, not the future but right now, are to define honestly the patterns of new communication with each other. We have not talked with each other. We do not co-operate well with each other.

Senator Everett: Who is each other in this case?

Mrs. Chisholm: The public sector.

Senator Everett: I see.

Mrs. Chisholm: For example, one of the things that I would very much like to see is the institution of advisory bodies involving private social work, but also citizens and the Mrs. Seepes of this world, as advisory bodies to government departments.

Senator Everett: But that is another problem. We may come to that later. I am interested in this problem of the failure of the private agencies, in your judgment, over

many years, to effectively treat those who are in poverty. You say that as an indictment against the private agencies. Now, whether we agree or disagree with you, if that is your feeling what should be done with the private agencies? Should the support of, say, United Appeal be withdrawn from them?

Mrs. Chisholm: No, I think the private sector has a very vital role to play and while I am critical of the field I am a part of, I am not raising these as indictments in terms of polarization of yea or nay values, who should survive and who shouldn't survive in the future. I think that the private sector has a tremendously important function to play still. I suspect the private and public sectors will redefine who does what and maybe funding will be done differently for different things, but there is still an important role. But we do still not successfully yet sit down and try to define what public and private ought to do and who ought to be funded for what. It still is off in pockets. The fund for the private ones, the tax dollar for the public ones. And there is not very good communication.

Senator Everett: That is not really true though. Welfare councils have been doing that for some considerable time.

Mrs. Chisholm: Not effectively, though.

Senator Everett: Well, not effectively, but we have been trying to. But you go on on page 4 and say, I think the private agencies guilty, if I paraphrase you correctly, of dealing with the people in their environment rather than the environment itself. You find fault with the private agencies for that. What would you have them do then?

Mrs. Chisholm: I am not finding fault, if I may just defend my position, sir, for a moment. I am trying to illustrate here why I think we have reached the point we have reached. I think it was simply a historic development. It is easy to criticize it when you are looking back on it, the preoccupation with understanding human behaviour. The tremendous impetus that psychiatry gave to social work in the 1940's and '50's tended to a tremendous excited kind of understanding of what made Sammy run and how to facilitate this. The development of the child help movement all are echoes of this. It was not a question of who was good or who was bad and this is simply that developments were so different they polarized and now I think we need to try to find a way to synthesize those developments, to bring them into a different

interactional basis so that the private know-how is built into the public service in a way that it hasn't been built in before.

Senator Everett: Well, you lost me at the last interaction there. As I understand it, you want the private agencies to deal with the environmental problems?

Mrs. Chisholm: I think the private agencies are particularly geared to provide the supportive services that I mentioned at the end, particularly geared for this. They have the skill, the know-how, the background, the volunteer groups, the board of directors, the particular expertise in counselling and for these reasons I think they should still continue to be used. We know how to give good day care. We know how to do...

Senator Everett: Well, that is just my point. That isn't then attacking the problem of environment?

Mrs. Chisholm: Oh, yes; oh, yes.

Senator Everett: Doesn't that accept the environment the way it is and say attack the people within the environment?

Mrs. Chisholm: Now you have lost me. May I have that again?

Senator Everett: Well, as I understood your critique of the private agency was that it allowed the environment in which the problem arose?

Mrs. Chisholm: I think that is what it did in the past, yes.

Senator Everett: And it dealt with the people in that environment?

Mrs. Chisholm: Right, right.

Senator Everett: But from what you say, what would follow from that is that they should be involved in changing the environment?

Mrs. Chisholm: Well, some of them certainly are.

Senator Everett: But then you go on to say that really what they should be doing is providing supportive services?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes, because it is not either/or, is it, senator, which is really what I am trying to say in the brief. Let's not get ourselves into a simplistic kind of solution pattern that suggests either it is just money or either it is better housing. You know, this

kind of thing. But it is in fact a package which may be described but cannot be separated. You can't have just bits here and bits there. It is an interactional kind of things. Yes, you need cracking good attacks on the environment. We need to do all kinds of things with housing. I didn't even attempt to go into that here. We need to take a much more effective look at income access. We need to do a better job of birth control dissemination for people who can't cope with having children. But we also need to help people find their way out, because it takes the minimum of, with our families for example at the centre, the minimum that we find we can take a relatively healthy young family and get it back on its feet is a year and a half and that has been the absolute minimum, and for many of our families it is now two, three, four years to re-establish them. And this is a long-term pull. So that it is a new kind of partnership. The private sector, I think, is particularly competent at helping people by provision of services, but also by working directly with them to share the problems and helping them learn how to get mobilized to find their way out. The public sector is particularly geared at the, if you will, at a better crack at environment and income access than the private sector has been.

Senator Everett: The Association of Women Electors referred us to a study that they are making of ten children in sort of a combination of day care and head-start. Since you are in that field and probably as expert as anybody, would you care to give us a critique of that experiment?

Mrs. Chisholm: I don't know which one you are referring to, sir. I am sorry.

Senator Everett: I don't know how to describe it.

The Chairman: Professor Crawford.

Mrs. Chisholm: Do you by any chance mean Dr. Fowler?

The Chairman: Dr. Fowler. Dr. Fowler.

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes, I know that one.

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead.

Mrs. Chisholm: This is a stimulation program for babies and infants.

Senator Everett: That is right. They get them at four months and leave them at two and a half years.

Mrs. Chisholm: I think it is probably too early. Even Dr. Fowler himself has done nothing more than his first impression findings. We would certainly think that any research would help the community to understand that learning begins at a very much earlier age than what was once thought is a useful contribution. We would hope that it would not stimulate, again, singular thinking that the thing you do for small children is you get them cognitively stimulated, period, but that we continue to have it in a larger program of what happens to the families of these children as well. For example, one of the risks in our kind of business is that if you just give a good service to the child and you spend a lot of time, really culturally stimulating him and teaching him and getting him all zapped up and he really is learning and he comes home every night to a family situation unable to grow at the same rate, you not only do him a disservice, you set up a triangle because the family gets, and rightly so, can feel you are wooing that child away from them. They can be terribly threatened and parents will make the things fail because they think you are taking their child away from them. And I have seen this happen with programs that concentrated only on the child to the exclusion of realizing he belongs to his family. We have no prior claim.

Senator Everett: That is interesting because we have been told on certain occasions that the cure to poverty is to get the children into some kind of head start program.

Mrs. Chisholm: We must learn some lessons about the preoccupation of doing it just for the children. It really suggests a kind of dismissal of the parent as a valid factor and it has been very innocently done, but some of the reasons I think head start in the United States has had some back start reactions later is the missing element with the child's own family.

The Chairman: As a matter of fact, Senator Everett, the Americans, after working with head start for a considerable time, have gone cool on it.

Senator Everett: Yes, I understand that, Mr. Chairman. One last question. Do I read you correctly when on page 4 here, item 3, subsection (b)...

Mrs. Chisholm: Right.

Senator Everett: "A second point of view which played into the conservatism of profes-

sional social work was a conviction that children, especially small children, are always better cared for by their own mothers." I recall when I first got involved in this field that the thinking was the antithesis of that, that children who are in trouble should be in foster care, in institutional care, and then all of a sudden it reversed over to keeping the family together. Do I gather from that that it has reversed back again?

Mrs. Chisholm: What you are hearing is a person who has been trying to interpret day care as a shared parenting rationale and meeting a tremendous amount of professional resistance in the child welfare field for almost the last ten years because of the misunderstanding about what parenting involves. I am being editorial there when I say that, but our feeling about misunderstanding. There has been, particularly with children under two, an almost automatic response that a child is always better off when cared for by his biological mother, and I think this has been drummed into us from many sources. I think particularly the misinterpretation of Dr. Bolby's studies in England of institutionalized babies who died and failed with drive, created a tremendous anxiety in the North American child welfare field about parenting, and we misinterpreted many of Dr. Bolby's findings because they were of babies who were not parented, but we talked about them as though they were normal babies who had been parented. And we created a tremendous 25-year pre-occupation that if you only had mother and child together somehow parenting helped. And I think we must now take the steps to take a somewhat more honest look at what parenting involves and it is not the physical presence of the mother that necessarily creates parenting. Parenting can be an experiential thing. And a little bit of parenting from a mother free to give that little bit freely and share without guilt by other sections of the community. I think we are now beginning to understand it can be tremendously rewarding and security producing for children. Out of our concern to make sure that children were parented, sometimes I think in the past we have sentenced children and parents to each other and some very unhappy things have happened as a result. Thank you.

The Chairman: Well, Mrs. Chisholm, we thought we had troubles until we heard you. Now I can assure you that we are satisfied right up to our neck. But it has been very

helpful and very useful. The ladies who were here before, in talking about involving the disadvantaged, used the phrase, "Let them tell it like it is." And I find the same thing in your brief. Do you people know each other?

Mrs. Chisholm: I hope so. What other group do you mean?

The Chairman: Women Electors?

Mrs. Chisholm: Yes, I know some of the members. I would just like to ask you if my president may make some concluding statements? Mrs. Davidson.

The Chairman: Yes, by all means. Mrs. Davidson.

Mrs. J. C. Davidson, President, the Victoria Day Nursery: Well, I was listening to your concern about private agencies. I was about to leap in there because I am involved with another private agency and I can understand your thoughts and feelings. The private voluntary service, you know, covers the whole spectrum of people, but I think we have to realize that there are a segment of people who are not motivated to get to these agencies and many of these agencies, not all of them. It is a voluntary thing to come to an agency. Now, I know they are changing their pattern and when we talk about working in the environment or with people who change their environment, many agencies are now beginning to see that this is what has to be done, that you have got to move in and be there. Because, for instance, when they built some of the first housing units here in the City of Toronto, they did not have space for services to be there because they said, well, we wouldn't want to have people think they need all this. So they will go elsewhere for their services. But those people weren't particularly motivated to go elsewhere, and I can remember times, I have done a lot of work in some of these areas, where you talked about why such things happen, that children of some of these families could not afford to go and swim at the "Y", they could not afford to participate in some of these activities even though they are supported by public funds. This, in fact, is so. It is not absolutely true of all agencies. In fact, the Big Brothers, and we don't like to name agencies, but this in fact does happen. And I feel that they really have to, all of us have to get to know Mrs. Seepe. It is coming and helping them to change their environment. It is going to come and you cannot treat children in isolation or anyone in

isolation. It is a large world we live in and frankly I think that I agree with Mrs. Seepe in saying, I think people who have been receiving welfare have been made to feel like second class citizens and this has got to be overcome, and no matter what we say, it is their right or anything, they have been made to feel that they are second class citizens, and I agree that as a taxpayer I feel that it is their right to have this. But not everybody does.

Senator Everett: I am not making a case for this, but isn't it a fact that if you are going to have supportive services, if you are talking about income maintenance and the supportive thing you are talking about in the public sector, then I think you can have welfare for people without any reflection on their class as citizens, but the moment you introduce supportive services, while you might do it gently and kindly, you then create the classification of citizenship. And it is pretty hard to avoid that. I am not saying you have to do it. I am not saying that you can't do it gently. But I am suggesting to you the moment you do it you create that problem.

Mrs. Davidson: But it isn't always money that people need.

Mrs. Chisholm: We are running you badly overtime.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mrs. Chisholm: But I think this is an enormous problem. You are right. I think you are right that as we now have it the whole question of being a client is an attitude and a problem for both sectors of society, but I don't think it needs to be. We have a spectrum in our agency that runs right from families on welfare up to professional families with parents on very excellent incomes who need our services just as desperately and cannot tell each other at a parents' meeting because nobody has a sign on their forehead and it will come only as you practise it.

The Chairman: Well, already Senator Ferguson and Senator Cook have already indicated to you what they thought of the brief, and the rest of us. It is an excellent brief, very well done, and you understand the problem and you have made it clear to us and we appreciate very much your coming to-day and talking to us. The brief will be widely read and widely appreciated. And I think you made some points to-day that are not only relevant but are important.

Mrs. Chisholm: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: We will take a seven minute break and start at 3.30 sharp.

Upon resuming at 3.30 p.m.

The Chairman: We have a brief from the Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto, represented by Mr. Geoffrey Brown, Executive Director, and Mrs. Laura M. Ferrier, graduate social worker from Halifax, Nova Scotia, Research Associate. Mr. Brown will speak first.

Mr. Geoffrey Brown, Executive Director, the Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, we were very honoured to be given the chance to speak for a particular segment of the population about whom we can claim to have some pretty special knowledge. We are thinking of those families which have been deprived of the benefit of a father and which, because they are mother-led, suffer not only psychological deprivation but very often physical deprivation as well. We are speaking for a particularly significant segment of our total population. One in ten of all our families in Canada are families that are deprived of a father.

Now, the mothers who carry these families are obviously in a position of great stress. In many cases they are unable to remarry because of our divorce laws. In many cases they are beyond remarriage for various reasons. The result is that the boys who are the offspring of these families desperately need male identification. The mothers who lead these families tend to have very few people with whom to share their burdens. This feeds into the anxiety of the youngsters who grow up in these family situations.

Now, a boy, traditionally, and we speak for boys because they constitute our service population, a boy traditionally relies on his father to introduce him into the world of business, of sports, into establishing his taste and values. When this father is absent this boy suffers not only a visible objective handicap, but he also suffers a very strongly felt subjective handicap.

Now, the women who support these families, Mr. Chairman, fall into the lowest family income group in the country, whether they work or whether they get assistance from the

government. The emotional condition of these mothers has a further deleterious effect on the boys who recognize their mothers' psychological needs but find themselves unable to meet these. This also feeds into the boy's own anxieties.

Now, where money is in short supply there is always definite pressure on the boy as he approaches manhood to leave school and find a job, either as defiance or to relieve financial pressure in the home, especially as the obligation to support from the father is cut off at age 16. We have already pointed out that the mothers suffer a sense of isolation and feel deserted when their children want to leave home.

Mr. Chairman, some outside help can be appropriate and useful in assisting both the boy and his mother to accept his growing independence towards maturity. We have pointed out in our brief that while group programs which are provided in the community, although in relatively short supply, are sufficient to meet the needs of many of the boys we are talking about, many of the boys require a more personal one-to-one relationship because of their special deprivation. It is this kind of boy who is most eligible for the kind of service that Big Brother provides.

Big Brothers Service, as you are well aware and the community is well aware, makes heavy use of volunteers. Volunteers are provided in our 55-year methodology and concept and philosophy on a one-to-one basis producing in old terms a peculiar kind of case work service.

What is more significant is that this kind of program ties the community into their problems in a most appropriate way. In other words, we are calling on the strength of the community to deal with its weaknesses.

Now, Mr. Chairman, you may ask, what are we trying to do, get more and more money, asking for more and more? I think what we are really saying here is that we are asking for a small investment to be made to save more and more. We are saying that we need a redistribution, a shift in the way that our public funds are expended, so that money goes into those programs which demonstrate that prevention is better than cure, that a stitch in time saves nine.

Now, is this an impossible thing? We pointed out in our brief that there is ample precedent for the purchase of units of service which can always be costed out from an

accredited voluntary agency such as Big Brothers. I won't go into any details on those programs because they are here for you, and I would be very happy to answer to this later on.

We know, Mr. Chairman, all the current welfare legislation lays heavy stress on prevention and efforts to limit the causes of dependency, but we maintain that there has been more lip service paid in our stress on prevention than actual implementation under the permissive legislation which the Canada Assistance Plan has made possible. We, from where we sit, have more than a bird's eye view of the great need in the community, the great need to move in and arrest problems before they materialize into staggering figures, both in terms of human as well as financial cost.

Take a brief look at the population we now serve. Over one-third of the families we serve are families that live in Ontario Housing which is sufficient proof of their eligibility for subsidized service. Although we serve one-third, we very well could serve one hundred per cent in our population of such families were it possible for us to derive the kind of minimal support from government, from the public sector, that would enable us to meet the need instead of simply pitching in with patchwork remedies. We pointed out in our brief that in fact our whole service is simply a demonstration of the need, not a service that meets the need in its totality, not a service that even begins to approach serving the real need.

The fact that so many of our referrals come from social agencies, from health services from provincial family benefit workers, from schools, demonstrates that the need is recognized at a very wide level in the community. The fact that we always have a waiting list which is equal again to the numbers that we are currently serving is a further demonstration of that need. The fact that although we serve some 500 boys at any given time, we happen to service something like half of one per cent of those who actually could use our services, is a further demonstration of the need. We are putting a very simple challenge to the obvious. We are asking the committee to recognize that when you spend \$45 a day to pick up the pieces as against less than \$5 per day to prevent disintegration of families and all the subsequent spin-offs from that, we are asking you to recognize the fact that the investment in prevention is without a doubt

simple and wise one. We are asking the community to mature to the point where, as in some medical examples we pointed out in our brief, instead of spending a great deal of money in high cost services we can, by moving in early in our preventive services, not only save a great deal in human deprivation and in financial cost, in the long run we benefit the entire nation. Thank you.

The Chairman: I think you indicated on page 1 that in Ontario you have 20,000 mothers on family benefit and you assume that they are female head of families, and 51,000 dependents.

Mr. Brown: I will ask Mrs. Ferrier to speak to this.

The Chairman: Yes. My next question to you was how up to date was this?

Mrs. Laura M. Ferrier, Research Associate, The Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto: These figures were taken from the 1961 census.

The Chairman: Yes. Have you anything better than that?

Mr. Ferrier: No, I am afraid we don't have.

The Chairman: Have you anything better than that on the national level?

Senator Inman: Senator Croll, we can't hear the witness.

The Chairman: I am sorry, I was asking if they had any better figures than that which appears at the bottom of page 1 about the number of female heads of families and Mrs. Ferrier said that was the 1961 figure. Well, we know that. I was hoping they would have something for 1968. They haven't got it.

Mr. Brown: Mr. Chairman, by extrapolation, the figure would likely be something like ten per cent of the total population. I think it is fairly safe to state that as a projection.

Mrs. Ferrier: I think I have heard it quoted recently, about 30,000. That would be ten per cent. This would reflect the drift into the cities by mothers.

The Chairman: For all of Canada the best figure for '68 is 300,000, about 500,000 children of all ages.

Mr. Brown: We estimated about 32,000 based on the '61 figures and taking an extrapolation.

The Chairman: Yes, but we had some discussions and some presentations to us about this particular kind of a family, how we could keep them together and stop dropout at the same time. Now, what are your views specifically?

Mr. Brown: What has been demonstrated in our kind of service, Mr. Chairman, frequently the fact that no father is in the home feeds into a spiralling stress pattern within the family which means, as we pointed out earlier, that youngsters are more likely to leave home. We have wanted to keep the family together as much as possible and we supply an artificial ingredient in place of the father. This is a big brother. We have found in our experience that this tends, conservatively said, in 90 per cent of the families we serve to hold the families together. We are dealing with some intangibles here, because although we have a research program going to establish a valid statistic about what happens to families where the father is in prison, we can only assume that if we did not provide the service in most cases those families would fall apart. The families that are referred to us for help.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: I am interested in this brief. I brought up a family of four sons so it of course interests me. On page 5 you mentioned families of limited income. We all know it is better, if possible, to keep the children with their mother or parents if feasible, if they are suitable parents, and I would like to know what, in your opinion, would the cost be very much more to keep those children at home than in institutional care or supervision, a family we will say in perhaps just below the poverty level but still, the parents would be suitable if they could provide for them. What do you think the cost would be, the extra cost would be in keeping them at home?

Mr. Brown: I wouldn't make the assumption that it would cost more to keep them at home than in an institution. Is this your question?

Senator Inman: Well, it is to a certain extent. Why wouldn't they be kept at home if possible? Would you suggest a supplement to the income? Supposing they were on welfare. Would you think that the welfare should be upped to make it possible for them to stay home?

Mr. Brown: I think it has been established that wherever the family is getting good parenting the most desirable thing is for the children to stay home. I think it has also been established, without my being able to provide you any figures, that it is substantially cheaper in the long run to keep children at home than keep them in institutions. We pointed out in this brief that where a youngster is, let's say, disturbed, the cost can run up to \$16,000 a year per child, sometimes more. By no stretch of the imagination could it cost as much to keep a child, to prevent him from becoming disturbed in his own home with good parenting. I hope that answers your question.

Senator Inman: Yes, thank you.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I found this a very interesting brief but I don't know too much about the Big Brother Association and I wonder if Mr. Brown would tell us a little bit more. Where do you get your financial support for your organization? Do the Big Brothers themselves give that service to the boys voluntarily or are any of them paid? You say there is a long waiting list. Is it a waiting list of children or of people who would like to act as Big Brothers?

Mr. Brown: I can give you a very brief historical background. Big Brothers is 60 years old and in our own case in Toronto the Big Brother agency is 55 years old. Big Brothers was founded to deal with fatherless boys who were adjudged delinquent before the Court and the volunteers who came forward then as now are unpaid. To-day we serve at any given time over 500 boys in our own agency which means that we have over 500 active men serving. These volunteers, as I say, are unpaid. The only money that goes into maintenance of Big Brother Services goes to pay for the salaries of those professional workers who have to screen the men who come forward, assess the boy's need for the service, match the man and the boy suitably, and then supervise the relationship to ensure that it works for the youngster, the goals that are established. We receive our funding from the private sector. The United Fund provides nearly 80 per cent of our budget and the rest of the money we raise either privately or we receive in Metro grants and also from membership donations. I hope that answers most of your questions.

The waiting list, by the way, that you refer to is a waiting list of boys who need our

services. Now, that is boys who are immediately eligible for help. This waiting list does not reflect the number of boys whom we are forced to turn away because of their, in terms of our priority, relatively low eligibility requirements. What our waiting list really says is that these are the boys that are in desperate need of help. We always need more volunteers, but one of the reasons we have to be careful in a city of two million people about going aggressively to the community for more volunteers is that if they surged forward we would not be able to use them for the simple reason we don't have enough money to set it up, although the community resources are there in terms of available volunteers.

The Chairman: May I just ask you, how does a boy come to your attention?

Mr. Brown: We provide in our first appendix a breakdown of our referral sources and, as you will notice, most of the boys come to us from schools, social agencies in the community, from boards of education, special services, from family benefits whether provincial or Metro welfare sources. In a very few cases the mother herself brings the boy forward. I just want to point out that the mother necessarily identifies the problem in the first place. She feels the need for help. The fact that so many of our resources come from secondary sources, if you like, psychiatric schools and so on, indicates that there is another level at which this need is also recognized. And we have had, in terms of our priorities, to slant our service mainly to the recipients who have been recognized by some other source as needing our help.

Senator Fergusson: How young are the boys that you take on and how long do you keep them?

Mr. Brown: Our boys come to us at age six to sixteen. That is up until they are seventeen at the starting point, and the termination point is usually around age sixteen. There is some flexibility there. Sometimes they go on to eighteen or longer if the treatment program, I use the term loosely, indicates that it is necessary to keep the Big Brother in the picture in order to help a youngster over a difficult period.

Senator Inman: Could I ask a supplementary question? On page 8, "There are alternatives to taking children into care; there are alternatives to sending children to training

schools; there are measures that can be taken to prevent boys and girls from becoming alienated and discouraged." What measures have you in mind? What alternatives?

Mr. Brown: I am sorry, I didn't get your question?

The Chairman: What page, senator?

Senator Inman: Page 8, near the bottom.

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead, senator Inman, please.

Senator Inman: You say there are alternatives to taking children into care. There are alternatives to sending children to training schools. There are measures that can be taken to prevent boys and girls from becoming alienated and discouraged and we can assist the parents in their roles. What alternatives do you suggest?

Mr. Brown: The alternatives are all the range of preventive services now available in the community but which are so poorly supported that they provide services on the basis of expediency rather than need. We have suggested some of these in our brief. The services provided by camps or by Y's, by Boy Scouts, group programs of that kind and also day care services as well. But, also, our kind of service which we strongly encourage as the kind of counselling service which costs less per capita than any other counselling service which picks up at a further stage of disintegration of the family.

Senator Inman: Thank you.

Mr. Brown: Mrs. Ferrier would like to add a comment.

Mrs. Ferrier: I thought an example might illustrate what we meant. For instance, in regard to training schools. We get many referrals directly from the court, the Juvenile Court Judge. He sees a boy who is edging towards serious delinquency or even his first offence, possibly. The home lacks a father. He has some reluctance about sending the boy back where the mother obviously is not able to control him but if he could be sure that we would give service. As a matter of fact, the cases are very often adjourned sine die in the hope that he will be able to serve in this situation because they think the supportive help of our service with the Big Brother taking a permanent interest in this boy will support the mother sufficiently so it won't be necessary to remove him from his home.

The Chairman: Thank you. Senator Everett.

Senator Everett: I was interested in this purchase, Mr. Brown, of services, and you say, I think, here, that the services you provide can be costed by the unit, and I think in your verbal brief you said that you had some figures on that. I wonder if you could enlarge on it?

Mr. Brown: Yes, in our case we have costed our services on a per capita basis as \$300 per year per boy. We provided some comparative figures for services where boys are taken out of their own homes and provided institutional services or other kinds of care and varied the cost on the latest estimate from a minimum of \$2,000 per year per boy or per child to as high as \$16,000 per child per year.

Senator Everett: This cost of \$300 would presumably involve volunteer help?

Mr. Brown: It involves to the unpaid volunteer help. What this \$300 really represents is the cost of the facilities of the service and the salaries of the professional people who are paid to mobilize the volunteers and put them into service.

Senator Everett: I understand from your brief you say there are some 350,000 boys in your judgment in this position?

Mrs. Ferrier: We are saying there are approximately 332,000 boys in our judgment who need this service in Canada. That is a potential figure but I don't think it is suggested that is the number of boys in Canada.

Senator Everett: Let's reduce it, if you can, to Toronto.

Mr. Brown: Okay.

Senator Everett: What do you think that figure is for Toronto?

Mr. Brown: Conservatively I would say 10,000 would need such a service.

Senator Everett: But how much is the figure, the comparative figure, to the 350,000?

Mr. Brown: 350,000 is ten per cent of the boys under sixteen in the country as a whole. We don't know. Roughly 30,000 appear on the same basis.

Senator Everett: I see.

Mr. Brown: In Toronto. And then, conservatively estimated, one-third of those would be in a position to need our service.

Senator Everett: And how many volunteers do you have now?

Mr. Brown: We have nearly 600 volunteers now. At any given time we have volunteers who are in the process of being assigned to new little brothers, as we call them, or re-assigned. We are servicing perhaps 550, 540 or so youngsters now.

Senator Everett: And you think if the government got involved under the Canada Assistance Plan that need might go as high as 10,000?

Mr. Brown: It conceivably could, but it is unlikely.

Senator Everett: How many would you estimate then?

Mr. Brown: I would estimate not more than 5,000.

Senator Everett: 5,000. What is the low that in your judgment would start to solve the problem?

Mr. Brown: It has been estimated that less than two per cent of a service like ours is impacting on the fatherless population. It puts us in the position of not really beginning to meet the need, which means that we should be serving not less than 2,000 boys.

Senator Everett: 2,000. Do you think you could get that kind of voluntary help, assuming you had the \$300 per boy?

Mr. Brown: Yes, we are convinced that we could get that kind of voluntary help.

The Chairman: Where do you get them?

Mr. Brown: Where do the Big Brothers come from? Well, first of all, a Big Brother may be anyone, a man who presents an occupation, cross-section. We get them both by our advertising, which is free to use from the community, billboards, radio spots, subway cards and so on, as well as from word of mouth, Big Brothers who are active speaking to others who are not. We add up now to about two-thirds of our Big Brothers coming in monthly hear the word through the public media, and the other one-third from the Brothers actively in service. We know methods by which we could go out into the community and get more volunteers, reach out directly to people who are latently willing to serve.

As I say, we have to put a realistic kind of feeling on our efforts to recruit volunteers at this time because of lack of money and staff.

Senator Everett: Mr. Brown, you make a very good case for the preventive services concept. I would think the one thing that would bother government would be that while in the initial stages the cost is \$300 per boy, once they get into it and involved themselves in the two to five thousand or even ten thousand boys, what guarantee have they got that the costs are not going to escalate? I mean, you have every reason in the world now to keep your costs down and you are doing an excellent job. The 600 boys you are handling, you are doing an excellent job, and I don't mean this as any personal reflection or any reflection on the Big Brother movement. I think it would be a government concern of any agency that was selling its service, what guarantee or what way would you suggest that the government can be protected from that cost not escalating to, say, \$600 a year and then on up ad infinitum.

Mr. Brown: First of all, our per capita cost of service will, from this point on, tend to go down, not go up. What it reflects, for one thing, is the fact that there is a certain level of physical time and a certain level of staff and, in a sense, under-productivity, in terms of what the need is. We are, on a per capita basis, spending more than at present we need to spend. We get to an optimum point at which the costs begin to diminish. The old economic phenomenon, diminishing costs, where you simply don't keep on escalating your physical plant beyond a certain level even though at that point you may be able to serve twice the number of boys you served before. You don't keep escalating your staff in proportion to the number of boys you serve. You find that as you serve more boys the ratio of staff to boys tends to favour the boys rather than the number of staff. So I cannot, without going into much greater detail, validate this for you, but I am saying that we could improve our service considerably in numbers and reduce the per capita costs, and Mrs. Ferrier would like to make a point.

Mrs. Ferrier: Oh, yes, I wanted to say that safeguards can be built in as far as the Canada Assistance Plan is concerned, and would be built in by the province which usually puts a ceiling on its cost-sharing formulae. The General Welfare Assistance Act would be a case in point. There is a max-

imum figure that the province agrees to share with the municipalities.

Another example of this is the Visiting Homemakers and Nurses Act. It is written in that the province will pick up 80 per cent of the cost of this service up to a maximum figure of, I think it is \$12 a day. Every now and then some representations, of course, have to be made. For instance, when legislation was enacted in 1958 I believe the ceiling was \$8. Well, then, by 1965 it had been unrealistic. You couldn't get a woman to come in for that. So, it had to be raised to \$12, but the province has a right to put this in, which automatically protects the federal government.

Senator Everett: Well, I am not thinking of the protection for the federal government, I am thinking of the legislative costs. If there is a demand for the service, the costs go up and up, and the government has to pay that in a broad sense, has to pay that cost. One of the suggestions that has been made to us is to make the services competitive. In other words, have two Big Brother organizations and have the government or even the client make the choice as to which is doing the better job for the better cost. What do you think of that?

Mr. Brown: I subscribe to it in principle.

Senator Everett: You say you have a competitor now?

Mr. Brown: Well, we have several Big Brother organizations in Canada and in the province.

Senator Everett: But not competitive?

Mr. Brown: I don't know if that makes us competitive. I think we could become competitive with other forms of service if they were all strongly subsidized.

Senator Everett: But, you do subscribe to competitiveness?

Mr. Brown: I do.

Senator Everett: Do you think the client should have a part in the decision-making process?

Mr. Brown: Absolutely.

The Chairman: I had the impression that service clubs were very, very helpful, to you people in obtaining Big Brothers?

Mr. Brown: Service clubs have helped us, Mr. Chairman, and I don't want to say anything that would detract from all the good they have done for us, simply in terms of the help which from their end is tremendous, at the receiving end turns out to be proportionately less than we could use.

Mrs. Ferrier: I think the senator is talking about recruitment of volunteers.

The Chairman: Yes, I was talking about recruitment of volunteers.

Mr. Brown: Yes, they have been helpful to us in recruiting volunteers. It is not, in statistical terms, the most significant kind of help.

The Chairman: Yes. What is it?

Mr. Dennis Colbey, Toronto: Mr. Chairman, through you is it permissible to ask a question?

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead.

Mr. Colbey: I wanted to ask through you, Mr. Brown, whether or not he thought that the established organizations such as the Boy Scouts, Y.M.C.A., Social Planning Councils especially the great emphasis or, let's say, political parties and organizations, social welfare organizations, democratization of structured organizations, do you foresee a useful function in your kind of an organization and, let's say, within the present structure now among your young people?

The Chairman: What is your question?

Mr. Colbey: Well, I am asking whether or not, let's say in the future, I am more or less asking whether or not Mr. Brown foresees the more or less structure of working young people communicating and working forward, whether his kind of organization will help the majority of young people, your kind of structured organization, within our society.

Mr. Brown: Well, one of the things that certainly won't disappear is fatherlessness in our society at any time that you can foresee. Now, I am not sure what you mean by structured organizations. By that you mean that we don't run a more fluid kind of program like a drop-in centre, for instance. If this is what you mean, then let me say right away that I subscribe to drop-in centres as well as to other kinds of services that are relevant to the style of to-day's youth. However, these kind of services which are relatively more fluid in their structures do not preclude our

kind of service. A Big Brother under our methodology would be free to introduce a youngster to a drop-in centre, for instance, if that were so indicated. So it might well be that some kind of structures, services, are becoming anachronistic, but I don't foresee a time when our kind of service would not be appropriate.

Mrs. Ferrier: I would like to add a comment to the young man such as the one who asked the question. I have been dying to do it for some time. One of the most useful things an agency like ours can do for young people and young men is to point out the very important role the father plays in the family and urge them that when they assume the responsibility of marriage and parenthood that they remember this and think twice before they opt out of situations they find uncomfortable. And I am not saying this is our role but normally and from a moral point of view we should be trying to prevent fatherlessness and these are some of the preventive programs I think we have in mind; supplementary incomes for fathers that aren't able to sell their services on the marketplace for sufficient funds to support their families and meet their responsibilities. This is one preventive measure. Housing that doesn't eat up a disproportionate proportion of the family income and put strain on families. And, of course, anything that keeps the family together and keeps the father in the home. This is the ideal for which we are striving, but where this unfortunate circumstance develops, that the father has to leave the home, then our services moves in. But also social services are working towards eliminating the need for themselves, trying to put themselves out of business really.

The Chairman: Let's take the case of female heads of families with two or three children. They are young enough so that she is needed at home. She could go out in the world and earn a fair sum as a secretary, and then she has to make up her mind. What do we do for her?

Mr. Brown: There are a number of things that can be done to assist the working mother.

The Chairman: Well, I haven't got her working. I just have her three children with a profession and they are young enough to need her attention at home. Now, you take it from there.

Mr. Brown: Well, sir, as you know, our province here has already provided family benefits which would enable a mother like that to live on mother's allowance in order to stay at home and give her children parenting. Unfortunately, and I don't mean that as an overly informed criticism, but I think that the facts suggest that what mothers presently on mother's allowance receive in order to maintain themselves at a good subsistence level is a little less than desirable.

The Chairman: You are being honest. Go ahead.

Mr. Brown: What I am saying is that the family benefit structure ought to be considerably strengthened so that, for instance, where mothers need help with medical needs, dental needs and so on that where provisions now are extremely poor, that the family benefit structure which is already there should be considerably strengthened in the form of increasing the allowances available to make it possible for that mother to provide a decent subsistence for herself and her family.

Mrs. Ferrier: Plus the other kinds of services which will fill a need. No mother, no matter how good a mother she is, can be a father. It is as simple as that.

The Chairman: What you are saying in effect is that she needs enough money to come in and she needs it at a level that allows her to live decently and keep the children in school?

Mr. Brown: Yes, and to allow the children access to those opportunities that might have been available for her if the father had been present. A father who is income-producing.

The Chairman: Well, of course, we can't replace the father.

Mr. Brown: That we can't.

The Chairman: But do you know any other way of meeting that than by giving her a decent subsistence level or guaranteed income based on family salaries?

Mr. Brown: I cannot think of any substitute in our kind of society for money, to make services available to a family, Mr. Chairman. There simply is no other way. If you don't have the money you can't purchase the necessary services. We would take ourselves back considerably in time to the days of foraging, to provide a decent subsistence level, without

provision of additional income, whatever the scheme might be for those mothers who cannot get it by virtue of having been deprived of their chief income.

Mrs. Ferrier: Just as an example of what we have proposed to the B.C. government for those families that have met this eligibility requirement and are receiving family benefits. It would be a simple matter if there is, let's say a 12-year-old boy who has developed a phase or alarmed his mother, at school. It is a very simple matter for a province to allocate to that mother, just pick a figure out of the air, \$300, with which she herself could purchase. She has the final word. The worker doesn't say, "You have to get a big brother for your son", but it makes it possible for her, and we accept the fact that governments have to have eligibility requirements. So we said, "Could this be tried out on an experimental basis for mothers who are already in receipt of public assistance?"

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson.

Senator Fergusson: I would just like to ask if you have any idea of what proportion of the Big Brothers work with families that are on welfare or children from families that are on welfare?

Mr. Brown: We have said that about 40 per cent of our Big Brothers are currently working with families that are on some kind of welfare.

Senator Fergusson: I am sorry, I didn't hear that.

The Chairman: Was there someone there? Yes, come on up.

Mrs. D. S. Kent, Toronto: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Brown whether the Big Brother Association provides any counselling for the mothers, either through their staff or through the father? Is this something that comes into the programs?

Mr. Brown: Yes. We do provide some very limited counselling at present for the mother and it is a great deal less than we would like to provide, and I am very glad you asked that question because up until a year or so ago we had a counselling program for mothers which was a group program subsidized by a special grant from the Atkinson Charitable Foundation. We were forced to discontinue that program because we were unable to get any funding support either from the United Fund,

and not from their not supporting it but from their inability to provide us more funds or from the provincial sources at which level we had sought to purchase services. So that, certainly in principle, is a most important ingredient of the service we provide, because very often the mother expresses a need for very strong counselling support.

The Chairman: Mrs. Ferrier has a question she wants to ask me. I don't know what it is.

Mrs. Ferrier: I wanted to ask if you had any comments, Senator Croll, on our observations about diminishing interest that politicians have on legislation after it has passed the House? In other words, their interest in passing legislation doesn't seem to match their interest in seeing it is implemented, even in their own community.

The Chairman: When a politician gets behind a measure, he thinks it is in the interest of people, particularly in his community. Then he sees that it is implemented in his community. Now, I will agree that he doesn't continue constantly, unless it is brought to his attention, to have it improved. That is a normal thing because there are many other matters that he has to attend to at the same time. There are pressures. It is left to those people in the community to see that that interest is continued.

The evidence that we have had before us here today, which is a repetition of what we have had in other places, is that there is now coming forward an interest by people who are involved, who are not waiting for anyone. The people who are receiving public assistance are starting to organize to discuss, to communicate and to do something about it themselves. That is one of the most helpful things that has come from our hearings. Once it gets into the mill it is then out of their hands because it then becomes an administrative matter. Unless there is special pressure put on him he is no more than a person who makes representation. Does that answer the question?

Mrs. Ferrier: I think if politicians would take just a bit more interest in permissive legislation and see that it reaches down to his constituents, I think they could be leaders in this.

The Chairman: Would you tell me, what is permissive legislation? You are now talking about the Canada Assistance Act which is a perfectly good Act although it has some permissive aspects?

Mrs. Ferrier: Frankly, Senator Croll, I wasn't talking, the Canada Assistance Act is pretty well inoperative unless it is bound up at the municipal and provincial level.

The Chairman: Yes, that is the part that is permissive. Well, as I say, it is very difficult for the federal government to say, "You shall do this or else I will not contribute." Let me just tell you, if you have been reading the papers at all, in the Province of Quebec we can't even get the provincial government there to say that the federal government has contributed to this or not building. We have probably given them the most amount of money. They won't even admit it. They refused in the last couple of cases. What we wanted in the Canada Assistance Act was a standard to the standard to say this is the basic minimum that four will receive, five will receive, six will receive. But there were problems. It wasn't a question so much of what is basic minimum, because you could apply it to the whole country. But you had poor provinces and you had rich provinces, and what you lay down as a standard fitted for the poor provinces they couldn't quite afford. So you had to make some other alterations and adjustments and those were the things that troubled us. What the Canada Assistance Act needs to-day is a standard of assistance and some of the permissiveness drawn out of it and say, "We will pay if you do such and such a thing", but that takes a little time. You have got to realize another thing. We operated the welfare system for almost 40 years on a means test basis, as you know. We didn't like it but it was hard to get rid of. In 1966 we just turned completely around, forgot about the means test and introduced a needs test. That wasn't easy to do because there were a great number of people in this country who still think it should be on a means test basis. The great trouble was in putting it on a need basis we didn't change the mentality of the administrators who were still operating on a means test basis and using the words, "needs test". That is the trouble today. So it will take us a little while before we bring it to the fore. That is one of the things coming out of the hearings.

Miss Ann Sedchell, Toronto: Mr. Chairman, could I ask Mr. Brown, through you, on page 6 he urges the committee to investigate ways and means...

The Chairman: Just a minute until he locates page 6. Go ahead.

Miss Sedchell: "We urge the committee to investigate ways and means whereby financial support can be given to non-government preventive agencies which have demonstrated the validity of their programs."

I would like to ask Mr. Brown who would make a decision about the validity of the programs?

Mrs. Ferrier: Mr. Brown has asked me if I would comment on that. I think if you know anything about the United Community Fund you could pretty well accept their decision. When they approve an agency for funding it is a very rigid scrutiny. It is three years before an agency is admitted at all for funding and there is a yearly assessment by a group of citizens. There are even more intensive evaluations made from time to time. Any complaint is investigated. It soon gets back. So, I think as a matter of fact I have heard so much lip service and praise shot around private agencies by government officials that I think there would be very few they would question. They say, "They are wonderful things." They are very quiet about whether or not they are meeting the needs. That is a rather hard remark. They seem content to see them operate, as I said before, as demonstration projects.

Mr. Brown: Does that answer your question?

Miss Sedchell: Yes.

The Chairman: Yes. I think I have failed to indicate to you that Mr. Brown has quite a distinguished record in the field of social work. He has a good academic background and Mrs. Ferrier has a great deal of experience and this is a well-turned-out brief, a well-thought-out brief, and very nicely presented, too. You can appreciate that it is a problem not too knowledgeable to many of us. I have lived here many, many years, and I am not too well acquainted with it, although I think I know the social scene pretty well. That reflects the same thing with the other senators. What interests us in this problem more than anything else, and it is one of the growing problems in this country and it is growing out of all proportions to the other problems, is the female head of the family, whose size for some reason or other is growing in importance and size. We have got to find some solution for her. Being on an inadequate mother's allowance isn't the answer at all. If there is anything she needs, as you put it, she has got to have money to go to work or

run the house. And that is what is causing us a great deal of concern.

On behalf of the committee I thank you very much for preparing the material that is before us, and for appearing here and answering questions. Thank you very much.

Mr. Brown: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: That terminates our meeting for today.

The committee adjourned.

Toronto, Tuesday, March 10, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty, (Subcommittee "A"), met this day at 8.00 p.m., at Warden Avenue Public School.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

Mr. R. J. Murrell, Principal, Warden Avenue Public School: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to Warden Avenue Public School. I am especially happy to welcome our distinguished guests of the evening. I recognize many of you as parents of our school children. You know me and I hope to know you and to the visitors, particularly those among our audience, I would particularly like to say that this school was designated a community school by Scarborough Board of Education beginning this last September and, as a community school, we feel we have a special job to operate our school not only in the daytime but to the best advantage of the community during the evening hours as well.

As you came in the door, no doubt you noticed children in the hall out here and they are here three nights a week under the auspices of our Scarborough Board of Education employees. One night a week we have the Scarborough Parks and Recreation and another night is devoted to community organizations and our own Warden Woods Association, for their benefit.

We would like to think we are growing. As a community school we are learning better ways to serve our community not only in terms of education but in the broader sense and in our session this evening we are happy to welcome the special senate committee on poverty.

Not only can we serve our community but perhaps we will have a hand in serving our

country. Without any more words from me, I would like to turn the meeting over to Senator Croll.

The Chairman: Thank you very much for making the facilities available. We like the community aspect, but a little quieter for us, if you do not mind, so we can be sure to hear.

I declare the meeting open and I have on my immediate right, Mr. Greene, who is the Executive Director of the Ontario Federation of Citizens' Associations and Mr. Don Davis, who is the Chairman. Both are known to you.

Mr. Green will have a statement to make and Mr. Davis will have a short statement to make and then we will ask that the meeting be open for questioning by the senators. Go ahead Mr. Green or Mr. Davis?

Mr. Don Davis, Chairman, Ontario Federation of Citizens' Associations: Honourable senators, ladies and gentlemen. The Ontario Federation of Citizens' Associations was started in November, 1968, as an informal meeting ground for people freely giving time and effort to the betterment of the community in which they live. In February, 1969, it became formalized under the name of the Metro Federation of Citizens' Associations, a constitution was adopted in which the prime purpose is the encouragement of citizen participation in community affairs. A forum was created for the sharing of ideas, concerns and problems facing those involved in community life.

In this city it is our contention that much of the effect of community activity is occurring by necessity in public housing areas. Although we welcome any kind of community group, it is hardly surprising that the bulk of our membership comes from public housing citizens' organizations, this is where the action currently is.

Our membership is deliberately there left wide open and not restricted to public housing exclusively since we believe enough walls and fences are built around public housing tenants already and we would not want to be guilty of creating more.

The people represented in our various organizations, since we have no accurate figures, break down into the following; recipients of some sort of public assistance, about 30 per cent; blue or white collar working people in the \$4,000.00 to \$8,000.00 income range annually, about 65 per cent; those earning in excess of \$8,000., about 5 per cent. We believe these figures support our desire to

make some comment in the field of public assistance in its various forms and to speak also for many in the lower income wage earning bracket.

We do not contend that our members are living in poverty. Those active among us are not. Since we believe the word "poverty" does not apply only to questions of money but to a way of life. Few of us have surplus funds to call on. A sudden emergency can rapidly cause a financial crisis and we would like to believe it is such people to whom the Economic Council of Canada refers when it speaks of Canada's lower income population. Our own experience is that community involvement, though frustrating and difficult at times, is richly rewarding in many ways. In the year and a quarter we have been in existence we have had some worthwhile accomplishments and made our presence felt in this city. While not a pressure group we have been ready and able to speak up on diverse subjects that affect us collectively or our members individually.

We have challenged the Department of Family and Social Services on some issues and our very insistence has caused obvious concern to the Ontario Housing Corporation. We are willing to admit we are always learning, willing to ask searching questions in order to act with knowledge and wisdom.

As chairman, I would be remiss, however, if I did not express the positive approach most of us take. We try to do our share in our own local communities and the wider community around us. We have many members who sit regularly on councils, committees and other bodies. I am confident our people do this in an effort to promote better communication and a better way of life, not to seek a place in some elusive, ill refined middle class society.

We believe we have something worth while and just last month arranged for expansion to a province-wide organization. Our future plans hope that a way will be found to take on full time help since most of us are working to capacity in our own time and must continue earning a living while not neglecting our families.

At this point I would like to ask our Executive Director, Mr. Green, to quote some extracts from the conclusions to our brief since we feel this sums up many of the reasons why we are here today.

Mr. P. Green, President, Metro Federation of Citizens' Associations: Thank you, Mr. Davis.

Honourable senators, ladies and gentlemen, may I first mention, although it is not included in the copies of the brief, the Warden Woods Community Council did not support recommendations 2 or 3.

Whether governments or big business realize it or not, we are moving slowly but surely into an era when the needs of people demand attention, where the value placed on people must transcend the value placed on the dollar. Many of this country's young people have already reached this conclusion and need only the experience, maturity and expertise to discover how to put their ideas into effect.

The influence of the churches has, unfortunately, decreased. Poorer people see some church leaders as outdated while many congregations are regarded as living in the past, hypocritical and unable to even see, let alone face up to, the social ills that plague our society.

Some social workers are seen to be dedicated to the improvement of society, while others are merely content to maintain the status quo. We have nothing but contempt for those who laugh at suggestions put forward by the "un-educated" as happened on one recent television programme. However, we see the role of the social workers as an enabler, not as a leader.

Governments are traditionally slow to react and therefore we see the gradual emergence of indigenous leaders from among the people themselves. If we do not listen to them now, Canada loses its last hope of eliminating poverty.

There is an ultra conservative segment of society who refuses to acknowledge the inevitable and will not accept the possibility that re-assessment and re-evaluation of government spending can be a valid alternative to increased taxation. Improved social conditions do not have to mean higher taxes and efforts spent in this direction may well be infinitely more rewarding than trying to keep "these people" in their place.

It has often been said that a part of our society needs the element of poverty for its own increasing wealth and survival. We contend it would have even more to lose if poverty is not eliminated.

Some of us have expressed doubts regarding the effectiveness of briefs to this Committee; indeed would be an untruth. Others say, perhaps rightly, that they have sat on committees, written briefs, participated in discussions, held meetings and confronted authorities to the point where they are sick of talks, studies and surveys and they want action.

You have undoubtedly heard such sentiments, and we ask you to convey a sense of urgency to those who will create change.

Finally, these hearings are providing an opportunity to publicly air proposals, however radical they may seem, that can lead to change or reform as needed, and stimulate public discussion and education. This, in itself, is a worthwhile purpose. Thank you.

The Chairman: Mr. Green, I think you said that recommendations 2 and 3, that appears on page 5?

Mr. Green: Yes, also in the summary of the recommendations on pages 21—

The Chairman: But they are repeated?

Mr. Green: Right.

The Chairman: Yes. Now, can you be a little more specific on recommendation number 3 because we have been hearing that every place and it has been highly recommended.

Mr. Alfred Carswell, Pensioner: Could I ask a question? Will there be any opportunities to-night to allow us to exercise our democratic rights from the audience and say a few words, because I would like the privilege, if I could.

The Chairman: I get the first word and you will have to wait a little while.

Mr. Carswell: I can't hear what you are saying, if you could oblige me with speaking a little louder?

The Chairman: Well, I don't know if this will do any good, I will try.

Recommendation number 3 has been repeated to us many times and in each case it has been endorsed with the request that we do something as indicated in recommendation number 3. Now, do you know why it was opposed?

Mr. Green: Not specifically. I do know on the other one a very valid point was raised that this relates particularly to the recipients

of public assistance whereas it doesn't bring any particular equivalent for the low wage earner who may actually be receiving less.

Number 3 is regarding the use of home economists, I am not really sure.

The Chairman: That is not home economists, have I got the wrong one, page 5?

Mr. Green: Page 5 is endorsed by all our member organizations.

The Chairman: That is the one I was talking about, which one is not endorsed?

From the Floor: What is recommendation 3?

The Chairman: Wait until I get it.

Mr. Green: Page 21.

The Chairman: We were mistaken on it.

Are there any questions? By the way, is there any particular emphasis you have arising out of the brief?

Mr. Green: I think it would be fairly safe to say the majority of opinion would center around citizen participation as being a very major part of it.

The Chairman: How do you envisage that?

Mr. Green: We feel that it would be quite important that effective community groups that are representing an area or people who are working in an area, should be brought into planning before the event rather than being presented with something that has been planned behind closed doors and then it is presented as a fact, because then they are forced into a protest kind of operation whereas it is much better for a community organization to be involved in the planning process and not to be presented with something where they feel they have to object to it strongly.

The Chairman: Well, did I understand you to say that 30 per cent of the group that you represent were on public assistance?

Mr. Green: Very approximately.

The Chairman: Yes, 30 per cent are on—or approximately 28 per cent it does not make any difference, there is a considerable interest in that, how do you envisage—and that is very personal—that is immediate, planning is maybe some time away, how do you envisage their representation?

Mr. Green: Particularly in terms of the Welfare Review Board. For example we feel

that they should have an opportunity to have a more broadly based review board rather than the one that is made up only of administrative past or present people who have been involved in formulating legislation under which they are operating. This does not have to be just the recipients. It could be somebody who has been receiving and no longer is. It could be just the ordinary citizen in the street as opposed to a formal administrator. The same thing might apply in the area of public housing. We feel quite strongly that tenants representation on even the municipal housing authorities or the Ontario Housing Corporation would be a very worth while, meaningful place where there could be participation.

The Chairman: One other point that you were very emphatic about, I think you mentioned community organization.

Mr. Green: Community organization which, I guess, is our thing as much as anything else and certainly many of our member communities see the results and what is achieved from day to day by having an organization. I think we should make it clear these are not protest groups. These groups are created as community groups and they are very broadly based in operation working on everything from adult education to kids' recreation, just about anything that comes up. They are formally willing to get involved with or assist people who live in their area and you can really see some value from this. Generally, you will see this also yourselves, possibly tomorrow night. You will be at the O'Connor Community, which is one of our member organizations, the other part of your committee is tonight at Lawrence Heights. They will see the co-operation between community and schools in particular.

The Chairman: And many other people. From our experience, in what we have seen up to the present time, we rather think that protest groups have a real role to play. The constructive element is good but what is lacking among these people, who are in this, is they find themselves in this position, a lack of organized protest within the realm of what is possible but an organized protest, we have not seen too much of that.

Mr. Green: There may be times, sir, when organized protest is the only thing that can be done and it is because groups are not involved in the planning or creative process. They are then likely to, in some cases, organize themselves around a protest or an issue.

In other cases the issue is simply the fact that a lot of kids in a small area have no where to play.

The Chairman: That is a very important issue. Do you think these organizations speak loudly enough?

Mr. Green: I think, yes, they do. I think it is something that as somebody gets involved with they learn, as they go along, it is not something necessarily that they can do immediately and I think that we have to accept that the majority, in fact all of them, are responsible organizations that would prefer to make a reasonable approach to whatever the authority is before getting into some kind of protest.

The Chairman: Well, protests can be reasonable too, you know.

Mr. Green: Sure, a written protest.

The Chairman: But do you think, well I suppose you are the executive director, do you feel there has been some achievement that brings satisfaction to the members of the various groups or a series of achievements?

Mr. Green: I think each member group has it's own achievement that brings a great deal of satisfaction to those who have been involved with it, yes.

The Chairman: You are talking about the Lawrence Heights Group and the Greenholme Neighbourhood Association...

Mr. Green: The Warden Woods Council yes.

The Chairman: How many groups have you? I have only seen two or three from the brief.

Mr. Green: There are two that have presented separate parts of the brief which they attached; one from Lawrence Heights and one from Greenholme.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Green: In addition to that, we have the Willow Tree Neighbourhood Association who are present tonight; Regent Park Community Improvement Association and two inactive members we have not seen too much with us lately, six highly active groups and we have recently had inquiries from around the province. People have seen what is happening and have expressed interest in becoming either

part of it or maintaining contact and this was the reason for changing to a provincial organization.

Senator Everett: Mr. Green, in recommendation number 1, page 21, you talk about people receiving assistance and then people receiving public assistance; that is a fairly wide term, "public assistance", I wonder what you mean by it?

Mr. Green: We mean here assistance in rental and financial assistance, whether it means municipal welfare, family benefits or whatever the case may be. Mainly in the terms of public education is the reason behind this.

Senator Everett: What I am saying is that anybody who receives a baby bonus is theoretically on public assistance. Obviously your definition would be useless to you if that were used. As I understand it, you want to indicate the number of people who are actually receiving almost a form of income assistance.

Mr. Green: General welfare. Perhaps I could qualify it by saying it refers to people totally dependent on public assistance rather than family allowances which are paid generally.

Senator Everett: Now, on recommendation number 4, you say that you recommend that a Review Board...

The Chairman: Page?

Senator Everett: Page 22. You recommend that Review Boards be instructed to hear and make rulings on complaints relating to the attitude or activities of departmental social workers and that review boards must be comprised of ordinary citizens not in any way connected with welfare administration and/or recipients or former recipients of service by a ratio of 2 to 1 to past or present administrators.

Could you tell me what, in your judgment, is wrong with the present review board in Ontario?

Mr. Green: First of all, I think there is one very major point that it does not have the confidence of the people it is supposed to serve in that there is a very great amount of doubt expressed on the part of the individuals. If they were going to this body it is just really an extension of what they have already been through? The same group of people they

have already been speaking to rather than an independent body?

Senator Everett: Is that because of the make-up of the board?

Mr. Green: I suspect so, yes.

Senator Everett: Not because of its rulings?

Mr. Green: There was no publicity of any amount given to its rulings, to the best of my knowledge, so I doubt very much if the rulings would really have a bearing.

Senator Everett: Can you tell me what the make-up of the board is?

Mr. Green: Not specifically and reliably, no. I do know that a fair percentage of it is made up of past administrators or people in similar capacities.

Senator Everett: Are there any client representatives on the board?

Mr. Green: No, sir.

Senator Everett: None at all?

Mr. Green: Not to our knowledge, I should say.

Senator Everett: Do you feel that the situation would be rectified if there were client representation?

Mr. Green: Yes.

Senator Everett: In other words, can it be rectified by a certain amount of client representation or do you have to go to this 2 to 1 ratio to make it effective?

Mr. Green: This was really a figure pulled out of a hat, in a sense, certainly there should be more than token representation, not necessarily clients, just ordinary people, members of the ordinary public.

Senator Everett: Excuse me, I gather people out there are having trouble hearing. One of the things that we understand today from the Metro Welfare Council, I think it was the committee?

The Chairman: Yes, the Metro Toronto Welfare Council.

Senator Everett: Where you have client representation on the board or as you say just general public representation, they say that if you are talking about client representation you generally get the more intelligent client

representation and they do not really understand either the problem of people who are living in the stream of poverty. In other words to somebody who is at one level of poverty somebody at a lower level is as difficult to understand as it is difficult for a multi millionaire to understand. So now you are saying it does not really matter to us whether we have representatives on this board from all the different levels of welfare, if we just have the citizen representation, that is sufficient? Well, they seem to say that is not sufficient. You are making a mistake. Would you comment on that?

Mr. Green: My first comment would be to ask if they had ever tried it. Really I do think that people who are closer to a situation are more aware of it even though they may not have necessarily experienced it. I would also question if a person in on a minimum income it doesn't really matter whether he is employed or receiving public assistance, regardless of what his educational qualifications are, he is still living and managing on the same amount of money.

Senator Everett: Was there a board recently formed in Ontario that did have client representation?

The Chairman: That was the voluntary agencies, the voluntary agency that had a board with some client representation, it was not a government agency.

Senator Everett: Now, coming down to your recommendations on interest rates. You recommend a maximum interest rate of 12% per annum calculated on a reducing balance on loans and then the limit be set on interest rates payable by lending institutions and in the body of your brief you point out that where we are importing funds, dealing with general world interest conditions, this might create some sort of a problem. Do you think that the recommendations would be satisfactory if there were a maximum differential between the amount paid for the depositor's funds and the amount at which they were loaned. In other words, I make this point; I passed the National Trust today and I notice they are advertising for funds at 9%. Now, by the time they have the acquisition cost, the cost of gaining the loan, obviously—maybe not obviously—but I am given to understand that 3% would not permit—in other words, a 3% spread, they just could not do business. If you reduce, force them to reduce, they tried this in the United States with the savings and

loan associations, they forced them to reduce the amount they could pay to a depositor to six or six and a half percent. That is fine, but the depositor goes and puts his money somewhere else. In other words, they just don't get the funds. How do you answer that dilemma?

Mr. Green: First of all, I don't think a fixed spread between deposit rates and interest rates would be the answer for the low income person because, as you say in this example of 9 per cent, we have no way of knowing if the rates paid for deposits may go higher. Consequently you are not really receiving the interest, the low income part of the population, if the interest goes up.

Senator Everett: I gather your recommendation albeit to save money for the low income, nobody can disagree, but I gather the heart of your recommendation is to make the profit to the lending institution low enough so that it is not worth its while to go and make these risky loans? I read that in.

Mr. Green: Yes, this would particularly apply say to the finance company or to the retail store, say the furniture store that is anxious to make a sale and sometimes will get somebody in beyond their ability to pay. Our main concern in the section regarding the interest rates here was to avoid a situation where the lending institutions are caught in a squeeze between the very high amounts they are presently having to pay for customers' deposits yet if there was a pegged lending rate above that it could be squeezed right out.

Senator Everett: How would you overcome the problem?

Mr. Green: If there was a total restriction on the amount that could be paid by any institution to avoid the situation of a person going from one to another and also a limit set on the amount of interest that could be charged, whether it be in terms of a mortgage or loans or whatever it is, at least keeping these figures within the realm of possibility for the low income person and possibly the purchase of a house will be within the realm of possibility.

Senator Everett: You go on in recommendation number 9 to recommend that the United Community Funds should be placed under the direct jurisdiction of regional county or metropolitan government, financed by direct taxation. In effect, this would create really just another government board.

Let us assume if we did that or if that was done and the United Community Fund was financed by direct taxation and all the agencies that draw their funds from the United Appeal did so from direct taxation. Would there be a volunteer area left?

Mr. Green: Well, as things presently stand there are not a great many organizations that are not receiving funds from the United Appeal so, gentlemen, there definitely would.

Senator Everett: But then the United Appeal, the new United Appeal, would grow and you really would not have solved any problem at all, would you. You see a new role in your judgment, a new role for United Appeal?

Mr. Green: Yes, we are not suggesting disbanding the United Appeal or rather the United Community Fund. It would still act in a similar capacity as far as administration is concerned, but being responsible to government and ultimately to the people.

Senator Everett: You say it would be financed by direct taxation?

Mr. Green: Right.

Senator Everett: Now, let us assume that there is still a tendency for people in the community, who have the resources, to give part of those resources to the community in the form of some sort of development fund. What you are saying here is the area covered by the United Appeal is so structured today that it might as well be handed over to government and financed by direct taxation?

Mr. Green: Provided there is no loss of autonomy to the various agencies.

The Chairman: Provided what?

Mr. Green: There is no loss of autonomy to the various agencies.

The Chairman: Sub-agencies.

Mr. Green: They need not become civil servants.

The Chairman: Is it bad to be a civil servant? All right.

Senator Everett: The financing of the United Appeal or the United Community Fund has to be through direct taxation?

Mr. Green: Yes.

Senator Everett: But I am saying, even if you do that there is still an area of giving which I suspect there is.

Mr. Green: Through churches and other organizations.

The Chairman: They cannot hear you out there at all, go ahead.

Mr. Green: Yes, there would still be the area of giving for people who wished to give either through churches or through small, localized community activities or endeavours and various groups that for whatever reason did not want to participate or presently do not participate in the United Community Fund. I think perhaps one of the things that we are getting at, one of the underlying things perhaps two, if I might explain; one is the fact that since the funds are collected in the form of charitable giving, are we giving enough consideration to the person at the other end of the line who is therefore receiving charity rather than receiving something that perhaps should be a grant and also since a fair amount of the donations that are paid say to the United Appeal are tax deductible expenses to business, it is, in effect, coming out of your tax dollar anyway or the price of it. So is there a great deal of difference ensuring it is a fair share?

Senator Everett: I am not arguing the point as to whether you are right or wrong in the recommendation. I am glad to have the explanation. It just seems to me if you decide by some taxation you still leave open an area that voluntary funds would be given by people who had the means to give them and I am just wondering whether you say that aspect of our society should be done away with excepting if you are referring to churches or small local community undertakings, or is there not an area where there are considerable millions of dollars which could be channelled in your mind?

Mr. Green: I suspect there would be many new areas that would open up that presently have not been available. I would hesitate to try, off the cuff, to state exactly what they would be.

Senator Everett: One of the submissions that has been made to us, along this line, has been to the effect that really what these voluntary agencies should be doing is that they should give up what should be available to the client as a matter of right and get more into the experimental field. In other words,

public donations should be used to experiment with new methods of attacking the general problems. What do you think of that?

Mr. Green: Yes, I think experimentation is a very valid thing and I think too, we have to keep in mind that not all the United Community Fund Agencies are working solely with the aspect of poverty. In fact, very few of them are concentrating there. There is a much broader scope. Whether you throw your additional funds that you are mentioning into research or experiment either in terms of community activities or in terms of medical research or some of the other things that might become available, it is open to question. I think a great many activities are in terms of medical research or some of the other things that might become available, it is open to question. I think a great many of these things would happen.

Senator Everett: Now, do you think the community at large would support the undertakings of the United Appeal?

Mr. Green: I don't know. Are they supporting it now?

Senator Everett: Now, you make the point in your brief that as a matter of fact the community at large is not supporting, that really the support comes probably from a particular segment of the economy.

Mr. Green: Yes.

Senator Everett: I just wondered whether, on the basis of direct taxation, the community at large—how far would they be prepared to go with the Y.M.C.A., for example?

Mr. Green: I think one result would be the community at large would probably take a far greater interest in what various agencies were doing and possibly they would want to have more citizen participation in the various agencies because this is rather more indirectly the spending of their funds and also, I think too then, that you do bring in the aspect of accountability. In other words, if a group of citizens, a group of people in the area, had some question it could be raised say through their alderman either for or against.

Senator Everett: How important do you think the minimum wage is?

Mr. Green: I think it is vitally important.

Senator Everett: In solving this problem?

The Chairman: Vitally important in solving what problem?

Mr. Greene: In the overall problem of poverty.

The Chairman: In what respect?

Mr. Green: Because I think a large amount of the emphasis, particularly the emphasis we see in the press, has been given to various aspects of welfare and not enough emphasis has really been given to the working poor who are in many cases less well off.

Senator Everett: Have you any particular ideas of what the minimum wage should be in Ontario?

Mr. Green: I would like to see it substantially increased, perhaps even by 25—50 per cent. I think perhaps people—I have not experienced being on a minimum wage and I hesitate to answer for people that are. I feel they should be answering this for themselves.

Senator Everett: I hoped that it would be answered as we go along.

Dealing with your own experience, that is in your own group, which would more likely solve the problem, if you had two, which is not the case in point, but let us assume you did, which would more likely solve the problem, an increase in the minimum wage or a negative income tax, a form of guaranteed annual wage?

Mr. Green: I think this is almost a loaded question.

Senator Everett: Oh no, it was not a loaded question.

Mr. Green: Neither one, I think, is enough on its own. Whichever way it goes, it is something more than that because I would ask a question is that enough money at this point anyway? You know, there is a great deal to be said for and against both ways. You know we hear continually of the guaranteed annual income. This is the thing to talk about right now. I think we would have to recognize it is not quite as simple as that and where is the minimum going to be set and is it going to be a differential depending on whether a person lives. For example, you know, you might say, is the base amount that a family of four could exist on in a small village in Nova Scotia? Is it the same basis upon which a person could live in Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver. If not, where is this leveling go-

ing to be set out and I do not think you can really get into a comparison of one against the other unless you give specific figures of how much against how much.

Mr. Davis: I think too, you have to consider people in public housing. For example, if you give them a guaranteed income, a raise, what benefit would they get if they lose part of that back to the Ontario Housing again?

Senator Everett: In increased rents?

Mr. Davis: A lot of things have to be running around in circles, taking away with one hand and putting back with another.

Senator Everett: You do the same thing in increasing the minimum wage.

Mr. Davis: A lot of things have to be considered in regard to wages especially in the line we are thinking of, the majority of our people are public housing tenants, any increase affects their rent.

Mr. Green: And also there will be very many protests from people on the minimum wage if you raise them to the point where they pay more income tax.

Senator Everett: In this brief, at the end of the main brief, that is one of the points that is made here, that there is a definite objection. We come across this objection in other cities we have visited. On page 22 of the brief from the Lawrence Heights Neighbourhood Association you give an example of a man who increased his earning power by \$1500.00 a year and assuming that is all taxable income you say his income tax takes a \$300.00 increase, the rent will be increased by \$500.00 and the job pension will take \$100.00, really a total of \$900.00 so that does not counter your point?

Mr. Green: Perhaps Mr. Davis, being a member of the Lawrence Heights Neighbourhood Association, would explain that. I suspect there would be much more concern at the increased amount of rent being paid than at the fact that out of this \$1500.00 slightly more income tax.

Senator Everett: Yes.

Mr. Davis: I can give you a good example in regard to the facts quoted here that in a raise of \$1225.00 per year, the time you take away your rents and your increased job deductions it leaves you with \$515.00 and by the time you take your increase in pension plan,

increase in income tax, increase in your rent, you are taking \$700.00 away from it.

The Chairman: What is wrong with having \$500.00 extra?

Mr. Davis: I am just using this as a sample.

The Chairman: If you earn some money you have to pay income tax, but are you going to take the view that it is bad to pay tax on the point where you are not prepared to earn more?

Mr. Davis: No, the point is that a person in this position is not able to go out, buy a home, he cannot save money, not the amount of money in any reasonable amount of time, in fact a person in this position cannot even go out and get a N. H. A. mortgage.

The Chairman: Mr. Davis, we started out by talking about the guaranteed income.

Mr. Davis: I was trying...

The Chairman: Let us just pause for a moment. We talked about the guaranteed income for people and you showed some—I think Mr. Green showed some hesitancy about it. He wanted it specified. Well, I think it is well for us to know the history of our own country. You know a great deal about it from the brief but a guaranteed income would be what we call a demogrant, do you understand that term? Do you agree with that, Mr. Green?

Mr. Green: No.

The Chairman: Well, a guaranteed income is payment across the board to those people who require it. The history of our social legislation in this country has been that our pensions are paid all over the country at the same rate. The family allowances are paid at the same rate. The old age security is paid at the same rate. Unemployment insurance is paid at the same rate in every part of the country no matter rich or poor or whatever. Now, is that any indication of the trend of the legislation or the thinking? Does that make any impression on you at all?

Mr. Green: Yes, I think there is a trend this way and it is not necessarily a bad trend because presumably if it is extra funds by being universal that are getting into the hands of people who do not have need of them, it is going to be taxed back at the top of the scale anyway.

The Chairman: An income, guaranteed income and negative income tax, does not provide for universality, you know, of course they way the old age security works at the present time is an allowance and supplement. One signs an income tax form to indicate he has so much income before he qualifies for the whole supplement or part of the supplement. So that, of course, is the best example of the guaranteed income. Now, does that find approval?

Mr. Green: Yes, I think the theory of the guaranteed income would find fairly general approval with the poorer people provided that the amount that is guaranteed is going to be enough to live on.

The Chairman: Well, we are not going through the exercise for the purpose of just coming up with an amount that does not mean anything. It has to, of course, be a meaningful amount or the whole thing does not work. What I am trying to find out is this. I have a feeling here that when you talk about the guaranteed income that there are some people who feel they will have to pay somewhat more taxes. They are reluctant to do it. Do you have that attitude in your organization?

Mr. Green: Yes, I think this is noticed even among ourselves that there is all this thought in the back of our minds. I questioned though, whether it is entirely valid if complete consideration were given to re-evaluation of government spending. In other words, is money going right now in areas where it doesn't really have to go and could be put to better use without increasing taxes.

Senator Inman: Your representations are interesting. On page 22, recommendation number 8, I would ask if you consider that easy credit contributes to poverty in many cases? I mean the ads, so many ads say, "take it now and pay to-morrow, pay so much a month, low payments down", this sort of thing that invites people to use credit buying. Do you consider that that is attributable?

Mr. Green: Yes, I think it does in many cases because people can be induced into buying something much more expensive than they really set out to buy by a smooth talking salesman and laid down with payments that they might be able to manage for a certain amount of time and always get behind.

Senator Inman: Furniture and everything has to be repossessed?

Mr. Green: And they still have to pay for it.

Senator Inman: Then on page 3, the main part of your brief, the last paragraph, do you think that things such as services and training and skills, education, especially among women on budgeting, housekeeping and so forth is as important as money in many cases of poverty as we know it?

Mr. Green: It is very important. I personally would not want to say whether one is more important than the other, certainly you cannot eliminate poverty without the money. I am not sure how far you would go without many of the other services that go with this other qualification on the guaranteed income. It is not enough on its own.

Senator Inman: I didn't mean just money, along with money?

Mr. Green: Yes, in that case.

Senator Inman: In a lot of cases, people getting a certain amount of welfare do not have the proper knowledge of how to spend that money usefully. Do you think education along these lines would be a big help?

Mr. Green: I think it would be a big help in two ways; to some people it would help, we have also heard the other way that some of the social welfare workers will claim that the people they are dealing with really are the experts in budgeting but just manage to get by. If there were people employed by various departments in this capacity, I think it would not take very long before they realized just how hard it was and actually started feeding back this information within the system as well as having it come from outside.

The Chairman: I was trying to get your point there. Give it to me again, what point were you making?

Mr. Green: Let us say that the various welfare departments and social services departments had people who's sole purpose was to assist budgeting, they themselves would go out in the field and very rapidly see just how difficult it is to manage on the amount that a family is given. So not only would there be pressure and talk from the outside but also they would feed back within the system, "look at this, it isn't enough".

The Chairman: Well, on the evidence that we have heard we come to the very easy conclusion that those people who are on public

assistance and have been for any length of time are the world's greatest experts on shopping and budgeting and on how to live. They don't need any teaching. All we have ever done for them is to tell them how to do things and how to tighten their belts. There is something else I wanted to ask you. You got me off base for a minute. I have got another question, oh yes; I think I should make it very clear to you, if you follow the proceedings of the Senate, we have said not once, not twice but a thousand times we do not believe that money alone will solve this problem but on the other hand we have also said that money is the beginning and you go no place without it. So let us not have a bogymen. This we believe.

I will tell you what, just for a change of pace, sir, have you something in mind? Let's hear it.

Mr. Carswell: I came here with a few general observations in my mind. I have not been able to catch the discussion that is going on because I am a little hard of hearing and being a pensioner, of course, I am concerned because I have been attending groups of pensioners to try and pressure the government to bring us a little extra relief to what we have been given, a little more above the 2 per cent they generously give us. First of all, in view of the fate that previous commissions have had, and I mean Hall-Dennis and Carter Commission, I wonder if this commission is an exercise in futility. I am wondering if it is not going to be the same, going to be put in some cubby-hole down in Ottawa the same as the others or could it be you are trying to justify your \$15,000.00 a year?

I mean, after all, you fellows have got to save your consciences and do something. I know for hundreds of years it has been the time honoured custom of governments and I have read history back and back, I am an old age pensioner, I am an old country first war pensioner, suffered blood in the first world war with hardship in the trenches, I have followed the history of governments back and I know, it has been stated time and again, a time honoured custom of governments if they want to shelve legislation. I have a feeling it is not good and today, this to me, this is a reflection of the distant attitude of government. The world itself has got this same problem or at least these countries of the world we are acquainted with such as England, United States, Dominion of Canada have got this problem of poverty. Of course, you

fellows are delving in, more or less, to the effects of poverty, not the causes. You are delving in just like knocking the man down with the car, the poor man, taking him to hospital, taking him back and putting him on the street to be knocked down again.

The cause of poverty is the distance between the ever growing rich and the ever growing poor. The fact we have the word, "poverty" presupposes on the other end of the scale the word, "rich". While we have multimillionaires there have to be, at the other end of the social scale, "poverty". That is a gulf that has existed for perhaps centuries and has been accelerated into the 1960's. It has been accelerated to the extent we find there are people owing three or four hundred million dollars on the one hand.

It is surprising the government itself is out of touch with the people else why should they need to have a commission like this. We are, in allowing the government today to create these problems, we have got this prosperity today.

Now, I would like "poverty" itself to be defined. Does it stop at people on welfare? Does it stop at people like me who are on a pension, getting old age pensions and perhaps have a few dollars in the bank sufficient enough to have to pay taxes or does it stop at the \$18,000.00 a year men in Ottawa who are telling the press stories and getting their pictures in the paper of hardships on the equivalent of around \$21,000.00 or \$22,000.00. Where does poverty start?

I think the only problem that will solve this is to delve into the causes of poverty and I hope sincerely that this report of your commission, Mr. Chairman and all you ladies and gentlemen, will not go into the cubby files in Ottawa and I hope it will be a report that the government will have to tackle the causes of poverty.

In the first place, if we had, or if we did not have, a valid distribution of taxation we would level-up the incomes of people. Why should big corporations get their discounts and their privileges? We hear people talking about private enterprise, where is there any private enterprise today in this country? Everybody, except the working man, is subsidized. Business is subsidized, giant corporations are given free loans in order to settle in places and they would probably settle there anyway if it satisfies them and if it doesn't satisfy them they won't settle there anyway.

People, because of the income tax suggestions today, are talking about picking up their businesses and going elsewhere. This has been the custom over many, many years when people, certain elements, have thought they weren't going to get a square deal in taxation. In particular the capitalist class suggested they would pick up their capital and go elsewhere but I don't know that they have ever done so.

Well, I thank you for exercising tolerance for my remarks. I am much obliged.

The Chairman: All I can tell you is that we have been at this for some months and working as hard as we possibly can doing it because we want to do it. We do not have to do it but we want to do it. We want to make some contribution to deal with this question of poverty. The only question that we are asking the people, as we come around, is, "How do you cure it?", "What is the remedy?". You would be surprised, Mr. Speaker, that we have not got very many answers yet and we have been around for a considerable length of time. That is the main purpose of the exercise.

If anybody has any suggestions the floor is your's. Go ahead.

Mr. John Fletcher, Pensioner: I was at the committee and I have studied most of the reports given out in the local papers and I am a veteran pensioner.

As I see it, we are confronted with the same problem all the time. People say, "Well, where is the money coming from?"; "Who is going to pay for it?". Why the delay at this point in history? Now, just trying to straighten out the poverty level...

The Chairman: I cannot hear you very well up here. A little louder please?

Mr. Fletcher: The country is in a position moneywise, resourcewise and brainwise to get rid of this situation and I think the only thing that we can do is start right from the bottom as Joey Smallwood said, the minimum wage has got to be raised to \$2.00 and \$2.50. Once this is done the cash flow can grease the wheels of industry and economics in the country. Without this there is no way. We have got over 60 per cent of the population on the lower bracket of \$250.00 or less per year. The balance is subsidized.

There are a few other things involved. The Canadian public are working for 15 per cent

of the net profits of the country. The other 85 per cent is going across the border. I am talking about the profits, dividends. This is our main problem. People say, "Why worry about Americans?". I am not against Americans. My brother, my sister, my father, my mother, they are Americans. I say this; we have got to own this country. We have subsidized the bushes, we pay subsidies on our mineral resources, exports to get it out of the ground, but what have we ploughed into industry? Nothing.

Our kids don't own the damn building that they are in. You say, "Why not increase the working wage?". The minimum wage is too low. I will give you an example. Triangle used to be up here, \$1.25 an hour. I worked for them myself. Just after I had a stroke. I talked to the Minister of Labour in Ontario, no way, it cannot be. You show me why they are paying such low wages. He wouldn't take the time, and at that time, I didn't bother but I will put it to you this way, you men have got the responsibility. You are sitting in the chair. You have it in your hands to do something. I know you have got a large problem. I say this; first of all, like Gordon says and I know there is a lot of pitfalls in it, we have to own what we are working in. What are the kids going to own in the future if we don't get this under control within a short time. We may have problems with second and third generations.

This gentleman here brought up the Red Feather and the proposition whether they should have voluntary contributions after probably the government tax deal. To do that I say sure, let them have contributions, voluntarily to the government, if they do it.

The 12 per cent interest on money that this gentleman raised, as far as banking is concerned for the low income group. If I understand this correctly, I think it is a good idea, a good percentage of the people in the country have and do belong to the credit unions of the country, over two hundred million in assets or at least monies loaned out. These people used it. Why have they used it? Because they cannot get the same deal from a bank. Even the government workers are using the credit unions themselves and it belongs to the people and they have been using it.

Just lastly here, in the credit union, the government has suggested they should further be chartered like a bank. No doubt it would open the market for more money. The Ontario government suggested they put for-

ward a plan to have a saving programme where they use money for N. H. A. and other housing purposes. This is the route.

Now, as far as the labour board, compensation board, the old age pensioner, the veteran pensioner, since the increase in food costs and general living standards have gone up there has been no really appreciable interest on any of these things.

The welfare recipient and everybody else is concerned with food costs. The cost has gone up and there has not been the same rise in their benefits.

The gentleman brought up the point whether there should be education along with a change and I think this is a good idea. Somebody brought up the point that maybe the welfare workers should go into the home and study the situation of how they make out on \$68.00 a week with six kids. In the States some senators have done this and tried to live on their income. It is pretty rough and it takes a mastermind to do it where there is no clothing allowances, no insurance allowances, no other additives to the basic monies received from the crown or from the municipalities. Those people are having a tough time to get along as it is. There is not too much left over, that's for sure.

The Red Feather evidently has had trouble and this man brought the point up that on some of these committees there should be people from the community who are recipients or nonrecipients on the board. I agree with this that there should be some community representation on the new council and the Red Feather took exception to it. Now, I will get away from this business. I think that on any board representing the public there must be a good cross section on the board. If there's not, there is no way it is going to help or change in the future.

Now, one thing that I have studied, and talked to a few people about at the university is the baby bonus. The baby bonus is sort of a cash credit given to most people that have children and could be credited something similar to a plan they have in Australia or New Zealand. We say that we have not got money for housing. In Australia or New Zealand they are using this baby bonus. A citizen can get a pre-cash credit for a number of years ahead so people in the young or middle age group may buy housing from N.H.A. or the equivalent in that country with this as a down payment.

They Windsor television station and radio station, about a year ago, took a survey on this and there were quite a few answers on the pros and cons of it. I don't see anything in this brief about it. The N.H.A. or the Ontario Housing have done a fair job. The architecture, the location and structure of the buildings is fine. The only thing that gets me about it is that I live in one and I have gone in other areas of the country, from one end of the country to the other, areas of the city, the thing that astounds me is that when, as it was brought out in public a while back, these housing units cost roughly \$40,000.00 a unit. Now, this is with everything; services, land, large type places or apartment buildings and smaller units. Now the thing is for \$40,000.00 I say why are we trying to keep the poor in a poor area. Now, some of the senators in the United States came up with this; remove the ghetto from the ghetto and let the people move, if they want to move into some of the areas of the country. Even now I understand most of the recipients on assistance, it is not transferable. This goes for welfare. The result is we have a poor area in the east of Canada. I am not running down any provinces, but I say this, they are moving here at the rate of 60,000 a year which is developing problems for us right in Toronto let alone our housing in other centres. Let us have a plan where they can move to other areas and get the assistance they would here. Make it a national, transferable plan so that areas of the country that under developed they can move out to.

The man talks about 12% interest rates. Let money be available like the V.L.A. so that the people who can go out to lay even a few bricks, the people who have still got enough in them to do it, can get that money to do something for themselves. There is no point in building a complex putting 500 people in a \$2,000,000.00 building on a 100 years mortgage and have those kids be paying for years and years after. It is cheaper to let them have the money and let them move out to areas where it is less congested and you are not grouping all of the one type or all of the recipients all in the same areas because you are just creating over and over the same problem. They found this in New York, Chicago and other major cities in the United States and now they have decided to do something about it.

The compensation board is really a problem in the sense that compensation rates have not been adjusted for quite a while. They take

too long. Now I will put it this way; a man gets hurt in an accident and may wait three weeks for a cheque or longer. Now if you are paying insurance, you get hit with a car, you want the insurance company to settle up for your car damages. I think it is only fair that either the compensation board changes the regulations and pay the man from the start of the accident or the employer continue his pay until the compensation board settles up so that he has no loss of time and no inconvenience. This is a serious question for most men in industry because once the man has had an accident very few bosses or industries want to take a second chance with the man. As a matter of fact in a lot of cases they want to get rid of him as soon as possible. There are changes between the employer and the employee. I think it is in the interest of the public to get that changed as soon as possible.

The mention of taxes, increase of taxes, paying for the services or changes in the social structure. We could take the Germans in the war. It is not a five minute deal, we really have got to sit down and I think Mr. Trudeau has got the right idea that something has to get in here and get the thing moving. There is money that has got to be spent and it has got to be spent at the base of the problem because if we eliminate poverty in this country the country is going to tick over twice as fast. If we own the industry in the country it is going to tick over twice as fast and after all who—if a man is going to invest in our country he wants to invest in something that we have got a good equity in ourselves, not just 15 per cent, and also where the poverty problem has been licked. I think we have got a good country and we have got all the time and money to work with it. All we have got to do is rearrange the bookkeeping such as this baby bonus and a few others to eliminate.

Now here we have got the welfare on one hand, old age pensions on the other hand, Ontario payments on the other hand, five different sets of bookkeepers looking after five different sets of computers. What happens is that it has got us doing three or four times as much so maybe we can eliminate that. The cost of doing this, naturally, it is going to hit the tax-payer. It is going to hit everybody, but the point is we are doing something for the future generation coming up because we are still going to have problems even when I am dead and gone.

I take it pretty seriously in this sense that if we do not do something and do it in a

reasonable time, I think it is going to drastically affect us.

That is all, Mr. Chairman, thank you.

The Chairman: Madam, I think you wanted to say something?

Mrs. Virginia Forgie, Recording Secretary, Metro Federation of Citizens' Associations: There was a point brought up about baby bonuses. I thought, seeing you were asking for suggestions, I would give you my general opinion. I am not in favour of baby bonuses. I have six children. The main reason everybody gets it. Millions of dollars spent every year. Doctors get it, lawyers get it, everybody gets this \$6.00 every month regardless whether they need it or not. Now, if this was turned back into some type of a wage taxation, not exactly a rebate, but just a recovery for the low wage earner, if they could get I mean \$300.00, it is just not any type of a tax deduction for you, you know, for a child. There is no way you can raise one on \$300.00 so therefore if it was put back that way so that they would not have to pay someone making four or five thousand would not have to pay income tax I think it would be much more to their benefit giving them this \$6.00 every month.

That is all.

Mrs. Pat Colley: I heard a few references tonight to raising the minimum wage. I don't really feel that would cure poverty. I think our government in Ottawa and the one here in Toronto must first do something about the unemployment because \$5.00 an hour if you are in the work force is all right but if you are unemployed it is not going to help poverty. We have government in Ottawa that lets Dunlop and lets DeHavilland lay off and they import strike breakers whenever there is a legal strike and all this leads to poverty. I think something should be done about that. That is just a suggestion.

The Chairman: I assure you that this committee does not have any differences with you. The first and most positive step in the eradication of poverty is jobs. There is no substitute for jobs. The unfortunate part is that we have to realize that at the height of our prosperity in the last eight or nine years when there were many, many jobs in this country and paying well we had 15 to 20 per cent of the people in poverty. That is a problem in this country and everyone of you knows that we had eight, nine years of

unprecedented prosperity yet at the same time while we had this great prosperity we had 15 per cent and now 20 per cent in poverty. That is the dilemma. That is the problem. That is what we have got to try and solve in some way.

Mrs. Dawson Fuller: I am glad you brought this point up, so many people earning so much money but along with this you have common inflation. As I understand it inflation starts with a little blessing from the government, usually following wars. They are faced with a heavy war debt, as long as they have inflation it in turn reduces the debt that they owe. Unfortunately, like most things, the monster they create eventually masters them. One thing they don't keep in view is the fact that income tax exemptions never keep abreast of the inflation. It only stands to reason that this cuts into people. It is proven now up into the \$8,000.00 bracket. It is not all inflation but almost every dollar they earn is taxed.

The Chairman: Madam, I cannot say anything to you except I have been in politics for many, many years. Most of the senators, with the exception of Senator Everett, have all been in politics for many years. All I can tell you is I have yet to meet someone who knows the answer to inflation or who knows what the remedy is.

Mrs. Fuller: They don't want to know the answer to any of these things as long as it suits them. They are not the ones worrying where to-morrow's bread and butter is coming from. I am old enough to have lived through the depression and I remember.

The Chairman: Madam, you do not remember it any better than I do.

Mrs. Fuller: It is an exercise in futility and I couldn't have worded it better and an excuse from the Senate to stay in Ottawa.

The Chairman: What is that?

Mrs. Fuller: An excuse from the Senate to stay in Ottawa. I congratulate you. This is the first thing the Senate has ever done.

The Chairman: When I hear you people talk about it—it is hard to hear up here, the "stooges of the Senate who stay in Ottawa" I think I will just take a minute and tell you a few things that you do not seem to know or do not recall.

It was a committee of the Senate, and I speak with knowledge on these things, that

first brought on an investigation and sat as a committee to deal with the question of unemployment and from that came the creation of the Department of Manpower. It was a committee of the Senate that dealt with land use and from that came ARDA which was of great help to the rural people. Some of you may recall that it was a committee of the Senate that dealt with the price of food. I think we were very prominent in it and as a result of that came the Department of Consumer Affairs. Perhaps some of you will recall that it was a committee of the Senate that dealt with the question of aging and brought in the guaranteed income which was the first of its kind in any part of the world and the government supplemented it.

Mrs. Fuller: You still can't live on it.

The Chairman: In addition to all that, perhaps you will recall, it was a committee of the Senate that dealt with the matter of truth in lending, to tell you how much interest you pay on your money—before you didn't know.

These are some of the accomplishments of the Senate. I would think, as Canadian citizens, you would be knowledgeable of these and so when we come here to you with proven results on other occasions we are attempting to do a job and the lack in confidence in us is not warranted from what little I tell you now of our accomplishments.

Mrs. June Egoroff: You mentioned Manpower?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Egoroff: Well, I find that Manpower isn't very much good.

The Chairman: Isn't very much good?

Mrs. Egoroff: No, it is very little use. For instance I have four children to support. Now, I went to Manpower to try and better myself, offered to go to school free so that I could earn a living for myself and my children and not accept charity but they wouldn't let me take training, not even for free.

The Chairman: No, but you see, I am not trying...

Mrs. Egoroff: It is better to live on welfare you are getting more money by the time you finish paying taxes.

The Chairman: I don't want to hurt your feelings. I may be wrong, you correct me if I am; they have got a regulation in Manpower

that is causing us a lot of trouble and that regulation states that unless you have so much schooling that they cannot take you. Now that is what they probably did to you.

Mrs. Egoroff: I was booked as a filing clerk and they wrote on my card a "senior general clerk" which I am not and said that I could not take another job because I was a file clerk and there is no money in being a file clerk, maybe \$240 a month, well I am making more than that sitting at home, looking after my own kids.

The Chairman: As I say, we are finding as we go across the country that the general complaint has a lot of merit to it. We have been able to straighten some of it out, not completely. What you are saying is eminently so.

Mrs. Egoroff: This is training from the taxpayer's money, people like me that are going to prefer to sit home on welfare.

The Chairman: I must tell you something else that will interest you. You say you could earn \$240 as a file clerk, what would you earn?

Mrs. Egoroff: About \$240.

The Chairman: \$240, what would you get on relief?

Mrs. Egoroff: On welfare?

The Chairman: Yes, approximately?

Mrs. Egoroff: More than that, about \$30 more than that.

The Chairman: Instead of \$240 you have got \$300?

Mrs. Egoroff: Right.

The Chairman: In the Province of Ontario, you are either on relief or off relief, right?

Mrs. Egoroff: Right.

The Chairman: And you have people who know that is so. Now, in several of the provinces of Canada you know how they would deal with you? They would say you go on and work and we will supplement and give the difference between what you would get on welfare and what you earn and in addition to that if you earn more than that they would take 50 cents out of every dollar and you keep 50 cents of every dollar up to an amount.

Mrs. Egoroff: Not if you are in housing.

The Chairman: What?

Mrs. Egoroff: Not if you are in Ontario Housing.

The Chairman: It has nothing to do with Ontario Housing.

Mrs. Egoroff: Because you rent those.

The Chairman: I am talking about the welfare generally. You understand what I am saying?

Mrs. Egoroff: Yes, I do.

The Chairman: Let me repeat it; if you were to get \$300 in welfare that would be \$60 difference, just a rough sum, right?

Mrs. Egoroff: Right.

The Chairman: In seven provinces in Canada which are poorer than Ontario, they would give you that \$60 and keep you working rather than say you must take relief and then figure that they save a great number of dollars and more important than that they save your dignity as a person. Now, a few people want some job to do and I have just given you another very good job to do. We will be going on to something else but there is one of the difficulties that you have to face and that is you ought to do something about it. All I did was suggest that you perhaps should raise your voice a little louder, Mr. Green.

Is there anybody else? I cannot see, I don't see anyone else. Look, it is your show, you do not often get a chance to take a wack at senators. Come on let's have it.

Mr. Wilfred Mountain: The only question I want to ask is why are the draft dodgers paid; why are the tax payers paying the draft dodgers from the United States in this country? The deserters come from the United States to this country and the taxpayers are keeping them.

The Chairman: My friend, I am an old soldier too.

Mr. Mountain: That's all right, all my family are old soldiers.

The Chairman: I share your views.

Mr. Mountain: Why are the taxpayers paying for them?

The Chairman: Is there someone over there?

Mr. Ken Radford: I have just one comment. There was a lady over here who was speaking about the universal baby bonus which I think is a valid point inasmuch as a lot of money is not required but it might be suggested if we did have a guaranteed annual income, and of course assuming this would be based on the number of people in the family, this would eliminate altogether the necessity of any baby bonus. I think the question would be rather redundant if we had the other type of guaranteed income.

Mrs. Forgie: Would the baby bonus be cut out if we had the guaranteed annual income? Would they eliminate that?

The Chairman: Well, I don't know what they would do and I cannot tell you what this committee will finally report but it seems to me that if we deal with a family on guaranteed income, it would be most inclusive. The gentleman has a point.

Senator Everett: Mr. Chairman, I wonder if we could hear some comment on public housing.

Mr. Fletcher: Mr. Chairman, I do not want to take too much of your time. I think you brought to question up, I would like to refer to it. I think public housing, the way we are now thinking of it, we are going to Malvern and spending millions of dollars there with a new type of unit and if you doubt my words, just ask the principal of the school, ask the teachers, you will find that in general it is not on the surface. It looks nice when you drive down the street but I don't think it is really worth it. I think there is enough evidence from the community council, from the representatives of the Children's Aid, the rest of them right in here, a good example, a good cross section that it costs too much money and basically that the single home unit and possibly faster transportation to rural areas, out a little further or transferable to other cities that need the population, need the skilled jobs or whatever is involved, it is a lot cheaper. The cost is tremendous per unit and the assessment is higher, quite a bit higher and the fact that we are paying the interest funds that we are paying, if you try to duplicate the same system say five to ten years from now you are going to pay three times the cost of the project, the cost of the architecture, layout, fast transportation, roads and sewers, in the highly congested areas like Regent Park or downtown as the city gets larger. It has got to the point now where the

basic engineers are teaching this type of construction or planning for the future and I say forget about it.

We are past that stage in large centres like Toronto to be building any more congested units too close to the city because the taxpayer here is going to be taxed right out of this shirt. It is happening in Oakville. When the new assessment of rates comes in next year it will possibly be the same thing in Scarborough so you can imagine what taxes on these units would be. The taxes are roughly on an assessment on a four bedroom unit, about \$650.00 or \$1,000.00 so in five to ten years what are the taxes going to be? What is the assessment going to be? This is what you have to consider and the construction of the units, especially the housing, the noise rate is pretty high, no plaster on the walls, no sound-proofing, the rest of the services are adequate but I think the cost is say roughly \$40,000.00 per unit for the whole project. You can do better for \$25,000.00 out in Cooksville or someplace else. I think if you really look into this you will find other countries doing better at this type of thing and Australia and New Zealand, I think, may have the answer especially where they have a transferring fund from one set of books to be credited on the baby bonus to use for down payments on housing. This alleviates the problems for the future too.

The Chairman: Mr. Weatherhead, would you like to say a few words?

Mr. David Weatherhead, M.P., Scarborough West: No, Mr. Chairman, I just came in to listen to my people. This is my riding, as you know. I have close contact with people in Warden Woods particularly. I would just like to listen to their comments and not make a speech myself, thank you, very much.

The Chairman: I am sorry that you have not been here before. It has been very interesting, I am afraid we have run our course pretty well.

I am sure you will get a copy of Hansard and you will be able to read it because it will appear there. That is the best I can do for you.

Mrs. Beatrice Roden: Senator Croll, I understand this committee has been good enough to want to know the causes of poverty.

The Chairman: Yes?

Mrs. Roden: There is a sector which I believe you have not heard from and that is the crippled adult civilian and what happens after a person who is a crippled child, who has everything possible done in childhood gets an education, the best they can and does the best they can and suddenly are struck with an accident. By an accident I don't mean a car, just some accident, they are deprived of a means of livelihood by that accident and they are thrown immediately into poverty. They cannot apply to a compensation board. They are not injured on any job. It may be a fall on the sidewalk, any little fall in their own home, any little insignificant thing that eventually disqualifies them for earning a living. A healthy normal person would be able to recover from it but when they have spent their life as more or less a weakling, a handicapped person, how do they pull out of it? They are thrown immediately into hopeless destitution. That is an area I have not heard mentioned.

The Chairman: Well, madam, may I tell you on behalf of the committee that that sort of a case is foremost in our minds and it is foremost in our minds for this reason that those people are no longer in the labour market.

Mrs. Roden: Right.

The Chairman: They cannot help themselves and when you people ask questions you give me an opportunity to tell you a few things that are interesting. One of the things we did in this committee, and for the first time, was to identify the poor, the poverty stricken. We know who they are. We know where they are. We think we know they got there. Our trouble is to find a way to get them out.

One of the first group that we have are what we call, and you will understand the term, the disadvantaged. The blind, the crippled, the maimed, the aged, who are no longer in the labour market and who must be looked after decently and immediately. There is not a labour problem there. They are all in the same position as the person on old age security for whom we are making some provision but we have to make an adequate provision. That is our number 1 category. Our number 2 category is the female head of families. There are about 300,000 of them in Canada with 500,000 children of various ages. This woman is pretty helpless. There is not much she can do. She may be in the labour market. She may be out of the labour market,

but there she is. Then we have the welfare poor, the people who are on welfare. That is the third category. The others, the first category, are about 50 per cent of the 4,000,000, then we have 2,000,000 people in this country who are working for minimum wages or less who are the working poor and who could almost do better on welfare. They are just hard working people. Not all of them could work but a great many of them could. We know there is an obligation for us to do whatever has to be done but it is a difficult situation. Some people say to give them a higher minimum wage. We have studied that and, sure, we want a higher minimum wage. I wanted to indicate to you that we are aware of what the problem is and how we view it.

Mrs. G. "Smith": I would just like to make a comment. Anyone who is disabled can qualify in the family benefits for a disability pension. These people can be rehabilitated. They are assessed by the medical advisory board and by the field worker and they can receive the disability pension. If necessary, they can receive a supplement from the general welfare plus the other benefits. They are not just out in the cold the way some people think they are. Certainly a lot should be done for them but there is a lot being done.

The Chairman: There is no suggestion that they are "out in the cold". The suggestion is what they are getting is inadequate. That is the suggestion that is being made and the difficulty of coming within that category and from our point of view they are poverty stricken since they cannot get into the labour market to help themselves. That is all I was saying to you.

Mrs. J. Tremblett: I would like to know why it takes years and years of study to recognize these people need extra assistance.

The Chairman: Why it takes years of study is because it is not as easily recognizable as making the statement here to you after many many months of studying the situation. We really did not know where these people were, and we studied it in bits and pieces.

Mrs. Tremblett: Here I am.

The Chairman: Senator Everett was right on the job this morning. He is very sharp tonight. He suggested I quote your brief to you which says on the first page:

One of the major problems faced by Canada's low income people is the complete lack of knowledge and understand-

ing displayed by the general, more affluent, public.

This is the thing, a lack of understanding of the plight by the public extends to almost everyone.

Please do not forget that this discussion that we hold here today, I express views and some others express views and we only have the power to recommend in this committee, as every committee has, only the power to recommend and there are other people who's obligation it is to act on those recommendations. Naturally I have indicated to you that on other times and other occasions we have made recommendations that have been very fruitful. This undertaking we have at the present time is the hardest work this committee or any other committee has ever done in any parliament under any circumstances. We are at it constantly and the kind of problems that we have to face up to, as we have heard today, are the kind that touch you every minute. You are living with that sort of thing and you realize that it is a human problem. It is the biggest problem in the world to solve. It is not a money problem, it is a human problem.

Mr. Carswell: Could I say another word? What you have just said, the power to recommend, that touches me because I remember Mr. Trudeau saying on the inflation question when he was questioned in parliament about enforcing restraint and he said that the constitution did not allow him to take any enforcement. Then, practically at the same time, Mr. Young of the Prices and Income Commission was asked a similar question and he said his terms of reference were only to investigate, that he could not go any further than that. So one wonders what power the politicians do have in Ottawa, what power or is there a power beyond the scene? A power from the various chambers of commerce, big industry, big finance, that says you cannot do this, big advertising concerns such as Eatons and Simpsons and these people who pay—the reporters are here—who pay the *Star* and the *Telegram*, not my ten cents every night of the week and my twenty cents on Saturday. The *Star* and *Telegram* are not concerned with those. I have tried for many, many times to get letters into the *Star* in particular about these people who go down to Ottawa with their nice words about democracy and the rights of the people and I have seen in page 7 that they are making such a great play that it is a democratic right of the people and I have

written letters of protest against M.P.'s getting increased salaries back in 1963 when they went from \$10,000.00 to \$18,000.00 a year and in 1954 when they went from about \$6,000.00 to \$10,000.00 a year. I sent in letters of protest because I have all my life tried to find out what an M.P. does to justify his salary and I can never find out. I can never find if he does any more than the mere ombudsman could do. We have three levels of government: municipal politicians, provincial politicians and we have federal politicians.

In the *Globe and Mail*, one member justified the preference of old age pensioners because he said he was rendering service. I would like to remind this person that I rendered a service and gave bloodshed in two world wars in order that he might enjoy those comforts that he has now in his office.

The Chairman: I can tell you, my friend, that whether the *Star* or the *Telegram* refused to print your letters, *Hansard* will have every word of it in.

Well now, we have had an evening. We have had a discussion. I have in mind terminating it unless something special...

Mr. Bill Belfontaine, Alderman, Ward 1, Borough of Scarborough: I don't know whether I have any priority to speak, I am just an alderman in Scarborough.

The Chairman: What is your name?

Mr. Belfontaine: Belfontaine is my name.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Belfontaine: Also a provincial candidate in '67. I have one or two votes in this room. I would like to, if I may, I have been thinking a great deal about poverty as applies to the spirit and to the pocketbook and to the community. I am a businessman and I thought that it was time business supplied its great pressures and possibilities to poverty. I don't mean by lowering prices in the supermarket although this would certainly help. I would like to see the business executives who are washed up on the beach at 65 and still have five, ten, fifteen or twenty years of tremendous drive, intelligence, experience, that they could lend in a task force basis and work directly in the community. I am thinking even at the ward level, with people who are on a kind of poverty of the spirit and they can't recover themselves. They could either retrain themselves or be inspired to go out and perhaps get back in the labour force again. I

have tried to do this in my own simple way and, of course, my facilities are rather limited. I cannot share my alderman's salary. I understand it is just above the poverty level. I do not know whether anybody knew that or not.

Mr. Carswell: What is poverty?

Mr. Belfontaine: I might place the suggestion before your committee. There are these tremendous people available and there must be at least 100 or 150,000 business executives frittering away their time on the golf courses or perhaps at the Granite Club, perhaps at the Primrose Club, if you can make it there. If they would apply themselves to this particular problem I would think that poverty could be solved at least a little bit.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. The chairman being more than 65 and some of the others may be close to it is not frittering his time away as he might in working on this committee nor are my colleagues. Thank you very much for rising and coming to this meeting and giving us your point of view.

From the Floor: I consider this a special question. I guess everyone else considers what they have to say as special. I was not going to speak. I am among the affluent society. I have been very poor, very hungry, terribly hungry because I was hungry in 1924 when we came from England and they just said, "No Englishmen may apply" at all the factories in Toronto. Here again then we hit the depression. I would oppose Mr. Belfontaine's suggestion because I think that anyone who is one day over 65 is redundant and I would strongly urge that we look to the youth for the tomorrows that we won't be living in.

The Chairman: Well, you are not suggesting that they shoot all of us over 65, are you?

From the Floor: Well, no, I wouldn't suggest that. I have a mother and a father too, all alive.

Mr. Green: If I may comment on the first aspect sir, I think the lady is being sarcastic or cynical. I hope, sir, it was not intended to be on the retired executives, I am not sure just how much they would understand what the problems are. It would have to be people that are experienced in the problems.

Mr. Belfontaine: I learn more from that than forty year's in business.

The Chairman: Take it easy now, ladies and gentlemen, we have had a good evening. Thank you very much for coming. Thank you Mr. Green and Mr. Davis for presenting the brief. We hope to be able to satisfy some of your wishes. Thank you all.

The committee adjourned.

Toronto, Tuesday, March 10, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Subcommittee "B") met this day at 2.25 p.m. at Duke of York Public School, Toronto.

Senator Edgar E. Fournier in the Chair.

The Chairman: We will call the meeting to order because time is passing quickly. We are greatly privileged to be with you this afternoon for a few hours. We have just visited your school and have been very impressed with what we have seen. This is a new type of school and it is indeed a novelty for us who come from smaller centres.

Mr. Sinclair, we regret very much that we could not accept your invitation to dinner. As you know, we are tied up with other meetings and our time is rather limited. We are grateful for your kind invitation, as we are also grateful for your brief, which all the members of the committee have read more than once. We believe it is a fine presentation and you have a lot to tell us.

I should point out that in addition to the Principal of Duke of York Public School, Mr. Sinclair, there are also present the following Mr. William J. Quinn, Inspector of Schools District #7, Toronto; Mr. James E. Laughlin, Inspector of Schools, District #8, Toronto; Mrs. Zelda Feldbrill, School Social Worker Duke of York School; Miss Tanis Sigurjonsen, a teacher at Duke of York School; Mr. Bernice Laski, also a teacher at the school and Miss Rosemary Draper, a teacher at Duke of York School.

As a rule, we do not ask the person presenting the brief to make a resumé of it and already read it, as I have previously mentioned. We usually just ask the person presenting the brief to make a resumé of it and then we ask questions. With time permitting we will also ask the audience to participate. I regret that at this time I am unable to say whether there will be sufficient time to permit that. However, if there is the time, we would like to have questions from the audience. So, Mr. Sinclair, the floor is yours.

Mr. Walter Sinclair, Principal, Duke of York Public School, Toronto: Thank you, Senator Fournier. Mr. Chairman, senators, ladies and gentlemen, this committee has heard many briefs about what poverty is. I think that today, from the school's point of view, we should talk about the effect of poverty on children and parents. I should say at the beginning that we are not talking about all of the people who live in this particular district; we are talking about some of them. However, their numbers throughout the City of Toronto have been so large that it has caused great concern to our Board of Education and its members.

In 1965, this school, after some study, was set up as a point project to find out what could be done, as far as education is concerned, to reduce the effect of poverty on children. As I mention in the brief, a number of criteria were set up to decide which schools should participate in this program, and over the years up until the early 1970's there will be about 60 schools involved.

Senator Pearson: All in the centre of town?

Mr. Sinclair: All in the centre of town, as far as Toronto is concerned.

The Chairman: When did you say, Mr. Sinclair?

Mr. Sinclair: The early '70s, The criteria for choosing these schools include seven: income, public housing, juvenile delinquency, socio-economic rank, economic achievement, household characteristics, and social welfare.

We have set particular purposes for the inner city schools and these are purposes in addition to what you would expect in any other school. To go through these briefly, we hope that we can do something to make school a happy place, a place where children really want to be and to learn; in other words, we want them to remain in school as long as they can. We want to help them improve their communications skills and perhaps most fundamentally we want parents to be involved in the school. We realize that if we do not involve parents the school suffers to that extent.

We feel also that we need to involve the other community agencies that exist in this particular school area. We feel that the most basic relationships include the school, the teacher and the child, and it is from this that we work. I repeat that when I talk about deprived children I am not talking about all

children. I emphasize this point because sometimes we use various general terms and people misunderstand. But in the school we have children who seem not to be benefitting from our educational program, have not in the past and are not now.

What this school has tried to do is to meet the child at his level by accepting him where he is and providing some sort of program that will facilitate his development. It is as if we have individual programs whereas in fact we have group programs.

We try to help the teacher to keep her job easier in the sense that she has support from people other than teachers. In this group I include our resource personnel, such as the social work department, the library people, guidance teachers, physical education teachers, and a number of others.

In this school we have also developed a number of programs which we think in the future will come to be included under the term "community school" and these things include such activities as occur in many schools; that is before-school programs, physical education, games and so on, noon hour, after-school, and some evening programs, and this year we have developed some programs on Saturdays. Last year saw the development of a summer program for children. There were some 150 in that particular program. And so we look forward to the extension of the school day and the school year.

When I read the criteria that are used to identify inner city schools, the implication is that it is not just the task of the school to meet the problems of poverty; it involves all levels of government, the public and private industry. In other words, the solutions for the inner city school problems are not to be found within the schools themselves. If we ever put ourselves forward as an institution that can cure poverty, I think to that extent we will be in error.

In working at the problems of poverty, we think that the way we work at them is of great significance. By this I mean that we must involve all of the people who are affected, all of the people who have responsibilities for working at the problems.

In conclusion I would say that the school has attempted to adapt itself in new ways to the needs of the community and to the children in particular. We recognize many problems within the school, and outside of the school. The problems within the school are

ones of inadequate experience on our part and inadequate training, but we feel that we are approaching the problem by involving as many people as we can.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Sinclair. Would any of your panel like to make any comments? Perhaps the school inspectors have something to add?

Mr. W. J. Quinn (Inspector of Schools, District # 7, Toronto): I might say a word, Mr. Chairman. As you probably would guess from the brief, the problem of the approach to the children who are forced to live under what has been described as deprived circumstances becomes the concern of the whole Toronto Board of Education. This is, I think, recognized by the fact we are setting up a great number of schools in the inner city trying to reach the children who must live in this kind of environment.

I think Mr. Sinclair has done a very excellent job in outlining our kind of unique purposes in these schools, but I would just like to add one dimension to it in the sense that if poverty in fact does immobilize people, and I think it does, from being full participants in our society, then we see the role of the school as one of enabling people, especially children and their parents, to become more effective participants in our society.

I think by that we mean that we would enable all people, but especially our children, to be able to participate in the decisions that affect them, in the decision-making process. There are skills involved in making decisions. We are assuming that if we do this that we are all going to be able to be more effective in arriving at what it is we have to do about poverty, in enabling us to help ourselves because many of us came from backgrounds of poverty ourselves.

I think the other dimension that I would like to add to what Mr. Sinclair has said is this, and this is based on some years of experience in working in the inner city of Toronto as a teacher, as a consultant, as a principal, and now as an inspector. The school cannot do this job alone. I would hope that no one would think that we can do it. I would hope that we do not give anyone the impression that we can do it alone because, while we have a very vital role and because we are the one institution in society where we have them all, in spite of this, in spite of this great advantage, this great opportunity, we cannot do the job ourselves.

You might say then: "Who is going to do the job?" We have indicated our role in this process of helping the poor. However, I think there are others. There are, first, the people as we have indicated here. We have implied that the people themselves who are concerned have to have a part in this. However, I am also thinking of other jurisdictions. I think ways and means must be found which will enable us to get these various jurisdictions together to concentrate, to cooperate, to focus on this great problem in our very rich country.

I think it is in that area that we are least competent. We have got all kinds of problems in terms of our communications between various jurisdictions. Consider the federal-provincial kind of problem that we realize we see every day of the week, and especially as it applies to education in the country of Canada. Or let us consider the number of jurisdictions in our own city, the matter of the responsibility of the board of education and the matter of the responsibility of the city council. I do not think you can really isolate these two jurisdictions when you attack a problem like poverty. Somehow we have to find ways of working together.

I think my third point would be that there is great hope because I think there are skills that are being made available to all of us especially in the field of the social sciences where we have learned how to communicate and how to work together. If we can share these skills, learn these skills, and this goes for the parents, the children, the teachers, the counsellors, the members of parliament, all of us, if we can use these skills to come to bear on a problem like poverty, I think that there is great hope for the future.

The Chairman: Thank you, sir. I do not wish to open the debate now, but I would like to ask you at this moment, since the school have been in operation, do you actually see some progress?

Mr. Quinn: Yes, definitely. It is mainly in the area of the attitudes at this point.

The Chairman: Would anybody else like to comment?

Senator McGrand: Attitudes of the parents or the pupils?

Mr. Quinn: Both.

Senator McGrand: How is that attitude evidenced?

Mr. Quinn: Let us take the attitude of the child. One thing we know is that we see children who are in the Duke of York school feeling good about coming to school. I think at this point in time about all we can really do is, if they want to come to school, then we would hope, and I think this is true, that it is not an unreasonable hope, that they would then want to learn, that there is an opportunity here for them to discover and explore and develop. I think we can read their attitudes. I think the attitude is a symptom of something else that is going on, which is probably deeper and which we have not been able to measure.

The Chairman: Inspector Laughlin?

Mr. J. E. Laughlin, Inspector of Schools, District # 8, Toronto: Mr. Chairman, I would like to congratulate Mr. Sinclair and Mr. Quinn on their presentations so far. It seems to me basically what we are trying to do in the inner city schools, or what we are aiming at doing, is to give the child in the classrooms of the inner city schools the same opportunities for success as a child would have who comes from a higher socio-economic area, say in a North Toronto school.

We have to come to grips with this problem. It may be that it will involve more people concerned with, say, a Grade I class. Generally, we have no lay assistants in our primary classes except in one school in this district, and that is in this Duke of York school. A lay assistant is a person who comes in and who helps the teacher. She is not a teacher but serves to assist with the children, and she talks to the children, which is a very important thing.

We have a lay assistant in each of our kindergartens. It may be that we should have two, even three lay assistants assisting in a Grade I classroom in an inner city school because the children need language, they need people to talk to. Generally, when these children come to school their language background is not as rich as it should be. This is a basic thing. There is not the richness of language background for the learning of reading and the learning of writing and the ability to express themselves.

It may be that we should have more help in our Grade I class—probably first on an experimental basis. It could be three; maybe two in a Grade II class, and one in Grade III might do. Basically we have to say: How are we going to create for this child the same

opportunities to succeed as exist for the child in a Grade I class in North Toronto?

Community involvement has been stressed. I think this is important, that the school and the community be involved together. Personally I have said that I would like to see the school open in some way until probably nine o'clock in the evening, when perhaps we might have a vice-principal on duty for part of the day and a second vice-principal in charge for the late afternoon and the evening, so that the community could be involved more closely with the school.

I do think we need to set up screening for teachers for their work in inner city schools. There are some very good materials on the market today for this. However, it should be organized so that all teachers in inner city schools are trained more effectively to deal with the problems which they will be finding in our classes.

Again, I would like to stress that when we are talking about inner city schools we must be careful not to generalize. When we talk about poverty, remember we are talking about only some; we are not talking about all the people of any school district or area.

Another point that Mr. Quinn has stressed is the need for a coordination of effort on the part of all our community organizations. I remember a couple of years ago when he was principal of this school he invited me down and said that there were over 50 community organizations that he had to work with, to endeavour to bring together to unite their forces to focus attention on the problems that were to be found in a school like Duke of York.

Mr. Chairman, I did not intend to make a long speech. Those are a few points I wished to make at this time.

The Chairman: Thank you, sir. Anybody else? We have a social worker here, Mrs. Feldbrill. We would like to hear from her.

Mrs. Z. Feldbrill, School Social Worker, Duke of York School: Mr. Chairman, I would like to stress the importance of this co-ordinated, concerted effort on the part of various agencies, including various government departments, and also the community itself, in looking into the problem of poverty. I would hate to see this as an endeavour on the part of the ones that have just paternalistically making decisions for those who have not.

I think the people who are poor or are deprived should help solve their own problems. I think sometimes we underestimate their wisdom in this whole field. The work I have done with the people struggling with it has convinced me that they are well aware of some of the points involved and have made very wise decisions in many instances. I think traditionally our process has been that agencies do things on behalf of them, and very often this fails. I would like to see this approach change and have them involved in the whole process of finding solutions.

The Chairman: Thank you. Anybody else who would like to add a few words?

Miss T. Sigurjonsson, Teacher, Duke of York School: Yes, Mr. Chairman. As a person who is not a trained psychologist, I would like to put in a plea for easier access to trained help in connection with psychological disturbances. I think we have in this school the greatest need in Toronto for this type of service. I think we will not have enough help until every teacher has some training in psychology. We need more help in that direction to work with these children who need this help but do not receive it.

The Chairman: Thank you. Miss Draper?

Miss R. Draper, Teacher, Duke of York School: It seems obvious to me, Mr. Chairman, with the number of schools in the inner city, 60 very shortly, there cannot be the same amount of attention given throughout the whole system. I think it ought to be recognized that probably a core of about 6 schools needs very special help with their very special problems. It is in the centre of the city where the greatest poverty lies.

The Chairman: Thank you. Anybody else?

Mr. Laughlin: Mr. Chairman, I think really when you begin to look at the inner city schools you can see two groups, a core of inner city schools such as here, and then the other group, which is a rather different thing from some of the schools which are now being classed as inner city schools, with far fewer problems because of the socio-economic level of the districts involved. However, the core inner city school, the school in the centre of the downtown area, is where there exist the serious problems.

The Chairman: How about Mrs. Laski?

Mrs. B. Laski, Teacher, Duke of York School: Mr. Chairman, I have been sitting

here listening and I have been quite impressed. I think there is one very positive aspect to all this, and that is that the children themselves in this school, which is the one I am more familiar with, where we have instances where everybody around them is concerned with poverty, the kids are not involved because they are not aware. They are not aware of poverty.

We have very many children in this school who can be, with the proper training, guidance, love and understanding, leaders of this country and who may be in 30 or 40 years from now sitting on a Senate committee investigating something else because the whole poverty problem will have been solved by then. The positive thing we have is the children themselves in the school. I just don't like to overlook the kids. I am concerned about the parents and I am concerned about many other things, but I think in the case of the teachers in this school their personal concern has to be the children.

The Chairman: Thank you. Now we have Senator Carter, Senator McGrand, and Senator Sparrow. Senator Carter, first.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I gather from the brief, and from what we saw as we made the tour of the school, that the entrance age is about 4 years. Do you take in children under 4 years of age?

Mr. Sinclair: At this point the youngest age is 4.

Senator Carter: Do you take in all children of age 4 or do you have criteria for selecting them?

Mr. Sinclair: It is voluntary as far as the parents are concerned, as to whether or not they bring their 3-year-olds.

Senator Carter: It is up to the parents themselves?

Mr. Sinclair: Yes.

Senator Carter: You do not refuse any children if they come?

Mr. Sinclair: If there is space we do not refuse any.

Mrs. Feldbrill: May I add something, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Feldbrill: There are two nursery schools in the area that we direct parents to

when there are children younger than 4 and when the parents want them to go to school. So in some ways we do encourage them to go to nursery school before the junior kindergarten.

Senator Sparrow: Are there retarded children's schools in this area or a retarded children's school?

Mrs. Feldbrill: Beverley Street School is the closest one. We have children at the school who are, you know, in the in-between range. However, for the children who are more retarded than that, we do send them to the Beverley Street school.

The Chairman: I might inform you that Senator Carter is a former teacher and school inspector.

Senator Carter: You should not let the cat out of the bag, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: I was just putting these people on their guard.

Senator Carter: On page 8 of the brief you list a number of criteria for setting up this type of school. One of the criteria is juvenile delinquency. Do you have any follow-up after the children pass through this school as to whether the incidence of juvenile delinquency is lowered?

Mr. Sinclair: We have a very tentative report from the juvenile court which states that the rate of juvenile delinquency in this area has declined from the point of view of his particular person who is a teacher in the court. Other than that, I think I have no more information.

Senator Carter: You take these children to what level?

Mr. Sinclair: To Grade VI.

Senator Carter: To the Grade VI level. When they go to another school that is more formalized than this one? They fit into a regular grade system when they leave here?

Mr. Sinclair: It is somewhat more formalized but becoming less so as time goes on.

Senator Carter: Have you done any follow-up as to how these children make out in the other schools?

Mr. Sinclair: Nothing as far as research or statistics are concerned. It is just word of mouth between the staff of this school and the staff of the two senior schools.

Senator Carter: On page 14 of the brief you list the characteristics of this group of people. Mr. Quinn, I think, mentioned one characteristic that changed, a change in basic attitudes of parents and children. Are there other characteristics that have changed?

The Chairman: The answer to that is open to anyone who has an answer.

Mr. Laughlin: I think that attitudes do change. As you change your type of curriculum to the sort of thing that is provided in this school and where it is a freer type of curriculum than formerly, where there is an attempt to meet the needs of each child, where the curriculum is related more to experience, and where we are providing, as we are now with an increasing budget, the amount of service and the amount of supplies that enables the teacher to do things she could not do before for the children, I think we find there is a lessening of distrust of institutions and certainly a lessening in general resentment of authority because this school, the Duke of York, is a child-centred school.

For instance, Mr. Sinclair does not use the strap in this school. The relationship between the teacher and the child is such that it results in an acceptance of the authority of the teacher, which is exercised in a benevolent way towards the child. So those are a few things that do change.

As far as the parents are concerned, as you bring the parents in, there tends to be a change in their attitude towards the school as an institution. At home the parents can talk about happenings in the school. And where we have the people brought in to act as volunteers in the school, they see what is going on and they become sold on what the school is trying to do for the child. And so their attitudes change.

Would you agree with that, Mr. Quinn?

Mr. Quinn: I would like to comment on this attitude of trust because I think this is very vital in this school and in all inner city schools, that if you really believe that you can teach a child something as a result of a human relationship, then I think you have to believe that you can accept him, that you must accept him, before you can develop any trust on his part. And I think you must have trust if in fact you are going to make any difference to a child or an individual.

So I think I see acceptance, as this teacher has mentioned, of children, and out of this

acceptance will grow trust. I see trust in the institution of the school. Whatever carry-over this might have in society I am not sure.

I know that you have real evidence in terms of looking at our attendance and truancy figures. I cannot speak for Duke of York school right now, but I could a few years ago. Truancy was not a problem in this school. Attendance really was not a problem. The children come to school often when they would be better off if they stayed home because they are ill. However, they want to come. I look upon this as a child trusting this institution.

I would like to say a word about authority. Authority can be misused as well as used. I think Mr. Sinclair would support me when I say that we believe, in the inner city schools, that authority derives from the child and that we only keep this authority as the leaders in the school as long as we continue to take the child on in a real and meaningful way to him.

I think another thing I would like to say too is that our real, overriding purpose is this business of building a sense of being able to do things, a sense of self-worth. I see children in these schools, and I am talking to your question of changing attitudes, I see children in situations in these schools as doing things, as them seeing themselves able to do things in the environment we have provided and are trying to provide in our inner city schools.

Mrs. Feldbrill: Could I add something to that? I think very much related to what Mr. Quinn has said, we do see evidence of children working closer to their capacity, closer to their potential, and this is quite evident in many instances where children have been disturbed and unable to use themselves effectively but now are eventually accomplishing at their potential.

Senator Carter: In the day's program, in any fixed day, to what extent are the children involved? You have a whole section here about involvement of parents. To what extent do you try to involve the children themselves in the activities in a day's program? Do they have any say in it?

Mrs. Laski: Well, I have a Grade V class, and it is certainly easier with children 10, 11 and 12 to give them some decisions. It is not a complete and true democracy, there is a boss in that class, but it is one who is quite willing to listen to the children. There is one gorgeous thing about our children; you cannot "con" them. There is just no way. Maybe

their reading and writing is not up to snuff but you cannot "con" the children.

If you do not care for these children they know that, and if you do care for them they know that too. It is very easy to really level with the kids and say: "Look, here is an area where I think you can decide what you want to do," and in this other area I can decide it is something I must reserve to myself. That is fairly easy. I direct the kids, but they choose how they want to approach the problem themselves.

I think you have to try to get the children to do as much as possible themselves. If they learn something themselves they will remember it. If I teach something to them they are not going to necessarily remember it. So it is a case of straining to get the kids to be as independent as possible first in a classroom situation, then in the hall, then in the yard, and, hopefully, outside.

The Chairman: You attempt to do that?

Mrs. Feldbrill: Yes.

Senator Carter: In a school of this type is there any special activity that emerges as a particular favourite, any particular subject that emerges as a particular favourite?

Mrs. Laski: Phys. Ed. is a very popular subject with the kids.

Senator Carter: On page 6, recommendation #2 is: "Improved training for educators, teachers, consultants and administrators".

Now, for educators and teachers in what area is improvement required?

Mr. Sinclair: Generally I would say in all areas. Our teacher training is only a one-year period. I feel it should be a minimum of three. However, the particular areas that I would stress would be knowledge of child development as being very fundamental; secondly, how to adapt what the educator feels is necessary, as far as education is concerned, to what the child can do; and how to promote development from there.

Senator Carter: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand, please.

Senator McGrand: I have a few questions. Someone, I believe, mentioned that more confidence should be placed in the welfare recipients ability to manage his own affairs. That is what I gathered, anyway. It may have been you that made that statement, Mrs. Feldbrill.

Mrs. Feldbrill: Yes.

Senator McGrand: I wonder if anyone has ever made a clinical study of an individual, starting with his youth and going up to the present time, of an individual with a family and who is on relief, so you could assess his capability for managing his own affairs?

You just cannot say to a person of 45 who is on relief, "You are not capable of managing your affairs" or "You are capable of managing them" until you have made, I would say, a clinical study of that person over a number of years. Has that been done; do you know?

In order to try to understand the magnitude of this thing called poverty and what can be done about it in the future, it seems to me that a lot of clinical examination must be done to assess these people's potential for looking after themselves and managing their own affairs. Does anyone know of any such type of study ever having been done?

Mrs. Feldbrill: I would go along with you on the necessity of that. I think that it is wrong for someone from the outside to make all the decisions on behalf of the person who is going to be affected by those decisions, so it is unrealistic suddenly, without something taking place beforehand, to thrust the total decision on this person who has not really had a chance to realize what it all means.

You see, so many of them have reached such a state of despondency, despair and hopelessness that in a sense they have given up. That does not mean that they have not the potential to do something about it if they felt there was a chance for them to do it.

I think what helps them to feel there is a chance is if you approach them and say, "Look, this is how I understand it; how do you understand it? Maybe we can get together on this. Maybe between my sharing my feelings with you and you sharing your feelings with me we can come up with something so that I am satisfied and you are satisfied", he "me" being society at large and the "you" being the person who is affected by it.

So often we say, "Well, look, you are kind of really not just as smart as all that," or "You really don't know what it is all about, and I will tell you what you want." The end result is that they say, "You don't know what I want and I am not going to let you tell me".

Senator McGrand: The way we have treated the Indians, for example.

Mrs. Feldbrill: Exactly. I think time and time again, with the best of intentions, communities have put a lot of money into a project that has fizzled because it did not really answer what the people were looking for.

Senator McGrand: Do you know of any case though, going back to what I asked, do you know of any people who have had their histories clinically examined? You know, if a person is mentally ill or goes to a mental health clinic his whole clinical and personal history from childhood on is gone into. They look at his whole past. Do you know of anyone who has ever had his past analyzed clinically in order that you could assist him in some way? If it has not been done I hope somebody does it.

Mrs. Felbrill: No, I do not think there has been any such study made, none that I am aware of anyway. However, I do know of many upper and middle-class people who have been unable to manage their affairs but, because they have money, it has just been covered up. I know of many, many welfare recipients who are very able to manage their affairs, very able indeed.

Another point is that many of these poor people are not aware of their rights. I know of a family, and I do not want to refer to the details, who do not know their rights, and they are sometimes taken, if I may use that expression.

What I am trying to say is that, sure, there are people among the welfare recipients who may not be able to manage their affairs but I do not think that that is peculiar to this particular group. I think that is true of the whole of society. On the other hand, I know of many, many welfare recipients who are very able to manage their affairs and make very wise decisions and yet are not given a chance to do so.

Senator McGrand: If a group of those people were placed together, say 40 or 50 of them, and had assistance from outside, were given a certain amount of money and let find out the best way of spending it, do you think that would work? Has that been done?

Mr. Quinn: Could I just say a word about this, if I may, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Certainly.

Mr. Quinn: Two things. One of the problems that I see is the concept, which is rather a pioneer concept, of Canadians—maybe

Americans have it too, but certainly Canadians have it—and it is this image of the self-made man. Now, I came from a very modest part of this country and had very modest means. I guess in looking at it from some other people's point of view I was a poor boy.

The things that enabled me to get to this table today were people, people who helped me, people who helped me when I needed help. So I think this idea of the self-made man often hinders us in our society from giving what I would call appropriate help. And I think most of us need help at some point in our lives.

The second aspect of this thing is that you may have heard about the NBC—I think it was the NBC—doing quite an intensive study of what was happening about poverty in the United States. Very briefly, I got this message out of it. It was a documentary that ran about two hours. They showed the scene across the United States. The story went something like this, that really all of the major measures, the so called welfare measures, that the United States had used had failed—not were failing, but had failed.

The only hopeful signs that they saw seemed to be in areas where they were enabling people to go to work, where such people were assured of an income, and, along with this income, a right to work. As it was assumed they could not do this on their own they were given all kinds of support. I hesitate to mention the companies, but Chrysler was one of the companies involved that participated in it. Ford Motor Company was another. There probably were others that I have forgotten. Here were cases that they cited that had been second and third generation welfare cases where suddenly they were becoming participants, they were becoming responsible citizens, and they were able to manage their own affairs with certain help.

Mrs. Feldbrill: That is why I would suggest that they be included in the decision-making process and the decisions not be made on their behalf. I don't think either extreme at this point would be appropriate.

Senator McGrand: That is why I mentioned having 40 or 50 in a group with a little advice from the outside and helping them to make their own decisions.

Now, I have one question as to something you mentioned earlier in your brief on page 15. You say:

These children come to school sorely equipped to benefit from what could be

called a standard educational programme. They tend not to trust adults. They fear new experiences. They are not motivated towards academic learnings. They settle differences by physical rather than verbal means. They are explosive in behaviour. They are not adequately rested or fed. Their language and intellectual development is retarded. Their experiences have been narrow and few.

Is it just the unknown they are afraid of? Everybody is a little bit afraid of the unknown. Is it the fear that everyone has or do they have something built in from a knowledge of their own families' poverty?

Mr. Sinclair: I would agree with that, yes. There is a fear of failure. And this has come through their own experience. I think part of our job is to produce a kind of secure environment where the child feels safe enough to take a chance.

Senator McGrand: There is only one other question I want to ask you. You mention at page 17:

Although 60 to 70 per cent of the school population may stay during a school year, the other 30 to 40 per cent are in constant motion.

I wonder, in a place like Toronto, where people have lived in an area for a good deal of their lives, who have become almost part of their environment, why do they move? They are not like working people who move from job to job, leave a job in Toronto because they have a job in Vancouver. Do they move from this area to another rundown area on their own? Why do they move?

There are about 450 transfers each year referred to here in the brief. Does the move from one part of the city to another help those children or does it make them worse? You have mentioned that here, so I thought I would pursue it. You mention that it is a nagging problem.

Mr. Sinclair: Could I speak to the last part of your question? I think the fact that the children move so often has a very negative effect on their education and on our ability to help the children. Quite often you will have a group of children where we have just set up a situation for them to be helped by various agencies as well as by the school, and the next day they will be gone.

Senator McGrand: Would the change of environment do them no good, the fact that they move out of a static environment here to another part of the city where the environment be a little different?

Mr. Sinclair: I am thinking of the number of times they move rather than a particular move.

Senator McGrand: Why is it that they move?

Mrs. Feldbrill: In most instances they move, and I am quoting something that somebody said to me, "I move from one dump to another."

Senator McGrand: But why do they move?

Mrs. Feldbrill: Well, sometimes their house is demolished and they have to move. Sometimes they may live in a house where the doors don't hang properly, and they move out to something that is a little bit better. They find after a few months of living in a particular place there is something wrong with it and so they move on to another spot. And so it goes. Or they get moved out into the Ontario housing complexes. Some of them are away out, a hundred miles from nowhere. There they feel lost. They are not aware of the community around them. The familiar spots are gone and they are unhappy and they move again. And so the story goes.

There is no feeling of belonging anywhere because there are so few of their needs that are met. They feel their existence in that community is temporary. They feel, "Why should I stay here forever? I am just suffering." So they look for greener fields. However, these greener fields are not available to them.

The Chairman: They have nothing to escape to.

Mrs. Feldbrill: That's right, Mr. Chairman. It is unbelievable, some of the housing conditions, simply unbelievable.

The Chairman: Do you think that our society has the technology but we fail along the way, and we are therefore as a result in the state we find ourselves today?

Mr. Quinn: Right.

Mrs. Feldbrill: Yes, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Not only in Canada but around the world.

Mr. Quinn: Yes.

Mrs. Feldbrill: Sometimes where there is running water it runs so that they cannot control it. Often there is no hot water. And there is really no cooking stove often. It is unbelievable sometimes the conditions in which people live and this is why they move.

Mr. Quinn: I was just going to add one little point about this business of mobility, that we made a study here. The one bit of firm evidence that we were able to establish was that there was a direct relationship between the number of moves that a child makes in the course of a year and his achievement in school.

Senator McGrand: It drops with the more moves?

Mr. Quinn: Right. The more moves they make the poorer they do in school.

Senator McGrand: You see businessmen making good moves or poor moves, depending on their ability to make a good judgment I imagine these people, for the most part, are weak on business decisions. Perhaps they are always searching for something better. You know the story of the dog that dropped the bone to grab at the one that looked better. Is that the sort of thing it is?

Mr. Quinn: That is possible.

Senator McGrand: That is why I would like to see a study of some of these people. Although I am not too strong on some of these textbook definitions, at the same time I would like to see a clinical examination made of a number of people who have been on welfare for a number of years and find out what they were like when they were in their teens and what they are like now in their middle age.

Mr. Quinn: We know by history, don't we, since the beginning of man, that poverty promotes poverty, perpetuates poverty. We know this. We also know that mankind up until now, any place in the world that I know of anyway, has not cured poverty. So we do know some things about it. I think that in our society you have to say that the dollar bill is one of the most significant things. Money is what enables us to do things.

Now, of course, to get money you have to have talent, you have to have ability, you have to have skills. But if you have that money you have power. And so I am saying

really that—and I am thinking of older people here—if in fact you can put them in a situation where they can participate in this kind of society, our money society, and where you can make some kind of contribution to get it, how you get this person that we are talking about involved.

The Chairman: Isn't it a fact also that the lack of money remains with certain poverty-level families generation after generation?

Mr. Quinn: That's right. You see, my father saw education as the means whereby his children would be able to make it because he had to go to work when he was, what, ten years old. You know, he was an Irish immigrant. And so he really wanted to see his children have a chance at this thing that made it possible to participate.

Senator McGrand: I think the philosophy was that, "I want my children to earn their living easier than I am earning mine". They told me that so often.

Mr. Quinn: There was a lot of that. And richly, not just easier, but richly. As it turns out, I think I work harder than my father did.

The Chairman: Senator Pearson, please.

Senator Pearson: First I want to say that the tour of this school was an eye-opener to me. I have never seen anything like it. The children are in cheerful surroundings. There is all sorts of colour to draw their attention and to entertain them, which is something different than the ordinary little academic schools they go to where they sit in rows and the teacher thumps them on the head if they move around or talk too much. This has certainly been an eye-opener to me.

The first question I would like to put is: At what stage do they go into or advance to regular academic education? That is, do they stay in Grade VII or Grade VIII? Or when do they arrive at the stage of going into straight academic studying?

Miss Sigurjonsson: That is what they are doing as they are moving around the classroom; they are reading, spelling, learning all the time. The process of learning is taking place.

Mr. Quinn: I brought along a model, and I am sorry it is not finished, but this is a conceptual model to enable a child to develop, to enable him to mature and to grow.

You see, what we are really saying, I think, is, and you correct me if I am wrong, Miss Sigurjonson, what we are saying is that the child is the curriculum, and all of these other things that we have been talking about all these years, like reading, writing, arithmetic and so on, are merely vehicles to enable him to become a participant in society. And society is people. We have to learn how to deal with people. So the child is at the centre of this model that we have. And we use the community's skills, reading, writing, numbers, and so on, really as vehicles for him to get so he can deal with other people in groups and singly.

That is why you get this feeling of warmth, and I am delighted to hear you say that you got that feeling coming in from outside because this is what we are striving for. We think we have it. If we have that we think these other things will happen.

As Miss Sigurjonsson says, we are doing these things right now. We hope we will do it much more easily with this type of environment.

The Chairman: How about when they go home, what happens there?

Miss Sigurjonsson: They go home and play mathematics games and measuring games. That is fun; that is great.

The Chairman: It is much better than the old system certainly.

Senator Pearson: You start to involve the parents in this. You have no report cards at the end of the month, so you involve the parents and get them here to talk over with them the individual pupils. This is quite an effort on your part, isn't it, to have a talk every month—or is it twice a year or something like that?

Mr. Sinclair: Twice a year.

Senator Pearson: Twice a year you have to talk to the parents about the children. How do you promote these children? Individually, or by classes or groups or how?

Mr. Sinclair: In a very general way the children are placed in classrooms by age rather than achievement.

Senator Pearson: And they move along?

Mr. Sinclair: Yes.

Senator Pearson: What about those who are a little slower in learning than others, who

are not up to the qualifications of the others in the group?

Mr. Sinclair: I think one of the teachers could answer that more adequately than I.

Miss Draper: Each child is taken on with the idea that it is not a matter of most of the children moving on and one or two or three not keeping up. Each child is either grouped with others approximately at his level or, if that is not possible, they are taught individually in order to bring them along at their own age. So in Grade III you might have some reading at Grade I level, some at Grade II, some at Grade III and even some at Grade IV. It is no easy job. That is why we need small classrooms in order to do it.

The Chairman: You teach at their own ability?

Miss Draper: Yes.

Senator Pearson: You improve the children here in school. They are learning a little all the time. Do they take this home to their own parents? You say they come here with very poor vocabularies. You say they just do not know how to talk English or French or whatever it is. Do the children take this home, and do the parents become involved with the children and learn a little themselves from the children?

Miss Draper: Sir, there are many parents here. I wonder if we could ask a question like that of them?

The Chairman: We will do that in a few minutes. We will have an open discussion.

Senator Pearson: Another thing I would like to know, you say you involve the parents and also industry. How do you involve industry in the community? In your brief you state that as one of the recommendations here.

Mr. Quinn: How do you do it?

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Mr. Quinn: Well, I guess we do not really know how to do it, but I think there are some signs. For instance we have an advisory vocational committee that sits on the board of education whose concern it is really to involve industry, especially in relation to the technical and vocational schools. But it could be that we could work through this avenue. It is there. Nobody has done it as yet.

I am thinking in terms of a work study kind of thing for older boys and girls where money is a pretty pressing problem and where maybe you have just got to have some money to continue at school. I can see it as making industry a partner of the school for part of the time, for part of the day or part of the year, from a fairly early age on.

How do you do it I don't know but I think you just have to start working at it. You have to start, I think, interesting industry. I think lots of times industry would be interested. I think we could work it out.

Senator Pearson: You could work it out possibly with certain pupils that industry might be interested in as future employees.

Mr. Quinn: That's right.

Senator Pearson: And they might become interested in that way.

Mr. Quinn: And where they would learn also about the world of work.

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Mr. Quinn: And all of the great possibilities that are out there. With my own children, and I think I know quite a bit about the world of work, when they ask me, "What am I going to take, what course am I going to take in university?" I then find out how little I really know about the world of work. It is expanding at such a rapid rate I find it very difficult to keep track of it. If I am not reading and communicating and talking, looking, I am going to have a pretty narrow view of what is out there.

Senator Pearson: Some of these service clubs that the young business executives are in could do the job very nicely, coming down here to the school and giving you a little help with that sort of thing.

Mr. Quinn: Yes.

Senator Pearson: Thank you.

Mr. Quinn: And they do.

Mrs. Laski: That is with the older children, the junior high anyway.

The Chairman: Senator Sparrow, please.

Senator Sparrow: You mention in the brief, and I do not know the page now, the matter of 30 students to a teacher. Were you talking about a teacher-student ratio?

Mr. Sinclair: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: How does that compare with the regular school system?

Mr. Quinn: In the City of Toronto I think it is 32.5.

Senator Sparrow: 32.5?

Mr. Laughlin: That is in a regular school as opposed to 30 in an inner city school. This is really not a student-teacher ratio. There are a couple of concepts in connection with this term. If you are thinking of the number of children to one teacher in one class, it is 30 in the inner city and 32.5 in other schools.

Senator Sparrow: This is per class per teacher?

Mr. Laughlin: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: What does that break down into as a ratio of the total?

Mr. Laughlin: Well, it is much lower than that. That is, the ratio takes into consideration the other people in the building.

Senator Sparrow: Yes, the library and so on?

Mr. Laughlin: The library, guidance and such. We haven't an exact figure on that, have we?

Mr. Quinn: No. I don't know it anyway.

Mr. Laughlin: In the senior public school we take it as 19.5 but there are certain additions, so I could not give you an exact figure. It would be much lower than that 30 however. In the senior public schools it would probably be in the lower 20s, maybe about 21. In the junior school it could be 25, when we take into consideration the guidance personnel and so on.

I was noticing that Mrs. Laski said the children were interested in physical education as one of their chief interests. The reason that we have a full-time physical education instructor in this school, I think, is to give top leadership to boys and girls in that respect, and it is very successful. Do you agree?

Mrs. Laski: I think that is a subject that most kids like, so overall that is the most popular one. Of course, some other kids might particularly like mathematics rather than physical education.

The Chairman: I'm sorry, would you make your answers short because I find that time is fleeing.

Senator Sparrow: Could I then ask these couple of quick questions? Mr. Sinclair, what physical area do these children come from, what districts? Do some come farther than they would normally when going to a school?

Mr. Sinclair: No, it is just this immediate area.

Senator Sparrow: How do you actually determine which children will come to this school and which ones will not?

Mr. Sinclair: The school board sets boundaries for each school.

Senator Sparrow: Are the students in this school then all from the lower socio-economic level, or are there some from affluent families?

Mr. Sinclair: I would say that there are very, very few affluent families in this area.

Mr. Quinn: It is a neighbourhood school, the concept of the neighbourhood school being that there are boundaries, say, at Yonge Street, that run east to, well, whatever it is, and go to the north and south as well. In other words, all the children in this area come to this school.

Senator Sparrow: They all have to come to this school?

Mr. Sinclair: Yes, supporters of the public school system.

Mrs. Feldbrill: Unless they go to the separate school system.

Senator Sparrow: In other words, the parents have no choice unless they are in the separate school system?

Mrs. Feldbrill: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: Is there a stigma attached to a school such as this, as to the children and as to the parents?

Mr. Quinn: Well, we would hope not. On the contrary, we would hope that the kind of feedback that I am getting is general. I am getting this mainly from the north end of the city: "Why can't we have what the downtown schools have?" This is one way of assessing the feeling. It may not be a very good one. However, it does give you some kind of feedback.

Really, from our point of view, we think that all children are entitled to it since there are probably varying needs, but in terms of providing priorities we have to put our money here first where the needs are greater, more pressing.

Now, as to the matter of stigma, this is a problem. We have to be very careful how we talk about this.

Senator Sparrow: Yes.

Mr. Quinn: We cannot defeat ourselves. If we believe that this concept of having an individual is the most important thing, then we cannot destroy the concept of the people who have to live here by talking about it in such a way that it does destroy them. So, as I say, we have to be very careful. We are talking about "compensating", but then we also assume that all human beings to some extent must have some compensatory kinds of procedures available to them. It is greater here. Does that answer you?

Senator Sparrow: Yes, I think that answers it very well.

Mr. Sinclair: In your remarks, did you suggest that you were not familiar or there had been no studies done on the causes of poverty in the school area? You really cannot tell us today the causes of this poverty in your area, can you?

Mr. Sinclair: This area, which is in the Don planning area, which is a larger area, has been studied intensively and there is a report out this week from our Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, but I don't know if that studies the causes so much as what it looks like.

Senator Sparrow: Mr. Chairman, could we get a copy of that report then? Could we make a note to have a copy of that report for our files?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: And I would like personally to have a copy of it, if I could.

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: Might I ask one further question: Is there a breakdown of the parents in the school, and you must have done this, like the number that are one-parent families, a breakdown as to whether the family head is a man or woman? Is there a higher proportion of one-parent families?

Mr. Sinclair: I could not answer that with any degree of accuracy.

The Chairman: Mrs. Feldbrill?

Mr. Feldbrill: No, I don't think we have made a study of that. Also there are common-law relationships too, so that we are not too clear, you know, as to whether they are single-parent families or two-parent families. And situations change.

Senator Sparrow: You don't then how many of the working poor would constitute your parents?

Mrs. Feldbrill: The question of whether a family is on welfare or not, when the child comes to register, never gets raised, so this is not something that we are specifically looking for when a child comes to the school. I mean, this kind of information is not something we specifically look for.

Senator Sparrow: The question was asked as to backgrounds by Senator McGrand, as to the background of the parent as such. I think in the education system it is rather important to know what the problems in the family itself are, and I would think you could be much more helpful to a student if you knew it was a one-parent family. Is that correct?

Mrs. Feldbrill: Well, we do know it if there are problems that present themselves at school and we start exploring some of the reasons for the problems. These things become evident. And we know about the total school population in very general terms. We don't know it in any very specific sense. Do you know what I mean?

Senator Sparrow: Yes.

Mrs. Feldbrill: When a child has problems in school we do go into this because we feel they are factors that could contribute to the disturbance but we do not seek it out at the point of the admission of the child to the school.

Senator Sparrow: Thank you, Mrs. Feldbrill. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Well, ladies and gentlemen of the panel, our time has gone over by almost 15 minutes. We have to be out of here at 15 minutes to four. We have only a few minutes left. We would like to hear from at least one parent. Does any parent have any questions he or she wishes to ask? We do not usually allow that, but in this case we will.

Does any parent wish to make any suggestion?

Mrs. W. Silman, Central Neighbourhood House, Toronto: Would you like to hear from me, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Well, perhaps not a long speech, but certainly any questions you may have.

Mrs. Silman: I am from Central Neighbourhood House, and I am the director of the nursing school. In the nursing school we take children from $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 6 years of age. We will try to have an assessment made of them but we do not call them retarded until after they are assessed, so that any child is welcome.

Most of the families involved are on mother's allowance and welfare. They are subsidized by the city and so there is no fee. However, when the working poor ask what the fee is, it is on a sliding scale. And if they have to pay 25c. or more, it is almost out of their reach.

We find there is the problem of the provision of services, that there is no place for them to go after we get them evaluated.

We also prepare them to come to this school, Duke of York, and we co-operate with Duke of York. The exodus that went out of here a short time ago was not because the meeting was boring; it was because the staff was needed in respect of a certain program.

As to the other question of this chap who was asking about the ratio of working parents and single parents, in the nursery school we find 50 per cent single parents and 50 per cent parents who are common law, married or have various living situations.

There was another question that another gentleman to his left, Senator McGrand, asked about enabling programs. We would like to have "day care" for parents so they could learn home-making or housekeeping before you give them increased money to spend because when they get the increased money to spend it is going to be taken off them by the landlords who are giving them poor housing to start with. Immediately their rents would go up. That would be the first thing. If they could learn to keep house and get moved into something nice and enjoy the amenities of better housing, better homes, it is possible that they will move out to another district.

By homemaking I also mean their social relationships with their neighbours. They

have to learn these things. And if we could have such programs it would take care of a great deal of the problem. The thing we find in the Neighbourhood House is that we are poor, we are in poverty too, and we are working in poverty; we need more assistance in this area to help from the infants' level up to school age, in order to help the school.

Senator Sparrow: Is there a parent-teacher association here?

Mr. Sinclair: As such, no.

Senator Sparrow: Have the parents or teachers tried to form one and could not do it?

Mr. Sinclair: We tried one. It was successful for a short period of time and then deteriorated over a two-year period and now it has been disbanded. It seems an inappropriate kind of organization for this school. We are looking for other types, though.

The Chairman: Mr. Sinclair, members of the group, we are most grateful for the way you have answered the questions. We know you are a highly skilled group of people who deal with education in a most dedicated fashion.

I would like to say too, like my colleague Senator Pearson, that, having visited your school, we are still somewhat shocked by what we have seen. We are taking away with us a good memory and we are going to talk about it as we travel around.

Thank you very kindly, Mr. Sinclair, for your courtesy. We certainly believe that you have built a foundation on which there can be built up something that will be a great asset to future generations. We have the new generation coming along now, and we are trying to solve its problems. The committee does not feel the problems will be solved overnight, of course. It is a big undertaking. We realize that there are an awful lot of people involved in it now, more than we ever thought we would find. We are finding a lot of things are lacking, as was mentioned, such as trying to unify everybody in the various groups. I think we have found in Toronto here you have about 40 groups that are trying to do something to help, and everybody is working on their own without knowing what the neighbour is doing.

We have found out long ago that there was varying cooperation between the municipal, provincial and federal levels of government,

but much more is needed. A great deal of pioneering is going to be required with people sitting around tables and trying to find out what they can do. We would like to find out of course as much as we can in order to alleviate the problems in this field.

Without saying anything more, we certainly appreciate your brief. I might say that I was a teacher for 15 years, so I have some interest in this field of education. And, of course, we have the old school inspector over here, Senator Carter.

Now, members of the panel, our next brief is one presented by Mr. Jim Steele, Advisory Chairman of the Neighbourhood Youth Corps. You have all had a chance to read Mr. Steele's brief, which is not very long, although very interesting. We are not going to ask Mr. Steele to read it again to us, but only to comment upon it and then we will have a question period after.

I see that we are a little behind time but I think we can still make it up. We will be having another brief after this.

So, Mr. Steele, the floor is yours.

Mr. J. Steele, Advisory Chairman, Neighbourhood Youth Corps: Mr. Chairman, senators, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to talk basically about why we are in existence, what we are, and what we try to do. As suggested, the Neighbourhood Youth Corps is a group of young people from the downtown area and all across Metro who are involved in community service, in making the community a better place in which to live and to grow up.

We have no fancy philosophies. We just go out and do what we can, what we feel should be done for and with people. Over the years we have provided places to study for youngsters, tutorial assistance, mainly on a one to two or three or four basis, where the youngster becomes a friend of the volunteer rather than the volunteer becoming an authoritarian figure, dealing mainly with school work.

The youngster and the volunteer are free, with parental permission, to leave the premises to do things together. I think this is very important with a youngster coming from a large family grouping, the opportunity to get his personal type of attention is just not there. A mother or father can only spread their love so far.

The only thing we ask of a volunteer is that they do not come along with the lady

bountiful approach, "Here I am; you are lucky I am here". It must be on a personal friendship basis. Respect of the dignity of the youngsters and the finding of common interests must occur.

Our other programs for the youngsters include writing in the summer to many weeklies and dailies throughout Ontario, getting the children out of the city onto farms and with families in small towns. It includes weekly happenings for children, we say on a personal basis, but last Saturday, through the co-operation of Famous Players, we took 3,000 children to see Hansel and Gretel at the Imperial Theatre, which is an experience for youngsters, and in these days and times experiences such as that are not all that prevalent.

We have a corner lot program in the summer where we go out into the community. You might compare it to detached worker's type of approach where we go onto streets, help clear vacant lots, set up programs with the children, and the parents participate in these programs.

We are concerned with starting to work with the youngsters at age 6 or 7 and continuing to work with them until they are in senior high school and then we say to these young persons, "We would like you to become involved in your own community". Otherwise, if it is just a case of coming in, whether we are using local people or out-of-the-community people, doing something and then dropping the youngster at any time during the year, I think we're doing more harm than good.

Our programs operate 52 weeks of the year for the needs of people, particularly youngsters, are just as crucial in the summer when schools are closed and many programs such as ours cease to operate as during any other period of the year, and in some instances are more crucial.

We feel that in working with youngsters at an early age and continuing to work with them and building their self-esteem, motivating them, respecting their dignity, that something does happen to the youngsters. And there is an increase—I don't think it is attributable to us, but we are part of it—there is a small increase in youngsters continuing further in high school. X number are going on to university. This is not as important really as the fact the youngster feels important and does become a person able to cope with the problems he is going to meet every day.

In turn we also are involved with old people, senior citizens. In this area I would like to say that the rapport that goes on between the TEE (Toronto Educational Encouragement) and the older person is something we had missed the boat on previously. It is marvellous; it is fantastic. My generation sitting in the middle says that the old are senile and the young do not know what they are doing. We are sort of like God; we know all he answers. However, we find that the old, in coming in contact with the young, are very understanding, and the young certainly bring into the lives of the old people a release.

If you are in an old persons' home, or in rooms, there is a sense of loneliness. In an old persons' home you can only hear repeated the same stories over and over again so many times before those stories almost drive you up the wall, and this is one of the reasons that we bring the young and old together.

The young will have social evenings for the old. They will give up Christmas Day at home and have a dinner for the old. They will have sessions where they will go in and clean walls, stoves, etc., with the old, and do things that an older person cannot do when he is all crippled up with arthritis and things of that nature.

It might be compared, anything we do, probably with the old-fashioned type of barn-raising, where the community joined in to help one another. There is none of this fancy business of "If we do not have the funds we don't do it". There is none of this, "If we don't have the wonderful facility, nothing is going to happen." You can make things happen in a barn if you have the right type of people. And it is my feeling that we have too much of the studying of problems of people, that we are involved in sophisticated answers, giving sophisticated answers to questions, but we cannot do anything because the funds are not available.

Each five to ten years sees a group of youngsters not necessarily go down the drain but become harder to reach if we do not start to work with them when they are younger and continue to work with them. Whether it is youngsters in the community, or our own families, if we have a gap, if our youngsters are cute as kittens and we play with them and do things with them when they are young and then at the awkward age of 11 to 15, when you cannot give them little kiddy things to do and you cannot give them all the

liberties you give the 17s and 18s, we forget the youngsters in this age bracket, and all of a sudden, whether it is our own families or others in the community, we try to rectify this at 17 or 18. But that gap of 11 to 15 has destroyed many youngsters, whether in affluent areas or in low income areas.

You must have a continuity of belonging, awareness of the fact that you are capable of doing something, with no gaps along the line. You must not be pushed aside. When you push somebody aside, whether it is an adult or a child, there is a sense of not belonging and this sometimes does damage that just cannot be repaired in latter years.

I respect what is happening in the Duke of York school, but I do wish that more schools had this type of program. I also believe that there are people in our downtown community and all across Metro who do want to become involved in making the community this better place, but my generation again, the middle one, whether it be a principal of a school or a clergyman, they do not seem to want to give the younger persons a chance to become involved.

As I have mentioned in the brief, for a summer program we recruited 55 young people at a dance to carry on that summer program. And yet if you write a letter sometimes you will get a reply back from a person my age saying, "Our young people are so busy carrying food for the poor, their energy is expended. We cannot ask them to do any more." All they are doing is going to the cupboard and dragging a few tins out or mother gives them \$3 and they whip down to the Dominion Store and buy a few goodies and give it all out at Christmas and the rest of the year things can go to the devil.

But if you give these young people an opportunity and talk to them, they do become involved. And we would have far less problems, I believe, with drugs and things of this nature if people felt that they could contribute something to the community and they were able to do this without road blocks being put in their way.

I do feel that government programs will not be a reality for a great number of years. I feel quite strongly, and the committee may not agree with me, that a guaranteed income is not the answer to everybody's problems. Most certainly all of the Eatons or E. P. Taylors, etc., are not coping, although they have oodles of money. I know instances where additional money would represent the differ-

ence between just existing and living. I know other cases where it is a little bit deeper than that.

I think we have to become very personal in any dealings we have with people. I think while we are waiting for the government to take action the private sector must become concerned, must do something—people for themselves and people for other people.

If we do not do this I don't know what will happen. You would have to be a mystic to say whether we would have the same problems as the United States has. I really do not know. However, I do feel that the private sector, be it churches, service clubs, individuals, must take a stand and must go out into the community and become involved because I have lived in a downtown area for eight years and I look upon the kids and the old people and parents as my friends, and when you see them being destroyed by inaction, when you see really lovable youngsters that you have started to work with in Grade II or Grade III and who have drifted away for some reason or another from a program and you meet the same youngster at age 12 or 13 and they really have problems, you just feel that if something had been done, if there were enough people—let's forget the money, which is nice, let's forget the wonderful buildings—but if there were enough people to create this sense of belonging I think their problems would be a lot less.

I do not like the use of the word "class", and I only heard it once today—middle class, lower class and upper class. I would rather use the word "income" as it applies to upper, middle or lower incomes, because people I consider first class people often have the most meagre of incomes. They are concerned with their neighbours, they are active in the community, and to me they are first-class people.

In addition, I think we have to get away from terms such as this lovely one, "culture deprivation", which I think is for the birds because some of the more interested children of 6, 7 or 8 come from the lower income groups. They are interested in things. They do a lot of things for themselves. In some instances they have even assumed what might be considered almost adult responsibilities. However, as time goes on this is destroyed because we do not do enough for and with them.

There is a lot to be done and time is not on the side of our communities. It just isn't. We

just cannot say that we will get a study done and wait for it to be implemented. If you will remember, six or seven years ago we spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on the Committee on Youth, Syl Apps' Committee on Youth, and there was a lovely big book made up, and nothing has happened since that time. Maybe the odd thing was implemented, but nothing really substantial.

Let us get away from the studies. The studies are for the birds. You can study what you are doing, evaluate what you are doing, but you have to do something. I think this is the important factor, to be doing something.

I spent two summers in Harlem in New York City doing volunteer work for short periods, and the one thing those people hated was to be studied by the Carnegie Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the John F. Kennedy Foundation, any foundation that would hand out the dollars. People—and I don't like the expression "go down the drain"—but this is what happens while we are doing studies.

If somebody gets fat and I use the word "fat cat", if somebody gets a lovely amount of money for doing a study and knows darn well there isn't much change of implementing it, I would rather see somebody spend a lot of money implementing something and a smaller amount of dollars evaluating or studying it. I think that is the more practical way of approaching problems in this field.

I do hope, Senator Fournier, that, as a result of your committee's deliberations and your travels, one of your recommendations will be for pilot projects—I don't like the expression "pilot projects"—for things to happen immediately. Let us not make a lot of recommendations that are nice and should be done but that will take time, and which austerity and all the rest will be used as an excuse to delay. My friends, the children, are being destroyed. I don't like it. I don't assume their parents like it. We have to act now.

The Chairman: Well, isn't it a pilot project that we have in this school here? Would you call it a pilot project?

Mr. Steele: I would say a pilot project that has been going on for four to five years and there not, to my knowledge, having been the full implementing of everything that is here in another school is carrying on a pilot project just too long. I am not knocking the board. We do not give them the money to do it. But how long is a pilot project? I mean, I

can multiply the number of kids in this school 20 or 30 times by kids who need the same thing but are not getting it.

As to a pilot project, is there a limitation to it? Or should the word be "showplace" rather than "pilot project"? I mean, the board wants to start other programs but the money is not there.

Senator McGrand: The pilot project has served its purpose as a demonstration though, hasn't it?

Mr. Steele: But if nothing comes out of it, if the money is not there at the municipal level, then I would bypass the constitution and all the rest of it and say it should come from the provincial, federal or private sources for a project such as this.

Meanwhile if a pilot project such as this goes on for six years we have lost a group of kids on the other side of Parliament Street. In all fairness to the board, we should give them the money for the same thing here to be done in other schools.

The Chairman: We talk about pilot project here, and it had been going on for 6 or 7 kind you are not exactly sure of what you are doing. This is why you are calling it a pilot project. You do this today because if it does not work you find something else tomorrow, and you build it up because if you have the knowledge and the know-how to start tomorrow morning on a course which you knew was right, you know, as we all do, that there are not too many people in that category. I think we build these things up on a trial and error basis, which I might agree with you sometimes takes too long.

Mr. Steele: The point that has not been brought out today is that the Duke of York project is based on the Higher Horizon school in New York City, which I visited at the same time as Bill Quinn, who originated this project here, and it had been going on for 6 or 7 years before that.

The Chairman: Is that in the Harlem section?

Mr. Steele: That is in the Harlem section in the Bronx. Therefore the pilot project, if you want to take the American version of it, which has been transplanted here to a degree, has been round ten years, not four.

The Chairman: Thank you. I am satisfied. Before we start with questions we have

another gentleman, a Mr. Samuel Rotenberg who had had something to do with this area from whom we would like to hear.

Mr. Samuel Rotenberg: There were a number of things mentioned there by the senator. There is the question of why do people move? That was a question that was asked by Senator McGrand. I am in an area where the area is being rebuilt. I would like to take the senator privately into a few of these homes to show him just how these people live and why they move.

In some cases there are four or five families living in one house and using the same kitchen with a two-burner plug-in stove, and they have four or five kids. Or, in other cases, you will have a couple living in one room. They will have their fridge, their stove, everything in that one room.

And, you know, when two or three people get drunk on the weekends there is a brawl and the next morning either you get out or you have no place to live. So again you have to move many a time.

Then there are other things. I had a problem myself last month where a couple with five kids were in a house which they had paid rent for and they called the owner, saying the furnace had broken down. The fire department said it was a fire hazard and the building inspector said they could not stay there unless the furnace was repaired. When they called the owner, the owner said, "I don't own this house, I have sold it to somebody else." That somebody else said, "No, I haven't bought that house". So these people were jammed in between. The end result was that nobody wanted to fix the furnace.

Senator McGrand: Who collected the rent?

Mr. Rotenberg: Well, one person did collect the rent. They had already paid the rent to this person. And these people were left in the middle. And, in addition to all that trouble, two of the kids had the mumps. These kids had to get out and go with two friends of the family. And there were three kids left at home with the family. The final result was that they ended up in a basement with five kids.

Now, the last thing that happened to this family was that one of the aldermen said I was going to try to get the money back from the original person that got it. However, they had to get out of there and they are now living in three rooms and paying \$200

month rent. Remember, that is \$200 for a family that is on welfare. They do not get \$200 on welfare. Where they are going to get the money to pay the balance of their living expenses I don't know.

I can show you another example where the people are paying \$110 for rent. She and her son, who is a 12-year-old, get \$33 for two weeks to live on.

I saw the headline today where you are better off living on welfare than to work in some jobs. I suppose it depends on what the job is and where you work and what you do.

I also see kids, and I showed this to Mr. Steele, and he has seen it at the store, where some of the children for six months or maybe some even all year long, have no shoes but wear running shoes to school or high boots and take them off when they get into school, which was very shocking to me that the teachers or the principal did not take an interest in seeing that there was a kid like that who appeared day after day, week after week, in high boots or running shoes and did not have proper shoes, that they did not report it to the school board or some sort of authority that could give these kids shoes so they were equal to all the other kids.

You were asking what happens, how come these people are in this position, and the senator wanted to know about what happens when these families become unemployed. If you get out of a job and you stay six months on welfare, it is a very tough proposition to go back to work—if you are not working all that time. In my mind I thought many times it would be better and cheaper and in the best interests of the people if we kept them working rather than keep giving them welfare.

These people do not really want welfare because it just destroys them. Their independence and respect go down. They are on welfare so long that even their children come so used to it that every two weeks they just get their money, they live that way, and while the first week they live after a fashion, the second week they have nothing. The first week they live, the second week they starve.

Now, is that what we want for ourselves in this generation? Is this what we expect? I don't think we need an investigation of it. I can show you hundreds of them. I see them every day. I talk to them. I live with them. I deal with them. The first week they are

happy; the second week they are sorry. They have to buy from day to day. Every day they have to come in and say, "Well, this is a little too much. This just makes up enough for the meal." That is basically the problem.

I was really surprised to hear the senator asking, "How come that these people are that way? Did we ever have a study to find out why they are that way?"

Senator McGrand: You need not be surprised that I asked the question because I want to know more about where they are seeking jobs, where they move to try to find the promised land. There are hundreds of reasons, and I suppose you have only mentioned about half a dozen of them yet. If you stayed on another hour, you might elaborate on perhaps another seven or eight.

Mr. Rotenberg: Yes. I will say this, that in reality certain times you just don't get a job and certain times you might get one. If you have a family of five or six children and you get from welfare \$90-odd for two weeks, say, \$180 a month, plus maybe rent and doctors' care, and other things, and you are offered a job which is going to pay less than you are getting on welfare, you cannot afford to take that job.

It would be better for the government to give this family an additional amount of money and say, "Okay, you take this job. We will supply the balance of your needs and keep you on welfare for the rest of your life."

The Chairman: I might say that you are not the first to mention that. You have mentioned it now also.

Mr. Rotenberg: Yes, that was in my mind. And we also have to take a look at why these kids go on sniffing glue and travelling on the streets and stealing and robbing and snatching purses from women, beating up old people to get money. Why? They live in two or three rooms in the sort of conditions I have described. They have no home life. They have no recreation centres. They have nowhere to spend their time. They live on the streets and they live by their wits. This is why we have this situation at the present time.

We have a gang of young people on my street that lives that way day after day because they have no homes where they can live in their houses, spend the evenings with their parents or bring in a friend. How can you bring in a friend when there is no room for him?

Then some of them say, "Do you see any difference in the kids when they come in the morning and they go to school here or they go to the school on Winchester Street?" What difference does it make? A kid is a kid. A child is a child. And a teacher gives his best, no matter whether he teaches in Winchester or Duke of York. I know the teachers and I know all that is possible is being done.

The difference is this, that when a child cannot go to sleep until 12 o'clock at night and a drunk wakes him up in the middle of the night and he goes to school the next morning, how much can he accomplish at school under those conditions?

The Chairman: And often with no breakfast.

Mr. Rotenberg: Yes. That is the question. I sell food in the store and I sell doughnuts at a price that maybe a lot of people don't know, at five cents, which is a hard thing to do nowadays, and I know a lot of these children have their breakfast and their dinner too in my store for a total of ten cents for the day. They don't have their meals at home because there is nothing to eat there. They get a dime, maybe from picking up five empty bottles, and that is how they get the money to eat.

That is the whole sickness that lies in our society. We have to go to the bottom of things and find out why these kids grow up this way. We try to build jails—not try to build them, we have to build jails to put them in—but if we could start at the very beginning and see how these children are brought up and how they live, investigate their home lives, see that they have better educations and better home lives, recreation centres and see that people are taught better so that their language is better, for instance,—what kind of language can a child living on the streets use? I am ashamed to say what they use. Sometimes I go out and say, "You are not allowed to say what you are saying. Is this the only word you know?" They say, "Oh, I'm sorry, I'm sorry", but that is what is happening.

Senator McGrand: With reference to some of what you have said, I understand that there are some 60,000 people a year coming into Toronto from outside. Do many of these migrants come from the maritime provinces?

Mr. Rotenberg: That's right.

Senator McGrand: Of course many of these people move here looking for the promised land.

Mr. Rotenberg: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Have you any experience with my fellow maritimers moving up here?

Mr. Rotenberg: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Could you just give me some idea what their condition is? Have any of them improved very much?

Mr. Rotenberg: I don't think that the maritimer is the one particularly. I have them come from all over Canada and live in my area. I don't think they are any different from anybody else. They are the same people. They look for a job and they are very eager to work as long as you can find them a place to live or they find a place themselves. They take care of their obligations. They pay their bills. They dress well. They have cars if they have the money. They live normal lives like anybody else. I don't think you can distinguish between somebody coming from the maritimes and somebody coming from Quebec. It is all the same type of person.

Senator McGrand: What I would like to know is, they are on welfare, but are they improving their condition? You have no data on that?

Mr. Rotenberg: I doubt whether anybody on welfare can improve themselves. All I can say is that in certain provinces they do not get as much welfare as they do in Toronto. They are taken care of here a little better.

My objection to a lot of these helping hands, to a lot of the organizations we have, is that we have too many organizations, that we should have a more central organization which could help instead of having some 15 or 20 such organizations. Everybody likes to help.

The Chairman: Perhaps it is even as high as 40.

Mr. Rotenberg: Forty, yes, whatever it is. I think we could get these people who mean well and are really interested in helping, that if we can get them together like we have in the case of the United Appeal fund, that we can get these people together and organize one big organization.

The Chairman: May I say something in that respect? I think we have found out that you have a great number of organizations in Toronto, in Montreal, and other large centres

Now, perhaps I would like to ask you this question: Are you of the opinion that this last five years people have become more conscious of poverty?

Ten years ago I don't think anybody paid too much attention to poverty, but in the last five years, and I think this is the result of the 40 organizations you have in Toronto, people have become more conscious of poverty. They are trying to do something. They have not solved the problem by a long shot because, as you say, you have a group of people working on this side of the street, and another group working on the other side of the street not knowing one another, but all working in the same direction. Do you agree with that?

Mr. Rotenberg: I don't think so. I don't think, knowing the factors, that there is more poverty now or that they know more about it because there are more organizations. I would feel that help might be granted to people who need help in a better fashion if there were one or two organizations or central bodies with branches in certain areas.

I want to tell you that most things happen usually at night. You will see a lot of kids doing things at night. A lot of fires happen at night. People need help late at night. I have people come into the store at 11 o'clock and say, "My kids have not eaten all day. I would like some bread or milk." I say, "Look, it is 11 or 12 o'clock at night. You had all day. Why didn't you tell me at 10 o'clock even that your children had not eaten all day? Why did you wait until 12 o'clock?" Then they so often say, "Oh, I thought maybe I could get it from the neighbours," or they say, "My husband, I thought, would come home and bring something with him"; there are all kinds of excuses.

If we could get a central organization which could operate in divisions and which could have central management we could get this help much sooner and better than having all these organizations taking up so much time and energy and money, because it costs money today to operate them. There is no doubt about that. Then the government would know just exactly where the money goes and for what purpose it is put instead of having, say, 40 organizations, as you say, and each one trying to do a bit.

The Chairman: Then you recommend that the various varieties of organizations should be combined into a few?

Mr. Rotenberg: If we could do that, yes.

The Chairman: Senator Carter?

Senator Carter: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I am very interested in the gap which Mr. Steele referred to when he spoke of the gap between ages 11 and 14 or 15. I am a little puzzled about this because he says we do not become concerned about this group any more until they get up around 17. It seems to be that the gap goes all the way from 11 to 14 to 17.

Mr. Steele: Well, yes, I agree, senator, that that does not look too good there as it is, but the point is that at about the late 15s or 16s we have a little concern because the child is leaving school. There is a possibility of the child approaching where he is no longer treated as a juvenile, which I think is at age 16. But the real concern becomes evident at age 17 because he is getting to the stage where he should either be in school or some place where he is getting training for full employment.

So really the harm comes in at 11 to 15, and we become a little concerned at 15 to 16, and we really become concerned at age 17 because the kid has very little education and he is not coping, and perhaps he has only a job that may last a few weeks. As I say, our real concern comes at 17.

Years ago, at 11 to 14 you could involve them in Scouts or Cubs, things of that nature. Cubs and Scouts have changed. They are lacking in leadership; I mean in numbers of people to lead things. We have a gap there definitely.

Senator Carter: What I would like to know is what starts this gap at age 11? Why is this the specific age? What happens then when he gets to age 11, that everybody has been interested in him before and he is suddenly out in the cold? What happens? What causes that?

Mr. Steele: Up to age 11, depending probably upon his religion, if he is Protestant, probably he is going to Sunday School, or his mother can make sure he goes, and then he starts to drop out of Sunday School, which means he drops out of Sunday School activities such as Tyro, or whatever it may be, and programs are not geared for that age group. We just run a lot of drop-in centres for the older teens. At the other end we have shows and programs that entertain the 11s and under. However, we as yet, outside of a few pre-teen dances, do not really have programs that are geared to the minds of these chil-

dren, their interests. We just do not have them.

Senator Carter: Well, the school-leaving age is 16, is it not?

Mr. Steele: Legally it is 16. You can get a work permit, I believe, at age 14 or 15.

Senator Carter: But they don't get family allowances or anything like that if they drop out before age 16?

Mr. Steele: Just going to school is not the whole thing. You see, a child at Grade III or IV can be streamed into vocational, which may be the limit of his learning ability, but, in any event, in many cases if the child got proper exposure there is a learning capacity greater than that.

Senator Carter: What I am trying to get at, this gap you are talking about from age 11 to 15, these children are still attending school, they are not out of school, they are in school, but there is no program for them in school; is that the situation? Are there no Boy Scouts or Girl Guides or other organizations, nothing to take up the slack at all while they are in school?

Mr. Steele: For some unknown reason, Girl Guides or Boy Scouts are not attractive in sufficient numbers for this group. No, they are not. It is a good program but that is the situation.

Senator Carter: I just mentioned those two, you know, as examples. Surely if children are in school from ages 11 to 14 or 15 the school program itself offers something. They have football games, hockey games, various teams. There must be some sort of organized activity for that age group. Why isn't there, if there isn't?

Mr. Steele: Well, in most organized activities—in hockey, due to lack of space—the situation is that they are geared to the best 15 players representing an area and the other 45 perhaps to 100 or 200, in that category, there are very few house leagues, there are very few things that are geared to just the fact of you being there. In athletics it is geared to the best few representing the community.

Senator Carter: Well, don't they even have track and field teams and other activities of that sort?

Mr. Steele: I am glad you mentioned that. I was going to anyway. I put an application in

to John Munro. We have a track on the other side of the Don in Riverdale Park. National Health and Welfare are concerned with the Canadian National Hockey team. I asked for a grant in order that we could ask Broadview YMCA for the use of their shower facilities and suggested we could start a track and field club for the youngsters of this area inasmuch as the track is there, making the suggestion that we would ask Metro, with his support, for the use of the Island Lagoons for a paddle, canoe, and rowing club for the kids in this area, for a general health program for the area, for a number of six items all told. We got a reply that it was being looked into. That was two years ago. So it is still being looked into.

There is a facility over on the other side of the Don River. You say track and field. There is an island where we could have kids from this area, the same as the kids from Mississauga or Balmy Beach Canoe Club, we could have this sort of thing going for the kids here. You write to the people who you feel should have the money and certainly the ones who are talking about fitness under National Health and Welfare but you cannot get anywhere with them. The facilities are there but we cannot get the backing to open up this sort of thing.

The Chairman: Mr. Rotenberg would like to say something, Senator Carter.

Mr. Rotenberg: I think when Mr. Pearson was the Prime Minister he allowed a certain amount of money for sports and recreation, and I think it was Richard, the hockey player, that was on that committee. After the Canadians lost the championship in Europe there was a lot of money suddenly available. We were supposed to build up sports in Canada. However, over that period of time, nothing has come of it. They had a few meetings and then after that we never heard of it again.

When I said we have no recreation centre in our area, that is literally true. You see, in our area where there are some 45,000 people in one ward—just a single ward, which is something like having a city somewhere in New Brunswick or Nova Scotia or perhaps almost anywhere else, but this is just a ward of the City of Toronto—in that whole area there is nowhere where the kids can go in the evening.

A boy or girl of 11 years of age feels he or she is growing up. They want to go out and see the world. And this is where we should

come in. We should be ready for them, ready to get them into these recreational centres giving them facilities where they can be indoors rather than outdoors in the street getting into trouble. That is what I was trying to bring out before. We need these facilities so we can guide them into proper ways of living and becoming better citizens with proper educations and living as we would like them to live, growing up as we would like them to grow up. That is our problem, that we spend a lot of money on a lot of things, but we do not spend it on the right things in the right places.

Senator Sparrow: A supplementary question. Is the witness aware that for sports and recreation under the Department of National Health there was last year a budget of two and a half million dollars when he said there were no funds available?

Mr. Rotenberg: Well, we didn't get it.

Senator Sparrow: You are talking about at an individual community level, and I am not just sure that the program was set up on that basis. It was to encourage and promote national sports through national associations as such. They have not, of course, got down to individual community projects as such. I am not too sure I know how the federal government could relate down to the community level, but if there is a program that should be undertaken perhaps that type of suggestion should be made.

Mr. Steele: Well, we made a specific request for a track and field club with the track being there, and suggested also we would go to Metro and ask for the use for our children of a canoe club, and these were specific natural facilities in one instance, and man-made in the other, and the reply was most indefinite. You could wait until my children had children before you got an answer.

I feel also that the federal government at times is guilty of not intentionally but unintentionally hiding where certain monies are available. For instance, would you yourself think, if you wanted a community worker, that this money is available in the Department of Citizenship? When I heard it I was amazed that the money for a community worker was available in the Department of Citizenship. I would have thought it might have been a department of urban affairs, you know, something related to the community.

If the area around here wanted a community worker, how many people would know where to go, where to apply? How many people know that the Ontario Athletic Commission still is operative and if we formed a league in this community right here we could get balls and bats there? We do not make public enough where the funds are available and what the ground rules of the game are.

Senator Sparrow: I would certainly agree with that, Mr. Chairman, that this happens on a municipal, a provincial, and certainly a federal level. Most of the community contributions though are made through the provincial level, from the federal to the provincial and then to the municipal level; that is really the chain. However, I appreciate what you are saying, that almost without exception no government body puts out catalogues saying that this money is available and the budget is so much and that is should be used. I certainly appreciate that.

The Chairman: Senator Carter, did you have anything else? We have to start thinking of the time.

Senator Sparrow: Yes, I am afraid I took too much time. That was a rather long supplementary.

The Chairman: Yes, time is running on quickly.

Senator Carter: The school finally has no organized activities for this particular group, I take it. What about the church? Does the church have nothing either?

Mr. Steele: I would say that churches have certain activities. One of the questions at the moment within the downtown area is the possibility of churches selling their buildings as such and the congregations joining together. We don't have to mention denominations, but it is a case of, say, one church taking congregations from two other churches and then selling the property and making the money available.

I feel that Earls Court United, for instance, serving a predominantly Catholic Italian community, has now become a community centre working with Italian mothers, and religion is out the door and it is forgotten. I think that is what could happen in our community, that rather than the church selling these buildings which are already standing, let's make use of them for the community. If there are not enough people going on Sundays let's make

sure they are used. Let us not sell them. I am afraid of this selling business because you never replace buildings, the same as you never replace parklands. Theoretically you do, but in fact you really don't.

Senator Carter: I will ask one more question. Time is flying. If there is time at the end I will come back to something else again. On page 7 down at the bottom paragraph you talk about public attitudes, Mr. Steele. You mention that the press, radio, television, etc., can play an important role if they give recognition to the potential which lies dormant in a depressed area. What have you in mind there? Would you spell it out in a little more detail so we will know what you have in mind?

Mr. Steele: Well, the news media has not lost its effectiveness. It is probably the strongest thing going, whether it is the television or the press. I feel that organs such as the Toronto Star, the Globe and the Tely perform their function quite well in telling of the things that are wrong in the community. This is a role they should play.

I would like to see the papers also spell out in their way those things that can be corrected quite easily, to spell out where the area of responsibility lies. I would like to see the papers do researches and make recommendations and recognize that there are, as I say, certain talents lying dormant in a community, that they spell this out and put pressure on the general public and on governments for action.

Rather than just saying that this is all wrong, the papers have an important role to play where they can make specific recommendations. I think this is a role that the papers and the television and radio can play.

Senator Carter: Don't you think they should do more than this? There used to be a time when papers were crusaders and you had crusading editors.

Mr. Steele: I agree with that. I probably should have come right out and said that. I think the papers and the television should do it on a continuous basis rather than on a one-shot basis, saying, "This is all wrong". I mean, you people are in town this week, and next week and the week after I would like to see the press carrying on with certain things that have been observed and heard and crusade, as you say. Yes, definitely; they are not doing enough of that.

Senator Carter: This situation you talk about, this gap where you have a large number of youngsters 11 to 15 that have nowhere to go and nobody wants to help them, surely that is a matter of public concern to everybody. I would think that every paper would become a crusader.

Mr. Steele: I think the papers could very well crusade as to this 11 to 15 group, yes. I agree with you, senator, they should do that. It is just a case of so much happening in the world today, I guess.

Senator Carter: Have you any idea why they are not doing it? Is it just apathy, that they accept this? Or is it that they just don't care? Or what?

Mr. Steele: No, I think probably reporters, like everybody else, get so damned many assignments they cannot go into it. I would like to see the papers put on specialists, in this world of specialization, people who can work in this area and stick to it for a number of years, a team perhaps. They could really perform a function.

I mean, to take the reporter from one thing to another and switch him all over, he has so many things to do, just, for instance, as a clergyman has so many problems where he is a welfare man, he is concerned with religion and so many other things, and if there were a staff at the newspaper put on this for a year or two and who really did a crusade, I think they could do something, because I think they are all fair people. However, there are just so many different assignments it does not get done.

Senator Carter: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Senator Pearson.

Senator Pearson: You talk about a program of athletics and so on for the young people of 11, 12 or 15. Athletics is one item only in the development of the young people of this district. There are a great many other things that have to be looked into in order to take these young people off the streets besides athletics.

Mr. Steele: I would say that is right.

Senator Pearson: I agree with you when you say that the best are on the team and that is the end of it.

Mr. Steele: I think what happens too is that a lot of youngsters in the community have a

great interest in, say, music, whether it is folk music or other types of music, and maybe a kid wants to learn to play the piano, and the very awareness that this opportunity is not there does take place in the age area that we are talking about.

St. Christopher House, for instance, has, I think it is, a number of rooms off a big room where a child can go to learn to play an instrument. St. Christopher House, in my opinion, is one of the most progressive places in that regard.

Senator Pearson: It is not only music, there is statuary work, ceramics and all sorts of things, including painting and so on, a hundred and one different things.

Mr. Steele: Yes.

Senator Pearson: Everybody is interested in something.

Mr. Rotenberg: That's right, senator.

Mr. Steele: I agree.

Senator Pearson: You talk about the young people being taken out the farms. Do you know if anybody pursues this subject at all, taking young people out to the farm to spend a week or ten days or two weeks out on the farm?

Mr. Steele: We write to the weeklies and lallies, and the press and radio help to get people to transport them there and back. The kids will spend anywhere from a week to two weeks to even a month at a farm. This definitely has a good effect.

However, there is one thing I should tell you, we do find that they have to be about ages 7 or 8 to start with. We tried it with youngsters 5 and 6 and found that in the middle of the night we were going up and ringing the youngsters back. This is a good thing for them, to get into a farm atmosphere, but it has to commence at about age 7 or 8.

Senator Pearson: Another point, and this has to do with the senior citizens; there is a lonely group of people there; I don't know what you can do for them. They need a little entertainment. That is really all they need, feeling that they are connected with something.

Now I was in an old folks' home not too long ago and I saw some of these people just sitting there, sitting around in their wheelchairs in the hallways and in their rooms, and

there was nothing to do. They were just sitting there like lumps of plaster with no interest in the world. Those people need some entertainment. Of course there are a lot of old people that do not belong there, living in these old folks' homes.

Mr. Steele: The ones that are worst off are those living in rooms. I don't feel that everyone wants to be entertained. I mentioned somewhere in the brief about on the banks of the East River, the National Council of Jewish Women have a place in New York City, and I believe there are two or three other organizations, where older people who are still active can go and work for two or three hours, maybe putting buttons on cards, doing light assembly work under subsidized industry, and when those old people come out of that place they are sparkling. They may be dragging their legs a bit but there is meaning in their lives. I don't think we should put all old people into the category where we feed them and entertain them. There are some of them with a lot of drive.

Who carries your local churches? It is the senior citizens at the moment who are doing all the work to carry them. I think we have to look at senior citizens and find those that are still capable and interested in having meaning in their lives and give them light work to do, perhaps giving \$40 or \$50 a month for working a few hours a day, and that would mean the difference between living and existing for them.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand.

Senator McGrand: Yes, I have one question, Mr. Chairman, and the answer can be very short. Is poverty in Toronto increasing percentage-wise faster than the growth rate of Toronto? Or is it just more evident than it was before? My impression is that poverty is becoming worse. Is it growing as fast as the population?

Mr. Steele: Statistic-wise I could not answer you, but I would say that certainly with the increase cost of living, and if one is not with a strong union, with wages going up as quickly, that the number of people falling into your so-called theoretical poverty level—and I don't mean yours, but the economists' and the social workers'—I would say the number of people having difficulty getting by and having a few pleasures in life and meeting their needs is increasing.

Senator McGrand: That is including the working poor?

Mr. Steele: This is our big danger, the person earning \$70 to \$95 a week with a family who, when he sees the guy next door on welfare having everything paid for, debates whether he would not be better off on welfare himself. If they ever lose their dignity and go on welfare our economy could not stand it. Our whole society could not stand it. I think we have to be concerned with low incomes.

Senator McGrand: Then you would agree with me that poverty is a bigger problem now than it was ten years ago?

Mr. Steele: I would say yes, with the increased cost of living and the deterioration of housing. They say there are 18,000 people waiting for housing. I would say it would be much closer to something like 60,000.

Senator McGrand: Do you agree, Mr. Rotenberg?

Mr. Rotenberg: With the growth of the city, I don't think the poor have grown as fast, but it is just that the costs today are higher.

Senator Pearson: Do you include the working poor as well as the poverty people?

Mr. Rotenberg: It all depends on what you mean by working poor. I mean a man who works...

Senator Pearson: A man who cannot meet his needs and is still working.

Mr. Rotenberg: He is working and cannot catch up with the cost of living.

Senator Pearson: That group must be increasing.

Mr. Rotenberg: Well, you can see that yourself. If the prices keep going up, this will happen, that that group will go up in numbers. If you were in a good position yesterday, you will not be in as good a position tomorrow. If your rent previously was \$80 a month and the landlord comes along and says that it is now \$120, you are going to be out \$40. You may be poor overnight.

Then again, you may be in business and what you could buy for \$100 yesterday, you might not be able to buy tomorrow. It is up to the government mostly, I think, and to the people in charge to see that those things do not happen, that it does not get out of control,

that profits and the cost of living do not get out of line, that wages and the cost of living do not go one above the other. That is the biggest problem today. If the cost of living goes way out of line there are going to be a lot of poor.

Senator Pearson: All right, thank you.

The Chairman: Well, Mr. Steele and Mr. Rotenberg, you have made very well-planned briefs and presentations. I want to be fair. I think, Mr. Steele, in your brief you have not presented anything new to us. I hope you understand what I mean. I mean, we have heard this on several occasions. We have been travelling around, you know, and, after all, the briefs on poverty are all about the same.

Mr. Steele: Yes.

The Chairman: But it is good for us to find out that the problems you have in Toronto are quite related to the problems in Montreal and that those problems too relate to the ones in Halifax and will probably relate to the ones in many other cities. That is what we are trying to find out. We did not expect to come to Toronto and find a new world here. We are just finding that it is part of the existing world. I am not being critical certainly of your brief.

I think we have a lot of respect and admiration for the work you are doing, especially with this group of young people which needs so much attention today. This young generation today for some reason finds it very difficult to face life as we faced it 30 years ago. I think perhaps it was much easier in our day for various reasons. In our day you did not need as much education and you did not need as much effort to find a place in the world where you could fit in. Today it is not like that at all. You have to almost become a specialist. You need to be educated in more than one way. Jobs are getting more and more scarce every day. There is mechanization. You have the technical development that is going on also. So the young people today are really facing a problem. I think this is one of the problems with our young generation they don't know what is awaiting them.

As I say, we certainly appreciate what you are doing. I am sure I speak for the committee when I say that the committee would like to see more people with your devotion to youth, which seems so essential today, the need to try to do something. We do thank you very sincerely, and I am sure your brief will be given careful consideration.

Mr. Steele: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: We have received another brief which was not expected. I am no too sure whether I should accept this brief because the briefs are usually sent to the committee's office in Ottawa where they are looked over. However, we do not want to deprive this young man of the opportunity of presenting a brief. We have not read it. All I say, together with the rest of the committee, was the cover when it was received. I think we can take a few minutes and ask the man who presented the brief, Mr. Allan Waldron, to give us a brief explanation. I would like to tell my honourable friend that his time will be rather short. I know he cannot explain everything that is in the brief but he can give us an outline. And I would give him the assurance that copies will be made, if we are given the authority to do that, and every member of this committee will get a copy within a few days and will read it. At a later date possibly we will be back to Toronto and you will have a chance to present your brief officially. At this moment we do not want to deny you the privilege of telling us in your own words something about it. Do you agree, gentlemen?

Some Senators: Yes.

Senator Carter: We are receiving the brief now.

Senator McGrand: Yes, he may wish to explain something.

Mr. Allan Waldron: You are aware, sir, I am just an individual.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Waldron: I am the product of...

Mr. Chairman: You will have to speak louder, I am afraid. Would you come up and speak more loudly so that we can record what you are going to tell us.

Mr. Waldron: You must be aware that I am just an individual. I am the product of three generations that have spent most of their early childhood in orphanages. I am well aware of the problems of the poor. You understand?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Waldron: Not a language awareness but a realization of awareness. As I said, I am just an individual. I do not represent any

group. I am the fourth generation of individuals who have spent time in orphanages because of poverty, so-called. Now, it does seem to me that poverty is a numerical, mathematical ratio difference between top and bottom. I don't care two hoots about all these make-work projects for agencies and school teachers.

I have outlined in my brief the very genesis of our Christian nation, our ability to call ourselves sapiens. And we never get this from these people. We give money to the educators to tell us that homo sapiens emerged from the trees. They also are homo communicatis. They are just concerned with joining their chorus, their school of thought, and they just stay with their local choreography.

I have given the genesis of nepotism. Psychiatry and the very diversity of our natures assures an infinite make-work project for all these welfare agencies, and psychiatry will not give the genesis of these.

In the poverty of the poor we are surrounded by these psychiatric high priests who use this word "hedo" and will not tell us what they mean. I have outlined in the brief that there would be no epilepsy among our species, there would be no schizophrenia, and we would not be such versatile communicators. It does seem to me someone should begin at the beginning.

Now, if we begin at the beginning, I have outlined also very simple ideas of rational participation. This brief has been submitted to the Bishop here in Toronto. There is a great deal of Masonic copying going on. And you have not a free press either in the communist or capitalist worlds, and they will not print it. You understand? They themselves do not want it. They seem to be afraid of the social implications of making everyone aware that there are mongrels, bits and pieces, mongrelization of mongrels.

It could only have been through social selection that we became the most egotistical species on earth. And if the psychiatrists are going to insist that all our behaviour is determined by sex we want them to tell us if we are the sexiest species under the sun how come we never had a genesis.

You understand I have outlined a way for His Holiness the Pope to intercede in his presence in a nuclear confrontation. In spite of the opinion given by psychiatry and the rest of the educators this present nuclear confrontation is not just an erection of phallic sym-

bolts. Psychiatry is the newest and youngest member of the social sciences and of course has yet to mature from its adolescent preoccupation with sex, with everyone being homo communicatis joining in the chorus played by the psychiatric high priests. The very diversity of our nature assures an infinite make-work project for the psychiatrists and the religious witch-doctors.

The Chairman: You have two more minutes, sir.

Mr. Waldron: I have outlined a way for His Holiness to intercede and I have given both suggestions to the United Nations. I do think it should be communicated. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Waldron. Your brief will be given all the attention it deserves by the committee and will be taken to our headquarters.

Gentlemen, we thank you very kindly for your participation.

The committee adjourned.

Toronto, Tuesday, March 10, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Subcommittee "B") met this day at 8.00 p.m. at Flemington Road Public School, North York, Toronto.

Senator Arthur M. Pearson in the Chair.

The Chairman: The purpose of this meeting, ladies and gentlemen, is to hear a presentation called Community on the Move, Lawrence Heights. The spokesman will be Mr. Dale Shuttleworth, who is a social service consultant. There are also present here others who are working in this community and who are prepared to give short statements of about four minutes in duration.

As I understand it, Lawrence Heights is unique in Canada in its approach to community problems and services. Your professionals are collaborating in a team approach in their work towards education, recreation, family counselling, library services and day care, etc. The citizens in this community formulate their interest and priorities in the above fields and give active leadership in the implementation of these programs. Through the citizen involvement and new approaches to the organization of services it is the goal of the community to have an effective approach for the prevention of social problems.

Your professional service teams will be making a formal presentation this evening to this committee, the Committee of the Senate on Poverty. This will be followed by a meeting of the citizens, a program that may include a formal brief with informal discussion with you community people.

Without further ado I am going to ask Mr. Shuttleworth to make a short statement, and then we shall hear from various ones who are now in the audience.

Mr. Dale Shuttleworth: Thank you, Senator Pearson. When we were thinking about how we were going to do this presentation tonight, we had thought about the idea of having some sort of joint brief where everyone could put something into it and we would have someone read it. However, one of the things we try to stress, I believe, in this community, is the participation of everyone, and we felt it might be a different way of approaching it if many people had a chance to say a little bit as opposed to one person saying a lot.

So I would ask those people who are part of the program tonight to please limit what they have to say to a very brief outline of their role within the community and also some of the considerations and ideas that have come from their involvement here.

I have been in this community now for almost five years and I have been working in Flemington Road Public School. One of the things I became very much aware of from the time I came here was that this was a community where people had been very often relocated from an inner city or downtown section of Toronto and had been set up in a housing unit in a suburban-type location.

The problems that exist in many suburban areas, and I am sure we are all aware of the idea of the sameness, the lack of resources, and the lack of facilities, were certainly the case here. But the problem was intensified because these are people who do not have the financial resources very often to compensate for these deficiencies.

The school, I think, very soon became aware of these considerations and concerns because it literally grew with the community. When the first housing units were opened, this school was opened in a much smaller sense than what we have now. As the community grew over a period of four or five years the school grew. I think the challenges to education in this particular school with relationship to the community have been very

great because we had a lot of understanding to do. We were like new residents. But as time has gone by and we have progressed I think that we have decided that our only opportunity to have a meaningful educational experience is if we do relate to the community and the resources that are here because we really feel, I believe, that this is a partnership.

One of the ways we have attempted to do this is by reaching out into the community. I have been involved in this. One of the central points has been the idea of the community school, which still is a growing concept, but in the beginning it had to do with the extension of the school day and the involvement or the forming of the partnership of services and people in interested groups in the community.

What you saw downstairs as you came in—and I hope you were not too much inconvenienced by it—is a teen drop-in centre. It has been operating now for over three years. I think it is an example of where a number of different agencies and groups have formed a partnership and pulled together to make things happen. There are over 50 such activities going on in this school in the extended day program. In addition, we have been able to form an inter-disciplinary team where agencies are able to look at problems related to children and related to the family.

From my standpoint this has been a very productive experience for me, mainly because I have seen things happen.

The main group that governs this or directs this is something called the community school advisory council. Many of the people or, in fact, just about all of the people who will be among the representatives tonight, sit on the community school advisory council. It has been in operation now for about three and a half years.

I would like to introduce now the principal of Flemington Road Public School, Mr. Jim Montgomerie.

Mr. J. Montgomerie: I think the reason I was picked first is because that is the principal's lot. When I thought I had four minutes to say something to the senators I thought of all kinds of things, like teacher-pupil ratios and teacher education and all that type of thing. I rejected them all because you are going to hear those a thousand times.

I think what we are trying to do in this school, as part of our contribution to the com-

munity, is that we are trying to say: What are the basic needs of the children in this community?

I think, because of the way they are and the image they have, our school can only do one thing first, and this is what the teachers try to do in this school, and that is love the children. We give them love. We try to make them know that as a human being every human being deserves loves; and we have had remarkable success in making these kids feel they are people of value and worth. And I think in our work in the community that is what we try to do, to make these people see that they are people of value and worth. Every time we make them see that, they prove they are.

There are lots of aspects to education, the effectives, the cognatives, the motor skills, and so on. In a community like this we find that the effectives and the motor skills are the two things that are lacking most because of the kind of environment they live in. Without those two no learning takes place. Since all learning has an emotional base, you must have self-worth before you can do it. You must have a positive identity. Before you can teach these kids anything you must make them have that positive identity.

So, my two cents worth would be that most of the ills of the world can be cured if we start loving these kids and making them feel like people of worth. That is all the school has tried to do.

The Chairman: Very good. We will hear from each one who is going to say something, and then the senators will ask questions later on.

Senator Carter: Could we go down the list, Mr. Chairman, if they are here, in the order in which they are on the paper?

The Chairman: Well, we can call each one out and if they are not here we will go on.

Mr. Shuttleworth, would you care to do that?

Mr. Shuttleworth: Mr. Harry Zwerber, Lawrence Heights Family and Child Service.

Mr. Harry Zwerber: I feel somewhat cheated because before this meeting started I was told I had ten minutes, and now I find I have only four. So I will have to cut down what I am saying.

Senator Carter: Now you know how a politician feels.

Mr. Zwerber: Oh yes, but I hear they have all sorts of ways that they can extend things.

The Lawrence Heights family and child service is a pilot project in its third year of operation. It is sponsored by the Family Service Association and the Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto. Both agencies share the operating costs of this unit. As the co-ordinator I am responsible for the operation of the unit to an administrative committee which is made up of administrative people from both agencies.

At the time of its inception about three years ago, the two parent agencies directed us to institute a preventative program in order to prevent family breakdowns and child neglect in the community of Lawrence Heights.

In terms of direct service to families in need of assistance our goals were directed to helping families to function in a manner providing the maximum amount of stability and protection to their children. In terms of preventing the need for service we saw our role as something to develop a more self-sustaining community in which, hopefully, much of the services delivered to the community would be delivered by the community itself. Further, we envisaged both areas of service, that is direct service and community development, as being very much interconnected and interrelated.

The only professional-like structure in the community that involved any degree at all of community participation in the operation of its program was the community school program of Flemington Road Public School directed by Dale Shuttleworth, which he has already spoken about. In addition, from the point of view of delivering a good case-work service to the community, we saw the school as having the major resources to provide a direct service to children and ourselves as having the major resource to provide the direct service to families.

These were the factors that provided the rationale for our unit, seeing the formation of a working partnership with the school as being crucial; and a good deal of energy has been expended in the formation of this partnership and the building of a coordinated service in conjunction with the community school.

Apart from the direct service to clients offered through our case-work service through the groups for adults and children encompassing about 120 active case families, the most important service we can offer is that of supporting the community to help to make it a more pleasant and healthy place to live. Much of this is done through time allocated to the community development component discussed earlier.

We have attempted to use our staff as resource people, enablers and supporters in order to help indigenous groups and indigenous leadership. Most of the really meaningful work done in this community has been done by indigenous people supported as much as possible by professionals who have committed themselves to working in the community in response to express needs.

We have active membership in the community advisory council and with the board of education and school personnel have an interdisciplinary team, which Dale also mentioned, which meets monthly to discuss cases of mutual concern to both organizations and to plan for the best focus of service possible.

As an agency we always have to look at the service we are providing to evaluate, to change, to plan, to respond to needs expressed by clients and by the community. When our service becomes a static and unresponsive one then we are no longer serving the community.

What we have learned here in the working together of agencies in an integrated service and in a specific community has been incorporated into the manner in which many other agencies are now working together across this community and elsewhere.

That is the statement I would like to make about the service we are providing in this community, Mr. Chairman.

On behalf of our staff, I would also like to say something else in regard to this meeting here tonight. Nothing which I could say about poverty would add one whit to what you have already heard so far in your travellings around this country.

The poor are the disadvantaged—in every way possible from before birth until after death. We perpetuate the cycle through our welfare legislation and practices.

I am sure that every one of you gentlemen are honorable people who have distinct personal interests in the area of poverty—otherwise you wouldn't be here today. Unfortu-

nately, you are also a very ineffectual tool. Even the Minister of Health and Welfare shrugs off the efforts of your committee. Some people in this community, some agency people as well as residents, really are not interested in bringing forth any worthwhile material since they feel it is like dropping it into a bottomless pit. You'll never even hear it hit bottom.

I personally question the waste of hundreds of thousands of dollars on this committee. It would be so much better used in direct service to help the poor. One thing a committee like this does do is to drain off a lot of frustrated people's energies in formulating and presenting briefs. This has the overall effect of keeping the lid on.

The economic aspects of poverty are very obvious—just look around this community. The psychological aspects of poverty are not as easily measurable. We don't understand its long range effects well enough. On a person-to-person level one certainly feels the lack of self-worth, the destruction of the dignity of a man who has to beg for a subsistence allowance from the welfare department to feed his family; the desertion of husbands who know their families are better off on welfare—not only financially but also that they will have available to them the needed medical benefits so necessary to people on a low level of subsistence.

The attitudes of those professionals and semi-professionals offering services to the poor leave a great deal to be desired—often they are despicable—especially those involved in the direct process of offering financial assistance, such as welfare departments, W.C.B., etc. People need support to be able to grasp the power to bring about change. We are generally loath to do that as it threatens us immensely.

We must listen to the recipient of service. He can define his problem much better than we can. We must then gear our service to that, if it is requested. No more of this nonsense of consulting the poor or token poor who usually aren't the poor or the recipients of service but the "graduates", those who have made it) on boards of agencies.

Now is the time for change. I challenge the government of Canada to supply needed capital, no strings attached, to community activist groups, people who want to tackle their problems their way. If it means criticizing the government, allow them this right. Only

then will we be able to begin to build a true just society where all men will have at least equal opportunity.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Our next speaker was to have been Miss Bunny Keeley, who, because of a death in the family, has had to leave the city. However, a resident of the community, Mrs. Barbara Aoki, will present her contribution to this evening's program.

Mrs. Barbara Aoki: This was written by Bunny, so I am just going to read what she has here:

"My responsibilities in Lawrence Heights are:

"1. To meet with community groups in order to determine what they are doing and how they see my role and my usefulness to them.

"2. To assist community groups to initiate and operate activities of their choice by acting as a resource person and an enabler.

"3. To operate programs where a need appears to exist and where the group served cannot undertake leadership themselves, such as children's activities.

"4. To make available department facilities to community groups who wish to use them; in this case, the community centre and the pool.

"5. To coordinate my programs and to share my concerns and ideas with other agencies working in this area.

"Problems that potentially can occur: Because there are so many agencies, organizations and outside individuals at work in this community, there is always the danger of fragmentation in goals, overlap and duplication in practice. In Lawrence Heights the 'workers' have so far been able to communicate freely with one another so that activities complement rather than conflict with each other. The fact that much dialogue occurs on an informal and frequent basis between workers is most favourable. A step which is starting to be taken but which still must be encouraged is joint planning of courses of action based on concerns and ideas already shared.

"A danger in having strong agency cooperation is that people in a community may leave the action up to the workers, either because they feel their ideas are worthless in comparison or because they like having the onus left on the workers to serve the

community. Fortunately, Lawrence Heights has several residents who are willing to state their ideas, to plan and operate activities. However, I feel reluctance still exists in many, and more encouragement to participate is necessary.

"Another potential problem is that of funding activities that may spring up. Most community people cannot give real financial support to worthwhile services and activities. The resident agencies, who by and large operate on rather strict budgets, tend not to be able to contribute assistance either. Thus, provision of necessary services relies heavily on grants, such as an Ontario Housing grant, or on outside groups who donate money. Even these grants are restricted and so services such as the day care centre continually must make do as best they can."

The Chairman: Mr. Shuttleworth, will you convey this committee's sympathies to Bunny Keeley for her loss in the family?

Mr. Shuttleworth: Yes. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would now like to introduce Mrs. Marilyn Gross from the National Council of Jewish Women.

Mrs. Marilyn Gross: The National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, founded in 1893, with a membership of 5,500 women, organized in 13 sections across Canada, is dedicated in the spirit of their faith to furthering human welfare locally, nationally and internationally, through affiliation with the International Council of Jewish Women. Through an integrated program of education, service and social action it provides essential services and stimulates and educates the individual and community towards their responsibility for participation through personal commitment.

The Toronto section of the Council of Jewish Women has been involved in the work of the community here for the past six years. We started off in September, 1964, with the establishment of a junior kindergarten program, which was housed at the council house, and accommodated the children of the Lawrence Heights community. It was felt at that time that the children in this area were ill-prepared for starting school because of a lack of stimulus and a lack of communication and so forth that made it more difficult for them to enter the school programs.

The goals of the pre-school program were to broaden the conceptual world of the child, to enrich their verbal vocabulary, and to

teach them skills which they were unable to acquire in their home environment. This was a very successful program, and three years after it was started it was taken over by the North York board of education and it now has its own junior kindergarten program.

As an ancillary program, the National Council has a mothers' program which was designed to improve the zest for living and to foster a sense of personal worth. That was also a very successful program and I think did a great deal to improve family life for the residents of this community.

The National Council of Toronto is also involved in helping out in the community school. As part of the community centre curriculum we have volunteers working as student aids in Grades I, II and III in the school. These volunteers help out and take small groups of children so that their teachers can carry on with other work.

We also have many volunteers in the after-school program working in interest groups and as resource personnel, and they work with the community volunteers and eventually the community volunteers take over as resource personnel.

Two years ago we were asked to help out in setting up a day care centre. This was not to be the usual type of day care centre for working mothers, but more of a therapeutic type of day care centre to help out the mothers who for reasons of health had to be away from home for the day or part of the day. This was started as a pilot project and was very successful and is now an ongoing project.

Just in closing I would like to add that it has been a great learning experience for all of our volunteers and a most satisfying one to have been a part in, hopefully, making the community a better place to work and live.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. Would those who are going to speak from now on speak a bit louder because the reporter cannot quite hear and get it down on the record.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next I would like to introduce Mr. Len Chester of the Bathurst Heights Public Library.

Mr. Len Chester: I will see if I can speak up for the reporter. I should mention that the Bathurst Heights Library of course is a branch, a divisional branch of the North York

Public Library. Our main role here has been, with the community school, to provide a cultural opening for the people in the area. We have done this through story hours mostly for the grade school children in the early grades, Grade IV and down, actually, given here in the community school after school gets out.

During the summer, when the school is closed, we decided that we would take the library to the people in the community, and we did this with the help of the National Council of Jewish Women who provided us with volunteers and with library staff to go around to the various courtyards in this community and tell stories in the heat of the summer. It was certainly a great testimony to the courage of the volunteers going around in the heat of July to relieve the doldrums in which the children found themselves. During the last year, in a very approximate sort of way, we totaled up that some 2,000 students altogether were involved in the eight or nine weeks that we were out one day a week.

In response to a request put to the advisory council for better library service in the area, we brought in the bookmobile which had a stop here one time and which had been discontinued. We brought it in and staffed it with staff from the local branch whom the people in the community might know if they came over to the other branch. It is located within a mile of the project.

With the assistance of Mr. Delegram from Seneca we have withdrawn books that are deposited in what we call courtyard libraries in charge of residents of the community and they can loan them out and take them back as they see fit.

In addition we have tried to set up special programs as the opportunity arose. We recently, as an example, brought in a hockey player from the Toronto Maple Leafs along with their hockey highlights film and showed to some 200 younger children in the auditorium here in the school.

I think that sums up fairly briefly just what we have been doing, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next I would like to introduce the Reverend Isaac Tiessen of the Mennonite Brethren Church.

Reverend Isaac Tiessen: The Toronto Mennonite Brethren Church was built here some twenty years ago to serve this community. The

children of this community are coming to Sunday School, a few adults are coming, and we have a vacation Bible school in the summer. However, this was only once a week and we were concerned about more everyday needs. To meet these needs in a practical way the winter before last we rented the church basement to the kindergarten of the school.

We were glad to do that but then we felt this was sort of an isolated service and we wanted to meet the needs of the whole person. We inquired from some of the agencies of the school here, family services, the children's aid and last year we started it, and this is the second year that we have had a couple of volunteers here working in the area, working for the children's aid and family services, working for the community school. I think we will hear more about that. They have a hot lunch project. The ladies are helping out in the day care centre and also in the community school in the after-school activities.

We are able to give some small material aid in individual cases that are being pointed out to us where no other aid is available. We have also been able to support the co-op of this community in a small way.

We appreciate very much the cooperation of the social agencies and the people here. We have learned to know a lot of wonderful people in this community and it has been a joy for us to work together with them, and we hope that for the future we can continue to work to keep our program. We want to improve it and increase it even, to get even more workers here to help us. And we are quite flexible. We want to find out how we can help in the best way.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce Mrs. Janet Gilmour of the Lawrence Heights Family and Child Service Volunteers.

Mrs. Janet Gilmour: It is about eight years ago that this service was provided. It was started through the foresight of a couple of social workers who felt that there was help needed and could they call on the community.

What has happened since the beginning is some of the volunteers have gone, under the guidance of the social workers, into homes to help with visiting. From this has come the idea of a store for secondhand clothing. This need was realized and it is in this area where most of the volunteers are used because the

store is open several times during the week, some afternoons and some evenings, and it takes a lot of people to staff it.

As the years have gone by local residents have helped in this capacity and it has been very rewarding. It has given them confidence. We hate to lose them but we find that through gaining this confidence they have gone on to work in surrounding areas.

From the store where people came in to buy the clothing, some of it perhaps did not fit as well as it might, and we were asked if we could help them alter their dresses and so on, and therefore a sewing group was needed. From the sewing group we found that local residents again were helped because they soon learned the techniques and helped each other.

While they were at the sewing group on Wednesday afternoons it was necessary that their children be looked after in a nursery. There again when there were perhaps as many as 30 children it took several volunteers.

When there is the need for a nutrition group this is something that can be provided because we have a home economist who gives her time in that way.

I think that is all I have to say at this time. I too would like to say it is a very rewarding experience and a great deal of joy to work in this community.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mrs. Gilmour.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like next to introduce Mr. Saul Cowan, the trustee of North York Board of Education in this area.

Mr. Saul Cowan: You have all heard the principal of the school express his formula for success in this area, and that is to love the children. I will subscribe to that as being basic, but I think that next to that in a successful community program, such as I believe this to be, is the cooperation of the school board.

I think without the recognition by the school board that it has a special role to play, and is willing to play it, it is impossible to carry out many of the wonderful things you have heard and will hear. From the director right down to the people who are looking after the school there is almost constant dedication seven days a week.

One of the first things our school board did many years ago, in recognizing its responsibility right from the formation of this community, was the selection of a teacher-counselor in the person of Dale Shuttleworth. His work is not only doing case work in the school, and he has a very heavy case load, but he has a very heavy job to do in in-service training; he has a preventative job to do with regard to young people and delinquency, and most especially he has a particular job to do as liaison with the general community. And he is also a full-time member of our staff. Not only the job itself but the nature of the person is crucial. We are very happy to say Mr. Shuttleworth has been able to fulfil all these roles with wonderful success.

The school board recognizes its responsibilities in a number of different ways. In this school we have a smaller teacher-pupil ratio than we have in most other schools. It is considered an inner city school. We have two vice-principals. We have volunteers in this school, as has already been described to you. Not many schools have that. We have special dental assistants and a public health nurse on a full-time basis with the co-operation of the Borough, which is very useful and important.

We have a special pre-school program which was started on a volunteer basis but which is now part and parcel of the school program and paid for by Metro.

We have developed, in liaison with all the other agencies you have heard tonight, the community school program which goes on after the school day and which I think is one of the shining lights of our complete educational system in North York.

Above all I must pay tribute—and this is essential—to the nature of the staff we have here. It must be a staff that wants a challenge and accepts a challenge and is not going to run away from difficulties. We have such staff. In great measure it is due to the kind of principal you choose, the kind of vice-principals you choose, the kind of people like Dale Shuttleworth we have, who will spend countless hours in in-service training preparing teachers for the difficulties they face. In this and in many other ways the North York board of education has tried to meet its responsibilities to the community.

We feel that a small investment of money can bring tremendous results. It is tremendously frustrating for a few dollars here and there if you cannot carry through yet.

important fundamental projects of value. We think there is a tremendous role to be played in the arts, the development of music. I think there is tremendous deprivation in this field in a community such as this, and we are now bending our efforts to rectify that.

Above all I think if there is any third ingredient I would like to say it is the spirit of liaison which exists between all the agencies and the resources of this community working together through the basic resource, which is the school, its building and its facilities. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce now Father David Clarke of St. Philip's Anglican Church.

Father David Clarke: I would like to say amen to the things which Saul Cowan has just been saying and also, because I think this is a most remarkable setup, I would like to say that I am glad Harry Zwerver said the things he said and said them with such vigour because otherwise it seems to me that what you may hear mainly is nice people telling you how nice they are. I do think that there is an effect of a lot of people who are working in professional capacities which ultimately somehow is discouraging. How this operates I don't quite know, but I think there are some evidences that it still happens in spite of all the good intentions that they may have.

I was asked to say something about the role of the church in St. Philip's parish, which includes this community but it is not in this community. It is at least a mile from here. It was here before this community was built. I think that the first thing which struck us, and which has really been a feature of this community's self-awareness and of the full community's awareness, was that it had all the signs which in an affluent setting would be the signs of exclusiveness. No streets led into it and it is surrounded by a fence which puts it off. However, in fact this is of course a symbol of excludedness in this situation and therefore represents the fears of the community at the time when this project was first built.

I think that, as far as our parish was concerned, our main concern from a fairly early date was to try to provide some place in the neighbourhood where there was a kind of open door, where we were not principally interested in getting people into pews but

where we were interested in people and concerned about them. I think there has been a certain degree of friendship from outside this particular immediate project and our parish church.

We run a bus which brings children and others over to our services on Sunday mornings. Our church building is mainly used by community groups of one kind and another. Two of them come from this project. One of them is a group, which has been meeting for several years, of mothers who come over with their pre-school children and have a nursery for them downstairs and run their own program upstairs every Wednesday morning.

Another one is the community co-operative grocery store which was unable to find any accommodation within the project itself or anywhere else locally and which operates out of our basement in, unhappily, rather crowded conditions. But at least it is the kind of thing which we personally feel in our parish is most to be supported and encouraged because it is local initiative and it is the people doing something to meet the problems out of their own capacities.

I think the other thing which was really most striking to us was the separatedness of all the different people. First of all there were all the churches that descended on this community calling at all the doors and trying to find people for their churches—and we were included in that. I think the people here were pretty browned-off by that—and rightly so. But also, apart from that, there were all the agencies who were in some way trying to help or do things, all of whom worked from separate bases.

Some years ago the Planning Council of North York arranged for a whole series of discussions to look at the effects of this kind of thing that was happening. It did not come to any conclusions but following that Phil Delegram came here and took up the role of a new kind of social worker and produced a very useful survey. And while he was still here Dale Shuttleworth came and the school began a new approach to things, and that was the first time I think I ever really experienced co-operation.

I remember calling on one family where there were some problems and after the woman had mentioned three different other people who were talking to her about some aspects of the family life I asked her if I could call some of these people and ask them

about this, and she said, yes. One of the ones I called was Dale. He said, "Would you like to have a meeting?" I said, "That would be wonderful; is it possible?" As a result, eight of us met and all eight of us had been dealing with this one woman in isolation from one another. That was the sort of problem which existed. I don't know to what extent it still may exist but now everybody who is working here in some professional capacity has the opportunity of being in touch with the others, and the advisory board or the school certainly provides the basic common ground. But there is a lot of back-and-forth communication that goes on apart from that.

I think that is probably mostly what I have to say, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Father.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to present Mr. Eldon Comfort of Yorkdale Vocational School.

Mr. Eldon Comfort: Ladies and gentlemen, I was introduced as the principal (sic) of Yorkdale Vocational School. Actually I am unemployed, although I hope to be re-employed in September. I want to endorse Mr. Montgomerie's comment earlier in the evening when he was talking about the great importance of feelings of self-worth for these girls and boys because it is this that I have been studying during the last year and hope to be more effective in that same area myself when I resume activities at Yorkdale in the fall.

What I want to do for a few minutes is just to give you some idea of how another school can work in co-operation with Flemington Public School and help to complete the community school's image.

Our involvement began really out of selfish motives because we were trying to improve the image of Yorkdale Vocational School in the community. It began as a project whereby staff members of the school went out to homes in this area. This soon grew into coffee parties almost ad nauseum, but it has been going on for several years now and a great many close friendships have sprung up and it is now a two-way thing.

Parents, I think mostly the mothers, have been coming back to the school in groups of various sizes to visit the school and it enables us to help them in several ways.

Some of the ways in which the school has helped the community school have already been mentioned indirectly. The hot lunch which is provided here during the noon hour for some children is prepared at our school and sent down here as a hot lunch. During the day care operation we take advantage of this, help ourselves in the same way, by sending some of our girls on what we call a work study program here. They help in the day centre work but they help themselves at the same time since they are training in nursery care work.

We provide some clerical services for the community when they want to put out flyers to advertise some of their activities. We can run them off on our machines. The girls who do it are not our office staff but the girls training in clerical work. Some live in the community and are therefore helping themselves.

I want to close on a note which indicates that we do not have all successes and perhaps this might be a recommendation for this committee since, I presume, this is one reason for its being. A couple of years ago we started—Mr. Shuttleworth started it, of course, as he seems to start most everything—working with a group of youths who were not employed and who were not even seeking employment. They were not at school, of course. They had long since dropped out of school. But they were beginning to show a little interest, and through the therapeutic group counselling they were getting here they showed some renewed interest in school and we were able to take them at the vocational school and give them help in some of the basic academic skills and in some of the shop work.

However, this did not last as long as we would have liked. There were a lot of positive results, some of which are measurable and some of which are not. In some respects the non-measurable results are perhaps of greater value, but you cannot equate it in dollars and cents. Anyway it was a very expensive program. A small number of youths were being helped in ways which were hard to measure. It was financed by the North York board of education but they decided it was too expensive a program. Perhaps the members of this committee could take cognizance of that, that in this kind of work which is extremely expensive and in these days when education costs are being trimmed, perhaps the burden should be placed elsewhere than on the local taxpayers. I just make that suggestion in closing, sir. Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce Mr. Jesse Deane from Twelve Madison.

Mr. J. Deane: It is pretty difficult to say what I do exactly. I think the young people could probably tell you more about that themselves. I try to deliver services to young people in a jam. Sometimes I try as best I can to rectify situations as they arise.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next I would like to introduce Superintendent Charles Bond of the Metropolitan Toronto Police Department.

Superintendent Charles Bond: Gentlemen, I suppose if the projects of all these people were 100 per cent successful...

The Chairman: You would be out of a job.

Supt. Bond: Yes. It would be a nice way to go. I don't think crime is restricted in the province to the poor. In our area up here it happens that this particular patrol area also encompasses Yorkdale and we have the largest number of radio calls, the largest number of complaints, in this patrol area of anywhere in North York.

We gather a tremendous amount of statistics and they all filter through the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. And every year I think, "Well now, the good people in Ottawa are going to suddenly realize that Toronto is in rather bad shape", and they will probably set aside fifteen million or twenty million dollars to help us to police this community that is rapidly rising in crime.

Actually last year as a project we started with a community officer, this bright young fellow on my left here. We put him in the community, much like was done when most of us were boys, as a policeman who got to know the people in the community and who was in turn known by them. It is an old concept but it suddenly has become new gain. We have gone full circle.

So we are now in the process of instituting throughout North York a number of these community officers in an attempt to see if we cannot prevent crime. This is in its most basic concept, not merely through the fact that policemen are there but that young people are relate to these persons whom they respect and perhaps the crime will not even germinate. We find that whatever we are doing now is not succeeding.

The Chairman: It is not succeeding?

Supt. Bond: It is not succeeding, so it is obvious we are going to have to try some other approach. We found the project last year more or less immeasurable in terms of statistics. I think there was a lot of feeling generated. I have had a lot of people talk about it, that it was valid and satisfactory. Dale of course is a great exponent of the community officer. We are going to try it again, this time for a longer period of time. Perhaps then some of these statistics will start to appear.

You know, I am a little bit nutty about figures. I am comparing always last year's crime with this year's. I am like a salesman except that I want mine to go down instead of up.

It is an interesting community because it is fairly closely knit. It is not too large in its number of people. It has a rather interesting cross-section of humanity in it, so you too should find it interesting. Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next I would like to present Mr. Al McChesney of the Legal Counseling Service.

Mr. A. McChesney: I don't think what the police are doing will affect us very much because we are law students and under the Legal Aid Act we are not allowed to deal in criminal matters. I would like to thank him for bringing a policeman but it will not affect our services in this area.

We got here largely through requests from people in this community. Dale Shuttleworth was one of them. Barbara Aoki was another.

I am with a group at Osgoode Hall Law School known as the community and legal aid service program. We have about seven branches working on different projects in this city. Of course it is just free students' work. Part of the reason we are doing it is that we realize through taking our courses, through listening to our professors and through what we have read that people who are not making as much money as lawyers cannot afford lawyers. Consequently people in areas such as Lawrence Height were missing out on the valuable things that lawyer could do for them, not only after they were in trouble but also in preventing trouble from happening, things like drawing up wills that other people think

nothing about going to a lawyer for. Since it costs money these people have to think twice about doing it.

Also there are certain types of cases which Legal Aid cannot handle because they have a large volume of cases to handle, and if it seems to be a very small case in comparison with others the student certainly does not mind handling it because to us it is a very big matter and we are willing to help people for those reasons.

Another good reason for us to be in Lawrence Heights of course is that we learn a lot by doing things in the community. It is good experience for us. Of course if we have difficult cases we are not foolish enough to think we can do it ourselves. We have professors at the law school who are just as expert in certain areas as are practicing lawyers, so people get the benefit of their experience when they come to us.

In order to get to meet the people and let them know about us we have gone to different community meetings and we have tried to advertise our services.

We went to the Addiction Research Foundation which sponsored a drug education program. It was a program of some four weeks duration. We went to one of these meetings and sat in as regular participants on the same level as anybody else in the community. One thing we found interesting of course is that because of the people we had met at the university and because of things we had read in our law school course sometimes our attitudes on drug laws were not as favourable as other people's we spoke to, and it led to quite lively discussions sometimes.

One thing we hope to do in the future is have some type of lecture in which we tell people what they want to know about law, both young people and adults. Possibly we will do this on separate nights.

We have evening office hours, which we feel is a good idea. It helps everybody to get a chance to see us. What we do is free. We have an office—as a matter of fact it is in Dale Shuttleworth's office—that we are in four nights a week. People can make appointments or just drop in. Sometimes we cannot handle a matter, but at least we know where to send people. They are getting that type of advice which they were not getting before.

We have handled a few wills and a couple of landlord and tenant problems, things like

that. Anything anybody brings to us, if we cannot handle it, we will tell them who can. We are not kidding ourselves. We know that what we are doing is a very small amount.

Another one of our students, Ian MacDougall, will be presenting a brief to this committee downtown tomorrow at St. Lawrence Hall explaining reasons why we think legal aid should be extended more widely in the province and what can be done about it.

One thing we have experienced in Lawrence Heights is great cooperation from the people in the community in letting us know what they wanted. We just hope that more of them start coming in to our office. We hope they have been staying away because they haven't any problems. But if they do have problems we hope they come to us more in the future. We have only been here a short time and we hope to see more of them.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, sir.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce now Mr. Paul Godfrey, who is the alderman in this area of the Borough of North York.

Mr. Paul Godfrey: Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, my comments this evening will be based on many of the facts I have obtained over the five years I have completed in office as a representative for this area, including the Lawrence Heights development. The one thing that initially comes to my mind is the term "welfare" and the use of the term "welfare". The committee should take into consideration, gentlemen, that whether you be a senior citizen, whether you be a parent, whether you be a student, whether you be an ordinary employee of any business, to some degree we are all receiving welfare, whether it be family allowances, whether it be old age assistance, or what-have-you. But, unfortunately, too many of the people who are labelled as poor and have to go on relief, as they say, are dubbed as people who are on welfare. I as an individual object to the term "welfare", and I think that the committee should back in Ottawa give some consideration to burying that term "welfare" once and for all and follow the leadership of the province of Ontario in calling it "family and social services" because I think 20th century thinking should be used with 20th century terms.

The problems that I have encountered mainly when discussing this term "family and social services" are ones of confusion because people are not sure exactly whether they are dealing with the municipal government, the

provincial government or the federal government. As to this term, "family and social services," I believe there should be a national co-ordinating body which would encompass all three levels of government and make it easier for those people who are involved in family and social services to understand the problems that they are encountering.

We hear the term "family allowance" used. In my opinion, the whole concept of family allowance should be changed and changed drastically. Of those receiving family allowances, some find it ludicrous because the money they receive does not do anything for them. They are in a class that should not be receiving family allowances. Others who are receiving this nominal sum find it is insufficient for them and they cannot do anything with it because of the rising costs of the day. So I believe that the federal government must undertake a complete study and a complete revamping and pay to those who actually need it a proper subsistence with respect to a family and not pay those that are going on at their own steam. And I believe that this would be a step in the right direction as far as curing one of the ills of the poor.

It appears to me that in the field of education more must be done to aid the families who are labelled as poor because if the poor of today cannot afford to educate their children the way the rich are able to educate their children we will have poor in multiples in the future. I believe that we as members of government, you in your relation to the federal government and myself in relationship to the municipal government, must do all we can to make sure that the children of the poor families will be able to get the best education possible in this country because that way they will not be the poor families of the future.

With respect to nursing home care, the present rate for a welfare patient in a nursing home is \$10.50 per day. The per diem rate in a Metro home for the aged is \$10 per day. It is estimated that 75% of the patients in a nursing home being paid for by the department are there only because of the lack of beds in homes for the aged.

While it is appreciated that it takes a considerable sum of money to build a home for the aged it is also a fact that there is no comparison in the care given in a home for the aged and that in the average nursing home. The home for the aged has sufficient medical help, nurses, dietitians, therapy treat-

ments, rooms, etc. Movies and bingos are held regularly. If we are going to give something other than lip service to the aged it would seem reasonable to funnel the money now being paid out for maintenance of nursing homes towards more homes for the aged, where they can not only receive excellent care but be able to live a more active life. It would also eliminate the present yearly situation where the nursing homes approach municipal offices with guns to their heads demanding more money.

My final point is in the field of recreation. I believe that where there is a government-sponsored housing development, be it either individually or through a partnership with both the federal and provincial authorities, they should be concerned with providing more than just housing. It has been said that such low rental housing developments create social problems which apparently go along with such developments and the authorities involved should provide the amenities in the developments serving the people, and this could be through the development and construction of community centres, provision of day nurseries and incorporating health and social services as well as recreational services. The development of such a recreational centre has been that if it is built and paid for by the two senior levels of government the local municipality would be required to staff and maintain it. It is all very well to say this is a neat package but the ongoing staffing and maintenance costs can be quite high to a local municipality and, because the higher authorities have created a housing situation usually with high densities, there should be an ongoing grant with respect to the operation of such community centres. And whatever else it may include, such as day nurseries, health, social and legal problems. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Godfrey. We have one more politician here in the person of Mr. Vernon Singer. I think, having heard one who did a very good job, we will not hear from the other one, much as I know he would like to speak.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce at this time Mrs. Leona Morley representing Coffee Parties.

Mrs. L. Morley: Three years ago a group of parents was asked to have a group of teachers into individual homes from Lawrence Heights to learn about each other. This came about originally between one parent and one

teacher. Through these conversations it was felt that the more formal approach would not be the way to communicate in Lawrence Heights, so the concept of parent-teacher coffee parties came about.

These parties have been most successful by bringing an informal dialogue into being between parent and teacher, thus sometimes solving a problem or simply getting to meet different teachers of the children, or vice versa. It has also helped people in Lawrence Heights by making them become more involved in other areas of the community.

We are presently now involved with other schools such as Yorkdale Vocational, Lawrence Heights, Bathurst Heights, Saranac School, St. Charles School, our Lady of the Assumption School. Our parties are held about once a month and we have teachers from each of these schools usually attending. We also have many parents from the Lawrence Heights project.

As Mr. Comfort has covered our coffee parties very well, I don't believe I need to continue but I would add as a personal note that I am enjoying the work very much. I have just gotten involved myself.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce Mrs. Mary McNeilage representing the Brownies and Guides.

Mrs. M. McNeilage: I wish to make it very clear at this point that I cannot represent the Girl Guides of Canada. I simply represent myself as a member of this community.

I have enjoyed very much working with the children here. There are 84 children in the Guide group altogether including the Brownie packs. There is not really a great deal I can say. One of the aims of girl guiding is to make these children conscientious citizens in the long run, but at present and in the immediate future all we wish to do is keep these little people busy and happy.

We try to be self-supporting and put much effort into selling Girl Guide cookies in order to get them away to camp and into other activities.

I have enjoyed my work in the community and I am glad other people are trying to do something for the people in the community.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce Mr. John Frotten who represents the Scouts.

Mr. J. Frotten: As the adventurer leader of the 261st Adventurer Company, I also would like to make it clear I am only representing the scouts group in this district and not the Scouting League of Canada.

I would like to make clear to you people that we serve around 110 boys in the group and my biggest feeling behind scouting today is keeping young boys involved. I feel if you can keep young people involved then you can control a lot of the juvenile delinquency which is going on in this area and in surrounding areas. We are, however, having problems. One of the major problems is a leadership problem, which we feel is due to the lack of interest in the community among the parents. It is unfortunate that this is happening. We have been told by headquarters numerous times that if we did not get so many leaders by such and such a date we would be closed down. Thank the Lord we have been able to come up with leaders and we are still operating.

In closing I would like to thank the rest of the committees working along with us in the area and join with all of the other committees in saying that we are doing a fairly good job. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce Mrs. Sylvia Parker who represents the Co-op.

Mrs. S. Parker: The Co-op is the chartered, non-profit, direct charge co-operative food store that we have at the present time. This is for members only. The membership is open to anyone. We started this in this community with the help of Reverend Tiessen and St. Philip's Anglican Church in the person of Father Clarke.

In order to help us raise money and stand on our own two feet, each member in the Co-op is required to buy a share. This share is returnable at any time but it buys the inventory that goes into the store. Then the other charges come when all of the bills are added up. All our overhead is added up and divided equally among the membership and this is paid every week, whether a member shops or not.

For the past six months we have been carrying almost a full line of groceries in our small Sunday School room. The saving is 20

percent on the average grocery bill. We are still very small at this time. We hope to have a larger membership from the community but the problem has been that there is no place for a store within the housing project. When the housing communities are built they do not supply any outside rooms or buildings other than schools or community centres which can be used for other purposes.

Now I understand that in Ontario most of the housing projects do supply a small space for stores that is either sold to a regular operator of stores or else rented out. We have found in this community that it has been impossible to get in. I understand in new communities where there have been Ontario Housing developments just beginning the stores have been put up and they are immediately rented out.

At the present time we are only in the food end of it because that is where we find most of the people in the community need the service. And I think we all eat better, those of us who shop at the Co-op. When we can find larger premises we hope to be able to expand. We are doing this for ourselves.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce now Mr. John Cadieux who is involved in Youth Work.

Mr. J. Cadieux: I am working in the capacity of a detached worker in Lawrence Heights. I live in the community. I have all this time because I am on dependent father's allowance myself with my wife and children. I was on the verge of a nervous breakdown so I decided to find something for myself to do, and I started working with my proteges here. I enjoy the work very much and I am sure that it means something to them, although I don't know what it is. I think that is all I have to say.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next we have Mr. Denis Bulman from the Sports Club.

Mr. D. Bulman: I would like to give you some notes I have here. We had expenses connected with baseball of \$1,300 and with hockey of \$900. This includes uniforms, crests, balls, bats, equipment, banquets for the hockey and softball and so forth. We have 300 children involved in the softball and we would like to have about 150 involved in the hockey. Unfortunately, due to lack of equipment we cannot have this.

We have shows every Saturday for the children and we have a bingo every Thursday night of course, about which everyone here knows, and we take in approximately \$21 every week from this bingo. I don't think there is anything more I can tell you here. I think those are about all the figures we have.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next we have David Burrows representing Youth.

Mr. D. Burrows: The youth in this area have many things they can do and which they can participate in like the teen drop-in centre which you saw when you came in. There are also summer programs. They are planning camping trips and so forth. With the help of certain volunteers and staff they are helped to get into Seneca for upgrading courses to help them with their jobs. There is not much more for me to say. I am not a very good speaker anyway.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next we have Mrs. Grace Sherman representing the Information Centre.

Mrs. G. Sherman: This is right off the top of my head. I did not come over here prepared. The Information Centre is really just getting off the ground. As one newspaper put it, it has everything from birth control to garbage. We are there to provide information, to channel calls that come in, to help in any way as far as information about agencies and the resources of the community and anything else that is inquired about is concerned. The Information Centre is manned by volunteer personnel. There is a board of directors of approximately nine people. These are people who are both professionals and people who are tenants in the community here.

As I say, we are just getting on our feet. Finances are a big problem. We feel this is an extremely important thing for this area. We have had calls from as far away as Scarborough asking for information about various things. Information centres are very much in the news these days. We do not feel there are enough. So we are hoping that ours will grow bigger and be able to cope with all the problems that still arise. We are certainly having a great deal of help from the advisory board here at the school. What we lack in number of volunteers we make up for in enthusiasm. We are looking for more volunteers all the time.

It is pretty early to say what is going to happen, where we are going or what we are going to be able to do. However, we are going and are on the way.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Next I would like to introduce Mrs. I. Barker representing the Garden Club.

Mrs. I. Barker: I did not prepare anything. The only thing is that the Garden Club was formed eight years ago to help people with that sort of project. At the moment we have about 70 members and each year we have awards for the most presentable gardens. However, I think we need a lot more interest in this project.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would like to introduce now Mrs. Jean Dale from the TOPS Club.

Mrs. J. Dale: The TOPS Club started from about 7 members who branched out from another area outside of this area. We have grown to about 18 now. We have our meetings each Wednesday night in a teacher staff room, for which we are thankful. We do not have to pay any rent for that space where we would have to pay rent outside somewhere else.

From the TOPS group some of the ladies have branched out into other fields working in the community.

Mr. Shuttleworth: Excuse me, Jean. Can you tell us what TOPS stands for?

Mrs. Dale: It is "Take Off Pounds Sensibly". That means without diet pills, without fad diets. And it works. I can vouch for it working. It really does work. We are very pleased with the results we have had with the girls there. We all work very hard and we really enjoy the meetings. If anybody would like to come, men or ladies, please feel free to join in.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I would now like to introduce Mr. Walter Molnhuber of the Lawrence Heights Judo Club. Where is Walter? Is Walter in the house?

The Chairman: Well, we are going to have an open discussion but there will be refreshments first.

Mr. Shuttleworth: I think we would have the refreshments now and then we could bring our coffee back.

The Chairman: All right, we will have a break now for refreshments and then we will come back here. Bring your coffee with you. Would you just go out and get your coffee and come back and we will start an open discussion.

(A short recess.)

The Chairman: Could we come to order, please, and we will continue the meeting. I just wanted to say something at the start as to what is the value in having the senators here, what good are we doing going around asking about poverty. We have been across Canada from Halifax to Vancouver and we have had this thrown at us quite a number of times by people who do not know what the Senate is or what the Parliament of Canada is, as a matter of fact, in a great many cases.

I might just say this to you, that we have had a great number of inquiries in the Senate very similar to this, although this is a very much more intensive inquiry because we are doing a lot of travelling around in order to have a confrontation with the people themselves, with the poor, including the working poor.

We are out to find answers to the problem of poverty. We are not dictating the question of poverty to you. Everybody knows what poverty is but we are trying to find out what, if possible, is the cure for poverty.

In the Senate we have had a number of inquiries, as I was saying. We have had the old age pension inquiry. It brought along an Act to increase the old age pension. We had the aging committee. We had the land use committee which is a tremendous thing as far as the rural areas of Canada are concerned. There was an Act brought down by Parliament after the Senate made its inquiry, and that inquiry lasted about two years before they came up with a solution. The Senate had the manpower inquiry. This resulted in another Act being brought forward by the Parliament of Canada after an inquiry by the Senate.

So we hope—mind you, this is just our feeling—that we can come up with a solution to the problem of poverty, and that is why the Senate is making this inquiry and travelling around. It is a rather expensive job but it is not as much as you might think because we do not travel at a great deal of expense.

I just want to say now that I have enjoyed very much coming down here tonight and listening to you people. You followed along very nicely. You have given us a lot of ideas. We have had a tremendous experience at the Duke of York School this afternoon. We had a memorable experience there this afternoon going through on a tour of that school and listening to those teachers and getting questions from the community there. Now we have had the same thing here. It is indeed a terrific experience to see and hear you people.

We are not getting answers to our poverty questions really. However, it is to a certain extent giving us ideas as to how the community helps itself, particularly this co-op idea, using a little room to start a co-op. This is really a community development, and it helps tremendously to see a community working for themselves in that regard. This is what is really needed, people involving themselves, as far as I can see, in the community. And poverty may be helped that way, by the community helping themselves and having a certain amount of help given to them so these people can be brought up out of their depressed condition.

Senator Sparrow: May I pursue your comments somewhat further, Mr. Chairman, and directly to answer, I suppose, Mr. Zwerver and perhaps similar questions in other minds?

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Sparrow: I would just like to say this, that the real value of a study by a committee such as this, whether you realize it or not, is the publicity that the problem of poverty is getting. Pick up your local newspapers, this morning's edition, or today's afternoon edition, and see two full pages at least ringing forcefully the problem of poverty in Toronto to the fore. Look at your TVs tonight at the 7 o'clock program and our national news tonight. We were on national CBC radio this morning bringing the problem of poverty to all of the people of Canada.

The people of Canada are going to pay the cost if poverty is going to be solved. Therefore they have to be conditioned and sold on the idea that poverty does exist. It would surprise you the number of communities we go into and the individuals we talk to and so many of the citizens who do not understand the problems say, "Well, all you have to do is get those lazy no-goods to go to work." We have to make that message a false message that they are getting across.

We have to let them know that of the poor people 40 per cent are the working poor, 30 per cent are the poor who are the one-family heads, primarily mothers who are one-family heads. We know that 10 per cent of those are the disabled. We have reasonable assurance that only 5 per cent of the people at the poverty level are those who might be no good as such and might be able to make a living if they were really ambitious. If you talk of 5 per cent of the total people in that condition of poverty, it is a very low figure. This is a message we have to sell to the Canadian people because they have to be taxed to cover this cost.

You suggest, Mr. Zwerver, and I am not critical because this is general thinking, why does this committee spend the money and go around? Why don't we give the money to the poor?

The total cost of these studies and the tours in Canada might very well amount—this is in relation to four million people on the poverty level or below that—might in fact amount to 2½¢. per person who is poor. The total cost to each individual Canadian might be ½¢. per Canadian. If you want to base these figures very easily, that is \$100,000. It would cost each Canadian a half cent. With 4 million Canadian people at the poverty level and below, if the cost were \$100,000, and make any multiple of it you wish, it would be 2½¢.

Surely it is of value that we try through this national medium to get across to the Canadian people that poverty does exist. Poverty does not only exist in the City of Toronto, it exists in the maritimes, it exists in northern Saskatchewan. You have seen the reports on the Metis and Indian problems. There are poor people in other cities as well. They are spread all across Canada.

If we talk about money, and I will just talk about money for a moment, Mr. Chairman, where do we place the emphasis? Where are the Canadian people ready to place their emphasis on these: housing, health, education? Somebody mentioned pollution.

In the next 10 years we are going to require approximately 3 million housing units in Canada. At least 40 per cent of those housing units should be built for the poorer people. The total cost of those 3 million units would very probably run to \$60 billion. If you relate 40 per cent of that to the poor people, we are talking of an expenditure in 10 years of \$24 billion for housing alone.

I just want to give you one more figure. Of the 4 million people who are at the poverty line or below, 30 per cent are in fact single people, either a single woman or single man, and 70 per cent are family units as such with a single family head or a two-head family. If for each single person who is below the poverty level you increase their income in one year by \$500, that would amount to \$600 million.

If you gave a family, and I think any one of us here would agree this is not very much money, if you gave each of the ones below that poverty level an additional \$1,000, we are talking about \$2 billion-800 million. Now that is a total for those groups of \$3 billion-400 million additional cost per year. That would mean a 30 per cent increase on all levels of federal government taxation, including tariffs, income tax, every form of taxation.

We have to get across the message to the Canadian people that this is the cost, and we have to convince them, you and us and anyone else we can get on our side, to convince the Canadian people that this is a necessary expense and, in fact, that it is really not an expense, that it is an investment in people. We are investing this money. If we can convince the Canadian people that this money should be invested in those citizens it will pay us all back in the long run. So let us convince them it is an investment and not a cost.

Mr. Chairman, I am sorry to have taken so long on that.

Mr. Chairman: Thank you very much, Senator Sparrow. I might say to you all that he is another farmer from Saskatchewan.

Do you have anything you want to ask, Senator Carter?

Senator Carter: I think we are all familiar with poverty. We all run into it in our own little spheres but this is the first time that anybody has taken a look at poverty on a national scale, as a national problem.

Just following along with what Senator Sparrow has said, we in Canada are spending \$7 billion a year on various forms of welfare. That is all levels of government, municipal, federal and provincial. The federal government itself is spending somewhere between \$3½ billion and \$4 billion of that money. If we can only save 10% on administrative costs we are saving \$700 million. It is a great problem and this is the first time anybody in Canada

has ever taken a look at it from the national viewpoint, looking at it in its totality on a national scale.

Mrs. Shirley Clark: I think we all understand what the Senate is trying to do, and think we are quite aware of your billions of dollars and everything else. However, to the people who are poor, when you are talking in billions of dollars you have lost us. We are talking about \$20 a week or 10c. in our pockets tonight, not your billions of dollars or where you are saving 10%.

You have said that 5 per cent probably of the population of poor people are the lazy ones. The rest are there because of circumstances. They are willing, if they are there by circumstances, to stand on their own two feet, but not with charity. This is, I think, what most people classed as poor people are trying to get across to everyone. We don't want charity. We don't want someone knocking on our door and giving us a cheque for \$60 a week or something and saying, "There, we are done with you until next week when we can give you another cheque." We would like something that is going to give us a helping hand to stand back up on our own two feet and start working for ourselves again.

I am sure everyone at some point in their lives has fallen flat on their face and they have been down and out. But the poor people, as you class them poor people happen to have fallen flatter than most, I guess, and they cannot get up on their two feet. Depression and everything else sets in and then you are classed as being in poverty and put in the Lawrence Heights project with fences all around. We are built up so we all have our little clubs and we are all patting ourselves on the backs saying how great our little community is with these little clubs that we have. But this is not what we want, and we would like the Senate to know that we would just like a helping hand.

We don't want billions of dollars spent on us in feeding us and things of that sort. I know the government is supposed to be doing this for us but do not concentrate on the face of larger welfare cheques and things like that. And when we do go to welfare asking for help let us not have door slammed in our faces, not be sworn at and called names and everything else, which happens very often.

It is really atrocious some of the ways that people have been treated by different social services. We all have the social services to go to and they are really great, but if you have

not the problem they are looking for, or if you haven't got what they really want to take care of right then, they are not going to help you. You have to depend on yourself. It is just the fact that when you are poor and you have fallen down and you just cannot do it any more you need strength from other people, not cheques once a week that just make you feel more insignificant, more dependent and more incapable of standing on your own two feet. I think this is what we are asking.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. This is what the Senate is trying to find out, how to do it without throwing money at you.

Mr. Montgomerie: One way you can do it of course, with all those billions, is that I would like to get a little piece of it for the school. I am serious because if there is the poverty cycle that people talk about, one of the ways of breaking it is to go to school. And let's be honest; you know for a long, long time schools have not done very much for the poor. We are a middle-class institution run by middle-class people supporting middle-class values. The poor people come in and what we try to do is give them enough experience so they become middle-class. It doesn't work. One of these days we have to find out what it is like to be a poor child and build on the strengths he brings to us and build an educational system on that.

You cannot do that on a ratio of 25 pupils to a teacher in a room. You have to do it with one or two kids at a time. That is the way to work it with kids. Our board cannot afford it. The Metro board sets the pupil-teacher ratio and that's it. They make allowances for us but the allowances are not enough to deal with the problems here. I say, if we are going to break the poverty cycle, we have to zero in on education and perhaps have federal grants to this kind of school and we can spend the money further reducing the pupil-teacher ratio.

Senator Sparrow: Can I just say this though, that in the interval surely you must see that each citizen in the community has a basic standard of living. If this basic standard of living under the economic system is too low, it must be raised at least to give some dignity at that level so you could start on the educational level, putting those funds there.

Mr. Montgomerie: If I wait until that happens it will never happen. We have been saying this for a long, long time. I am afraid I

cannot wait any longer and I don't think the community can wait any longer for some guy to turn around and give more money. It is not going to happen. It has to happen now in schools so that the kids coming through the schools are not going to be locked into some communities.

The other thing is that they ought to have their heads read for ever building a community like this in the first place. This was no thing to do to people, putting 5,000 poor people into one community. It is ridiculous.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I don't think there is any point in entering into a debate.

From the Audience: That is what we came out for.

Senator Carter: We didn't come down here to debate. What is done is done. We cannot alter this community. It is all very well for Mr. Montgomerie to say he wants money. We all want money.

Mr. Montgomerie: You misunderstand me, sir. I think inner city schools must be given money whether in Saskatchewan, Halifax, or Toronto or North York. They all have to have more money. We cannot get it any more from home-owners, so we have to get it some place else. If the federal government puts a high priority on education, let them put their money where their mouth is and give us some.

The Chairman: Does anybody else have any comments they would like to make?

Mr. Ed Ryan: I would like to take on the senator away at the end. I am also from the maritimes. From the maritimes come to Toronto a bunch of refugees. Our jobs are taken away from us. Our homes are taken away from us. Our buildings are taken away from us. I arrived in Toronto and across the road was this refugee from Czechoslovakia. He was better prepared when he arrived in Toronto than I was. He was supported by the Immigration.

We arrived here and were destitute in every way. If we take sick we don't know a soul. We have to look for a job. We have to look for friends. And even today the branch of the Legion to which I belong has asked for people to give their names as volunteers for pall-bearers. People come up here, especially from the maritimes, and die and they cannot raise six friends to be pall-bearers. Now,

there is an area that needs to be looked into. And it is brought about by bad administration, especially from Ottawa.

They have urban renewal grants, ARDA and other grants. These grants are used not to promote industry down there but to send out anybody who may interfere with the status quo.

Mr. M. Cairnduff: When your travels take you to St. Thomas, Ontario, I hope you look into the situation down there at the present time where you cannot get a hotel room or any kind of accommodation because of the refugees who came from Czechoslovakia a few years ago and located down there. The hotels down there are full of them. The manpower offices have special facilities set up. There is English language training. Job opportunities are created and all the rest of it. And yet our Canadians from the maritimes come up here, are berated and criticized. They seem to be sort of infringing on what we consider to be the affluent part of the country.

While I am on my feet, I would like to make a few observations that I think are worthy of consideration. And they are not necessarily in this order of importance. I am lamenting for one thing that this meeting so far has not heard from two groups that I feel are significant in terms of Canada's development. I refer particularly to one group being the senior citizens or older citizens whom we have not heard from at least at this meeting, having in mind that we do have a senior citizens' project in this area right in our midst.

The other thing is I have been following with interest your travels across the country right down to your arriving here in Toronto, and I have yet to hear any veterans' group, including the Legion and the other groups that might be mentioned, who have raised the question of poverty as it affects a very significant group, namely the ex-servicemen of the Second World War who traditionally since that war ended in 1945 have been afflicted with the problems of housing, which other Canadians have also experienced, of course, but we were supposed to have some preferential treatment, you see, when the war was on and when the war was over, and now after 25 years we are sort of forgotten. There are still many veterans and veterans' families who are suffering and being deprived of the basic things of life and living on minimal incomes.

I would also like to point out to you gentlemen that veterans' benefits in this province of Ontario do not meet the benefits that the recipients receive under the provincial legislation, the family and social services. In the case of a veteran with a family of three or four or five children, the benefits of their war service disabilities and war veterans' allowances do not meet the benefits that are awarded by Ontario. I do not know about the other provinces but that is so in Ontario.

There is another thing. Right out here you see the traffic moving up and down the expressway that is going to be completed down, as we understand it, into the city despite the opposition of many people in this area. Instead of some priority being set to provide public transportation which could serve the needs of the people in this area, many of whom cannot afford private cars, what do we do? We see the expressway going through, which is adding to the hazards of pollution and soon. The politicians involved seem to want to put this thing through but there is no provision for rapid transit at least in the immediate future. I think that might give you some idea of the thinking of the politicians.

The Chairman: Thank you. Has anybody else any comment to make?

From the Audience: I think the whole purpose of Lawrence Heights or any other housing development is more or less defeating its own purpose because a housing project such as this should not be for permanent residents. It should be more or less a transition place between the time people move out of a flat until such time as they can buy their own homes. The thing is that once you get in here you are trapped.

To give an instance of myself, I have been up here now, I would say, for about ten years. During that time I spent approximately \$12,000 in rent to the Ontario Housing. That \$12,000 would go a long way towards buying a house or buying two Cadillacs, whatever I wanted to do with it.

The situation is that right now the rents are frozen. If a person gets a raise the rent does not go up. But people are not saving money. I am just as bad about this thing as anybody else; I will say that for myself too. You get a raise and the rent doesn't go up and so you say, "Okay, next week instead of buying one case of beer I am going to go out and buy two", or "Next week I am going to buy steak instead of hamburger."

I think when a person gets a raise, if his rent is not going up, the authorities should say, "Okay, we are going to take so much of your money on your raise, we are going to hold that money in trust for you, you cannot touch it, but we are taking it. It is going to be put in a bank account."

It could not be touched by the government for any purpose. When there was enough money in that bank account to make a down payment on a house then they would give you your money back and say, "Okay, boy, you are out. Here is your down payment. Move out of here and buy your own house."

From the Audience: It would take you years to do that.

The Previous Speaker: I don't think it would.

The Chairman: The problem here, of course, is that even with the rents frozen the cost of living is going up so rapidly you need this extra money to keep living.

Mrs. B. Aoki: I would like to reply to Malcolm's statement. The senior citizens knew what was going on tonight and were very interested but they had a free night with the Metropolitan Police choir at the community centre. This really had some enjoyment for them and that is where they are right now. I hope they are having a ball.

There was also the matter of Manpower. I am very upset with Manpower. We have kids who do not have a three-year work term and they cannot be retrained because they have not been to work, and this is not fair.

My husband is in university. I cannot have a loan for him. He works full-time, supports me and my three kids, and the Ontario Housing says, "So what?" and the government says "So what?" I want help and so do other students like my husband. I am one of the woman who the Women Electors said I should have an abortion—because I am pregnant. And she should be shot.

From the Audience: On this Manpower thing, we wanted to get a job during the summer and for us to get a job we have to go all the way down to Weston Road. Like, the Manpower centre at Yorkdale, they practically turn around and slam the door in our faces. So what are we supposed to do?

From the Audience: It really doesn't matter where you go right now. Young people just

cannot seem to get any jobs through Manpower. Other organizations seem to do a much better job.

From the Audience: When I was unemployed and I went to Manpower at Yorkdale there was this man who took over, like the manager, and I went in something like this and they told me I had to wear a suit and a tie, you know. I don't have the suit. I cannot afford it.

The Chairman: Well, Manpower has a variety of managers. I think it is the particular person at each location that might cause the discontent. Is there anyone else?

From the Audience: Tonight is the first time I have heard the people themselves, the poor, if you want to class them as that, speak for themselves. They have had other people speaking for them all day long. Perhaps if there had been prior publicity before coming to Toronto besides the one little box in the *Globe and Mail* and *Star*, they would have been here in droves. You might have generated a little more interest and you would have had more participation by the people and you would have heard a little more from the poor.

The Chairman: We were disappointed ourselves. We were very disappointed with the results of that ad.

From the Audience: So far everybody has been patting themselves on the back with the wonderful job they are doing for the poor but they don't mention the things that are still lacking, that are still needed.

The Chairman: We only got three letters. We expected at least 1,000 letters to come from Toronto.

From the Audience: Well, I write to the members and they don't answer their mail.

Mr. Vernon Singer: I am a member, and I answer my mail.

Mr. Montgomerie: The other thing is, you know, the poor people are not here. They are home right now. The problem is that you put the tables up, eh, and you are senators. Well, right off the bat you might as well forget about it because I know the people around here and the worst thing you can do to them is put them in a formal situation where they have to stand up in front of, you know, leading citizens of the country and say something. I think they are all scared to say things.

You are going to find out about the poor if you come to a coffee party. You can sit down and talk with them. You can go into their houses and find out how they live—not how they live, but how they get along—on the money that they get.

Also come to the school and see how the kids come to school. Then you will learn something about the poor. The poor are just not here.

Mr. H. Zwerver: Looking at this agenda, the first X number of people on the agenda are professionals. Getting back again to the same point that we don't have the poor here, who decided this was to be the agenda? I would have preferred to have representations from the community and then maybe have professionals react in terms of what services were or were not provided. I think we are doing it backwards.

Senator Carter: We did not draw up the agenda.

From the Audience: Well, you missed out on your job.

Senator Carter: No. We left it to the people here. We fitted into your own program. We came here to do what you wanted done.

Mrs. B. Aoki: Tell them what happened on Sunday, please, Dale.

Mr. Shuttleworth: We were given some direction as to what you people wanted and the direction I got personally was that you wanted to hear something from the professionals in the community and you wanted, of course, to hear from people in the community. So, you know, my concern was that we could have—and I have mentioned this before, and I feel very strongly about it—we could have got together and drawn up a brief, and people could have contributed to that brief and it could have been very, very shocking and very critical and so on, because I have lots of critical things I would like to say. But, you know, the problem is we wanted to involve people. We didn't want three or four people sitting down to make a brief and we didn't want one person reading the brief. We wanted people to come here and feel they had some involvement. Maybe their involvement is simply a matter of getting up and saying a few words about something they have done. At least it is a form of involvement.

One of our big problems in this community is that people just take these things for grant-

ed. They become dependent upon the types of services that all of us so-called professionals give them. And we are getting very frightened about this because we say maybe we should get out of here, maybe we should all pull out of here, and let the people do it for themselves. We wonder if we have not created something in the process. We are concerned about this. Maybe this is what the story has been tonight. Maybe this is a very dependent community. I think we have to face that as a reality too.

Mrs. S. Parker: I think Mrs. Aoki may be complaining about the fact that nobody turned up Sunday for a meeting that nobody knew about because we didn't get notice until Monday. This happens with voluntary organizations, we all realize. However, I have to agree with Dale.

My big beef about this community is that we have become a tight little group, we have tied ourselves up in neat little packages with ribbons on. Each little organization is a closed organization. We have a huge community and three-quarters or more of the people in this community are not involved with the things that go on in this community.

Our principal says he first has to teach the children love. He teaches the children love instead of arithmetic which they have to have to go on to the other schools.

Mr. Montgomerie: Who said "instead of"?

Mrs. Parker: I did. I have two of them there. They don't get enough love at home. The houses are too small for the children to be living in and you cannot give love in a 2 x 4 box. You just cannot do it because there are just too many problems. You know, it is just one big mess. Maybe if, as Dale says, there were not quite so many involved, outside social worker people running the organizations, maybe we could get down to earth.

One of the things I would suggest is that coffee parties are not reaching this community. They are lovely for the people who attend I'll admit. I have enjoyed myself at many. However, you are not reaching the people of this community. You have to open this school and invite the people to complain and every thing else. I might say I have not been so invited.

Mr. Montgomerie: I publicly invite you.

Mr. Parker: No, I want to come with a lot of people. They should come as a group.

Mr. Saul Cowan: As one who is not a resident and who perhaps earns two or three times more than most of the people here, I don't want to appear apologetic and I don't want to be made to feel apologetic or guilty because I happen to like working here and I enjoy the people and because I want to be helpful. I don't only want to be helpful to the people in Lawrence Heights, I want to be helpful to the whole of North York. I don't want to feel apologetic about it and I don't think any social worker needs to either.

The only thing we need to be apologetic about is short-sightedness, narrowness of point of view, of thinking we are the centre of the universe, of not allowing, and working for, people to become independent, self-sufficient and have initiative. That we have to be defensive about.

However, where professional workers are trained well, and there are plenty of the others that are not, and where their attitudes are proper and where their ideas are to build autonomous people and where their purpose in life is to develop people, nobody has to be apologetic. You can work wherever you want to. You can do a job. You can do a service well in good areas and you can do it in poor areas.

Our ideas and our purposes must be judged on their merits. If we are not doing a job then somebody should come and do a better one. I think we are filling vacuums. I don't think if all the professional people walked out tomorrow that suddenly all the initiative would rise and all the people would take things in hand and do things in a wonderful way.

Mr. Cairnduff: Give us a chance.

Mr. Cowan: All right. We have argued that having plenty of times, Malcolm. What I say is that there is nothing to be gained by way of exonerations. What we need is good, sound ideas, a faith in each other and an ability to work together. Above all, I think we have put too much emphasis on the power of verbalizing, on the power of communicating. I find that the finest people I have met cannot talk too much. They think and they feel but, because they cannot talk, they cannot express themselves, they are not fluent, and their position in society goes down to the bottom.

I think we are putting too much stress on that and we should be putting more stress on people as people who think and feel, even though they are not fluent and cannot talk for themselves. We should begin to get more of a society with better values to consider people

as people and be willing to not only give them their rights, but see that they have their rights, as people. I think that is one of the important things in this whole procedure.

From the Audience: As a student who has lived here for about 11 years now, really I think the whole fault sort of lies with the parents themselves. This is not a generation gap. I have lost contact with a lot of my friends even though I have lived that long around here. I have always had stressed to me, "Get an education. If you don't like it here, work and get out of it." When I was a kid I used to save my allowances and buy things. My first Barbie doll I bought myself. My parents always stressed staying in school. My friends are not taught to stay in school. I see them marrying now and moving into the apartments across the street and across the way.

I think the whole fault lies with the parents. I think it ties in with the coffee parties because the people that are coming to the coffee parties are the parents who really care. The parents who don't, their kids are not being told to stay at school. They are more interested in getting boy friends or girl friends. They don't care about what is ahead of them.

I think a lot of it comes through. I came up through Guides so I saw kids coming back from Mexico and showing me films. So now I don't want to sit at home. I want to go and see these places. I think a lot of it lies there. The kids are not being given the ambition. And a lot of it is in the home. The parents are sort of apathetic to education. A lot of them are. And I think a lot of it could lie there.

The Chairman: The answer to the problem there is that your professionals here have done their job as well as they could do it but they have not got in touch with the people at the bottom of the ladder and brought them into this community in the same way you feel they should be brought in.

The Previous Speaker: I have seen kids pulled out of school to be babysitters.

The Chairman: This is a problem of each and every one of you, not just the professionals. Each of you here tonight who has heard these stories should get in touch with these people and get them here and into contact with their community, and build your community as a whole and not as small groups. Build your community as a whole and then you will have something.

Mr. Ryan: I think too many of us haven't roots and we are too old to acquire them. We have no roots and we will never have them here.

The Chairman: I think your problem is to get involved in your community.

Mr. Ryan: In September I will probably move. I am involved in the community a lot for a fellow who has only been here a short while but there are no roots and no way of getting roots.

From the Audience: What effect are you having on your children? Are they the same way?

Mr. Ryan: Yes, my children have no roots. Of course, I will admit that I have a daughter who is trying to overcome that.

Mrs. Shirley Clark: You find someone with an empty stomach, a mother or father at home with four or five children and no food to put on the table and the children are crying because there is no food, that this frustrates the mother. This goes on day after day and she is not going to love those children because they are a responsibility. If you can get out to the people and offer them some kind of encouragement and help them to stand on their own two feet rather than just give them charity all the time, you will find them coming out to the schools, to your coffee parties, to everywhere. However, you have to go out and get them or the people in the community have to go out and get them.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, when I came here tonight I didn't of course know what I was coming to. I came here from a school—what was it?

The Chairman: The Duke of York school.

Senator Carter: The Duke of York school, which was a special kind of school which is evolving in an certain type of community. I understood that the reason we were here tonight was because here was another school that was being involved in the community and working out the problems of the community. As a member of the Senate Committee I wanted to find out from them what they were doing, how they were doing it, what the results were going to be. I didn't think I was coming here to debate government policy, to debate Manpower, or to debate dollars and

cents. I came here to learn. I mean this sort of thing can go on forever and ever.

As well as everybody else, I know when you come to the matter of education you are into a terrible problem in Canada because we have divided jurisdiction over it. You can put the blame on one or the other. However, the ordinary person who is poor wants his child educated. He does not understand the niceties of all the constitutional problems that are involved in it, and you can add to the confusion rather than eliminating it by making references in some sort of a general way.

I did not come here for that. I came here to learn. I thought we were going to have presentations. We did have 26 of them. I listened to them all pretty carefully. I thought after that we would be able to ask you some questions because there were other things, other points and questions raised by the information that we were given by the various people who participated. I thought we would be doing more of that, but I see now our night has pretty well gone.

The Chairman: I think you have the wrong idea. I think the community here has got involved in one program and they have themselves in a tight little corner, and I think this same group have now discovered that they are out of touch with their own community and that they will now be able to get to work and get the whole community involved. I think it is a very satisfactory meeting for the community.

Senator Carter: I agree with you that good will come out of it, but it was not my original idea or what I expected when I came here because they can come and have their self examination any time.

From the Audience: I want to reply to the senator. He said he did not remember where he was earlier today. How is he going to remember tomorrow where he has been tonight?

Senator Carter: I did not say that. I did not say any such thing.

Mr. V. Singer: I am a little surprised at the senator from Newfoundland, because if you did not learn anything here tonight I really believe you have missed the message. I represent this area and I have had a great deal of education here this evening. There are problems, and surely this is one of the messages that communities such as this one have to send back to you, so that you and your com-

leagues in your wisdom can sit down and, hopefully, come up with some answers. But this was a learning session. Certainly it was for me, and I would have hoped for you.

Senator Carter: It certainly was. I did not say I did not learn anything. I said it was a very useful session but I said this was not what I expected.

Mr. Singer: This is part of Toronto.

The Chairman: It is now half past ten and I think we should call this meeting to an end. Have you anything more to say, Mr. Singer?

Mr. Singer: No, I am finished.

Mr. Cairnduff: I asked you a question, I think. Perhaps I should have put it more clearly in the form of a question. I would like to know if you would give some indication as to what presentations you have heard thus far relating to veterans as a group?

The Chairman: We have not heard any, as a matter of fact.

Mr. Cairnduff: I think this is sort of lamentable on the part of veterans' organizations because there is a real problem there.

Mr. Montgomerie: If you have some questions, senator, I think you should be able to ask them. We asked a lot of questions.

The Chairman: We are really not here to ask questions. We are here to find out what you want to say.

Mr. Cairnduff: There is the muddled picture with regard to various jurisdictions at various levels of government, like the Veterans Affairs Department, the Department of National Health and Welfare, just to mention two at the federal level, and then we have the provincial social and family services, and I don't know what other services are provided by the province, and then we have the Metro government who have a welfare administration here at the civic level. It seems to me at least to be a very muddled situation. Doesn't that relate to the fact that we haven't a con-

stitution in this country Isn't that the problem?

The Chairman: No.

Mr. Cairnduff: Or an outdated constitution, in any event.

The Chairman: No, no. We have lived a hundred years with it. We can bear with some corrections, of course.

From the Audience: My concern is about unemployment in Canada. About half a million people are without jobs. That means no jobs, no money and no food of course and many other things. And besides that, they have lots of free time with nothing to do. Each one has a hard time either way.

The Chairman: These are problems we cannot settle here. It is a policy that has nothing to do with us on the poverty problem.

The Previous Speaker: In another ten years we will all be unemployed.

Mr. Montgomerie: Not the senators, they are in for life.

The Previous Speaker: I would like to ask or to know about this huge territory of Canada, and it has such resources and lots of money, I believe, and it has lots of people. I would like to do something. And the unemployed, I am sure, would all like to do something, but they are all tied up, they cannot do anything because they are not allowed to do it. They would like to have a piece of land and at least a free bus to get somewhere and do something. As I say, they are just tied up with no food, no money, no job. I think we should all do something about it.

The Chairman: You are right.

The Previous Speaker: I hope this message will be considered.

The Chairman: I think we will have to adjourn because it is getting too late. We have a lot of work to do tomorrow. We have a lot of briefs to hear yet. Thank you very much for turning out.

The meeting adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

Submission

to

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty

Prepared by the Welfare and Housing
Committee of the Municipality of
Metropolitan TorontoCity Hall, 100 Queen Street West
Toronto 100, Ontario

February 1970

367-8019

THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN
TORONTO1970 Welfare and Housing Committee
Membership:

Controller Karl Mallette (Chairman),
Borough of Scarborough; Mayor True
Davidson, Borough of East York; Mayor
Edward A. Horton, Borough of Etobicoke;
Alderman Karl Jaffary, City of Toronto;
Alderman June Marks, City of Toronto;
Alderman William Sutherland, Borough
of North York; Mr. Albert M. Campbell
(ex-officio), Chairman, The Municipality
of Metropolitan Toronto.

The Welfare and Housing Committee is a
Standing Committee of the Council of the
Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, the
members of which are appointed by the
Council each year. It is the duty of the Com-
mittee to consider and report upon all matters
relating to welfare services and housing
accommodation as provided for in the Act
and such other matters as may be referred to
it by the Council or the Executive Committee
for a Report.

The attached brief to The Special Senate
Committee on Poverty was prepared and
approved for presentation by the Welfare
and Housing Committee on Thursday, Febru-
ary 26, 1970. The Committee at this meeting
also authorized the Metropolitan Commis-
sioner of Welfare, Mr. John G. Anderson, to pre-
sent the brief to the aforementioned Special
Senate Committee.

Mr. John G. Anderson was appointed on
December 19, 1966, as the Metropolitan Com-
missioner of Welfare upon the assumption by
the Metropolitan Corporation on January 1,
1967, of responsibilities of public welfare,
which became an obligation of the Corpora-
tion as of that date.

Mr. Anderson heads the Metropolitan
Department of Welfare which is responsible
for the following operations:

(i) Administration of Welfare Assist-
ance in accordance with the statutory
provisions of the Province of Ontario,
and with the policies of the Metropolitan
Corporation;

(ii) Administration of the Hospitaliza-
tion Division (responsible for hospitaliza-
tion of indigents, post-sanatorium care,
burial of indigents and transportation
and certification of mental patients);

(iii) Administration of Child Welfare
Division (responsible for financial
arrangements for Children's Aid Socie-
ties, Training Schools, Day Nurseries);

(iv) Development of long and short
range plans and programmes with respect
to the operation of the Department's ser-
vices and facilities for the consideration
of the Welfare Committee; and

(v) Such other duties as may be
assigned from time to time by the Met-
ropolitan Council.

1. DEFINITION OF POVERTY

1.1 Poverty in Canada, particularly in
urban, industrialized sections of the nation, is
no longer limited to a meaning of indigency
or lack of the bare necessities of life. Urban
Canadians particularly have demonstrated
that poverty includes the inability to acquire
and enjoy without stigma those goods and
services which are necessary to preserve
human dignity.

2.

2.1 Legislation under which most welfare
programs operate has traditionally, and does
to-day, limit itself in many ways to the basic
necessities of existence.

2.2 Municipalities in Ontario provide
assistance to "needy persons" and the defini-
tions of need most often used are provided
under the General Welfare Assistance Act or
the Day Nurseries Act.

2.3 While the Day Nurseries Act provide
greater latitude for debts and earning
exemptions than the General Welfare Assist-
ance Act, the general provision is to aid per-
sons to obtain the basics of life without recog-
nition of the amenities.

3.

3.1 Municipal welfare payments now approach and in many cases pass the earning capacity of many recipients. Many others in the community not in receipt of welfare (including Unemployment Insurance beneficiaries) work and live on a level equivalent to or below the welfare standard.

3.2 In this group, financial pressures to which welfare recipients are not subjected, discourage the wage earner. Drugs, medications, dental care, optical provisions, garnishees, can reduce such families to a financial level below that of a comparable family in receipt of municipal welfare who may be spared such costs.

3.3 Municipal recipients are in turn disadvantaged in many ways in comparison to recipients of more permanent allowances at the Federal or Provincial levels where work opportunities and wage exemptions permit at least some incentive to increase their total income beyond the welfare level.

3.4 Much of the client bitterness at the local level of administration comes from the local inability to ignore or exempt the casual or limited earnings of the recipient.

3.5 The point has been made almost too often to bear repeating, that only at the welfare level is greater effort expected without rewards. Just as few workers will undertake longer hours, harder work or more responsibility without recognition or higher pay, it must be expected that welfare recipients will resent and resist losing all of each dollar they earn.

3.6 Poverty in our cities then is often more expressed in terms of social needs than in terms of starvation, cold or exposure. Families go hungry to repair a television set, buy a birthday present, or to spare an older child the embarrassment in high school of not being able to buy a gym suit, join the student council, or participate in a class activity.

3.7 This poverty is felt by low wage earners and welfare recipients alike.

4. HOUSING

4.1 The effects of poor housing are too well known to require documentation. Welfare budgets designed to cover specific needs are often dissipated in maintenance and utility costs in inadequate buildings as heat is lost through windows and doors of improper fit or through uninsulated walls and ceilings.

4.2 The housing crisis is a crisis of the poor who pay most for the least acceptable accommodation. Rental accommodation at

adequate rates is perhaps the single greatest requirement of the urban poor, where pressures of migration bring constant competition for existing stocks.

4.3 It is apparent throughout the public welfare system that high density housing will continue in many ways to aggravate the emotional problems of the total population, and these stresses will increase the need for welfare and social services in such areas.

5.

5.1 The problems of the immigrant and migrant to the large industrial centres have been discussed at great length. Urban growth is most often a source of pride to the expanding community.

5.2 When such growth carries with it the often attendant rise in welfare costs, as some fail to adapt or to cope with industrial, urban life, however, reaction most often strikes those who are most vulnerable.

5.3 In this regard, overseas immigration has provided an example which might well be adapted to migration within the country. In general, immigrants have planned their arrival in a new land. Organizations at home and in the new land, private and public, have participated in their going and coming.

5.4 Certainly some comparable arrangement must take place in future migration of the economically displaced in Canada, particularly if such movement is stimulated by local government.

5.5 To some, it would seem an infringement on civil rights and mobility to register such movement in any way. There seems little civil liberty or humanity, however, in receiving people in family hostels, welfare offices, or police stations in the evening hours. Or in later registering them for welfare and placing them in high cost inadequate housing with reclaimed and donated furniture.

5.6 In the absence of a definite plan for movement and reception of migrants, too many persons travel to major centres on their last pay cheque, their last welfare allowance or their last unemployment insurance benefit.

5.7 Surely without having any compulsory travel regulations, settlement and travel benefits, migrant information services, and job placement services could make such voluntary registration and effective program without any compulsion.

5.8 Such services could aid reception municipalities in planning for health, education, housing and training needs as well as for welfare services.

6. CREDIT BUYING

6.1 It is often a necessity in our economic system to undertake credit purchases and such credit arrangements are good economic practice in certain family situations involving necessities which can themselves effect family savings.

6.2 The public and private agencies are, however, faced repeatedly with the disastrous effects of high pressure credit sales for luxury items purchased or borrowed by those who are misled or have little capability to realize the financial problems involved in high credit costs.

6.3 While some representations apparently criticize the restrictions on credit to the poor, much more might be said about the ease with which credit can be obtained to be claimed later in garnishees or repossessions.

7.

7.1 Many statements are made currently with regard to the need to involve welfare recipients, consumers or clients in the decision-making process in public administration. There is a definite need for such contacts and to develop such processes.

7.2 There is also, however, a danger in a simplistic approach to such involvement. From many discussions with the consumer group, there often emerges the opinion that only a recipient of assistance can comprehend the problems.

7.3 Such complainants often, however, are the best educated and most intelligent of the recipient group who often assume a common capacity among all recipients. Too often these client groups have themselves displayed a lack of understanding and compassion for the illiterate, the alcoholic, the emotionally ill and mentally retarded.

7.4 In an effort to identify with such groups some workers now repudiate counselling, training, and education efforts because they are not pertinent to the group, but knowing full well they have complete validity among other parts of the welfare problem.

7.5 In this regard, it should be recognized that administration may be efficient or inefficient and should be dealt with accordingly. It is unrealistic, however, to pander to a belief that public administration is itself an evil to be eliminated.

7.6 The public administration should be simply a delivery system to carry out the policies of the government it serves. Any system of delivering 30 to 50 thousand

cheques per month in a Metropolitan area will involve a complex and technical administrative structure.

7.7 Consumer involvement then must work to ensure that acceptable policies be effected by their government representatives.

8. WELFARE SERVICES AND INCOME FLOOR

8.1 Much criticism is levelled at welfare spending and at welfare recipients which should better be directed at inadequacies in comprehensive health, education and other programs. Lack of effectiveness in welfare departments has often resulted from attempting to do too much rather than too little.

8.2 As an example, if two married men at identical jobs are involved in a plant shut-down, one with a wife and one child may receive no welfare attention, while the other because of two or more children, becomes a welfare statistic. Both have earned the same, worked the same and receive the same Unemployment Insurance, only the number of dependents changes their status in the eyes of the community to that of a welfare recipient.

8.3 Much has been written concerning the provision of an income floor through negative income tax. Surely the mechanism for this exists to a great degree by a major increase in Family Allowances and Youth Allowance to restore them to at least the purchasing power of 1945, the year of introduction. While relatively insignificant to-day, the Family Allowances of 1945 were major income item to a family of 4 or 5 children, representing as high as 25 per cent to 35 percent of earned income.

8.4 If the Federal Government wishes to restore selectivity to such items, this can also be provided through the existing machinery for income taxation by including Family Allowances in taxable income.

9. ADMINISTRATION

9.1 Much of the confusion and resentment of welfare procedures stems from the confusion of governmental levels involved. While it is understandable that such services should remain at a local level for short-term need it becomes obvious that repeated calls from a variety of sources acts as an irritant to the recipient.

9.2 It is desirable that in the future, documentation from one municipality to another and from one governmental level to another be standardized and if possible, available through computer service to the various

levels involved to eliminate costly and irritating duplication of reports and applications.

10. RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. That families with children be given priority in provision of an increased and realistic income floor through Family Allowances;

2. That in view of the pressing need for low-cost housing, consideration be given for rapid increases in public housing stocks in areas of rapid urban growth, and that standards be approved for provision of smaller, economical units of housing as single family dwellings;

3. That Federal immigration and migration plans be developed to provide for training and settlement allowances for families and single persons;

4. That earning exemptions and incentives be provided in income maintenance programs;

5. That welfare schedules be re-examined for inclusion to a greater degree of the social needs of family above the subsistence level;

6. That welfare schedules provide for incorporation of annual living cost adjustments at specified dates;

7. That documentation requirements be standardized to the various levels and departments of government to the convenience of the recipient;

8. That the senior governments undertake extensive public information campaigns relative to the dangers and costs of credit buying as it effects the low-income group and that increased protection be afforded this group through credit regulations.

APPENDIX "B"

Submission

to

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty

Prepared by Mayor True Davidson
of the Borough of East York
550 Mortimer Avenue,
Toronto 6, Ontario.

Introduction

I.1 This is the brief of Mayor True Davidson of East York, a member of the Metropolitan Toronto Executive Committee, for some years a member of the Metropolitan Toronto Welfare Committee, a director of the Metropolitan Toronto Social Planning Council and a member of the Board of Governors of the East York Social Planning Council, for some years chairman of the welfare committee of the Association of Ontario Mayors and Reeves and subsequently president and past president of that body, founder and a member of the East York Community Services Board, and connected in various capacities with a number of local experimental community services.

I.2 It considers, first the criteria of poverty; then, the kinds of poverty which present problems within the proper scope of government; finally, possible remedial action which would improve the quality of individual life and preserve our civilization.

PART I: WHAT IS POVERTY

I.3 Most of the briefs I have seen or heard discussed assume that poverty is below-average income, income below the level of "human dignity", income which is not "adequate" in terms of lists made by some welfare agency or financial institution, or other purely material terms. I question these.

I.4 There is a degree of material poverty which may be called *destitution*. This involves insufficient food, clothing and shelter to maintain life at its simplest level. This should not include any but basic physical needs such as might be experienced by an anchorite although related, in the case of urban dwellers, to needs of the urban community such as fire safety and sanitary

conditions.¹ In a civilized country destitution must be relieved. The only way to be sure of accomplishing this is through public assistance and mandatory relief should be geared to this.²

I.5 Much so-called poverty is comparative. To immigrants from an under-developed area, a modest degree of improvement can mean a great deal. To those who have fed on the type of life displayed and advertised through public media of communication, such a degree of comfort seems miserably inadequate. I call this type of poverty *deprivation*. If it provides an incentive to effort it is good. If it leads to increasing demands from the "have-nots" upon the "haves" it can have exactly the opposite effect. Some workers are noticing this already³. A wide-spread feeling of deprivation is unhealthy and should be combatted, but it must be attacked on several levels and is less simple to deal with than destitution.

I.6 The "*honest poverty*" praised by Burns has been recognized throughout history as healthy. The Bible is full of praise of the poor and pity for the rich. Among Chaucer's famous Canterbury pilgrims, the poor parson and the Oxford clerk were outstanding for the quality of their lives and their personal dignity, although they were unquestionably the poorest of the crowd. Modern materialism scoffs at both the Bible and the poets, but the honest poor—hard working, independent and ambitious for themselves and even more for

¹ Visitors to large and successful housing developments abroad often comment on the austerity standards there. It might be better to have housing for all at the expense of finishes, conveniences and amenities for a few.

² Additional assistance should be geared to helping the individual to help himself or providing a springboard for the rising generation.

³ A family of four or five or more may now receive more on relief than a self-supporting unskilled labourer who pays taxes towards their support.

⁴ I, myself, was the daughter of a poor Methodist parson with the usual problems of uncollectable salary, many expensive moves from place to place and, in addition, a fire which destroyed everything we possessed. Everything was homemade and made over and "fudged-up" and on looking back I can see that we were really extremely poor and deprived of much that others thought necessary, yet we were never conscious of any such feeling. Furthermore, many poor homes have produced people who were successful even in a material sense.

their children—are still the backbone of our society. They should not be taught shame and discontent.

PART II: RESPONSIBILITIES OF GOVERNMENT

II.1 In a large urbanized society destitution must be a responsibility of government. Mobility increases. The family unit breaks down. The aged and the orphan, the handicapped and the chronically ill are the first to become destitute under these circumstances. They have been historically the first to be accepted as a public responsibility. This is gradually extending to cover the incompetent⁵ and the unfortunate. It may be that the breaking-point of a civilization comes when too large a proportion of the population (including the Civil Service as well as the underprivileged) is being supported by the rest. After this point of no return the advance towards riots and pillage is accelerated, and the ordinary incentives to order and productivity gradually disappear. For this reason the relief of destitution must be kept within bounds however unpleasant such restriction may be to humane legislators. It should be absolutely basic.

II.2 Deprivation is only indirectly a responsibility of government. However, unthinking humanitarianism and political catering to pressure groups have lead many to view government as a combination of Santa Claus and Lady Bountiful. Furthermore, the sense of deprivation may focus on government because of what is considered excessive taxation or inequity in administration of benefits.

(a) In Metropolitan Toronto children of a "welfare" family of five receive free dental care, but the self-supporting working man with less income must often neglect his children while the taxes on his mortgaged house help to support the welfare family.

(b) There is considerable resentment among pensioners regarding those admitted to public housing projects who often seem better able to maintain themselves than are the pensioners.

(c) The increased burdens imposed by property tax have induced senior citizens to claim a "right" to be exempted from education tax.

⁵ Some suggest that this departure from the natural, if uncivilized, law of the survival of the fittest can gradually lower survival capacity of the race.

II.3 As far as the honest poor are concerned, all they need is to be allowed to maintain themselves in independence and self-respect. Any re-assessment which creates heavier burdens on property taxation, any capital gains tax which compels a low income wage earner or independent pensioner to sell his little home because it has appreciated in value to others (although to himself it is still merely the home which he chose for his major life investment), any increased benefits to others which he cannot or does not share, any relief to business and industry or the rich which automatically places a heavier burden on low or middle income people—any of these can reduce the honest poor to the level of the deprived or even the destitute. The responsibility of government is first to see that this does not happen and second to see that benefits are distributed equitably with the preference, if any, going to the self-supporting⁶.

Part III: THE WAY TO A BETTER LIFE

III.1 Direct relief should be kept to an absolute minimum required to prevent destitution. The balance of the funds available for the relief of poverty should be applied as flexibly as possible to improve the quality of individual life and the total national achievement. This will not be done by increasing direct assistance, establishing a guaranteed annual income, or otherwise discriminating in favour of the unfortunate or incompetent.

III.2 Public housing should be related more intelligently to need. Building by-laws should be modified to permit smaller and less well finished houses which could be improved by ambitious owners or tenants. Until such housing is available in urban areas the destitute can be cared for better in smaller centres or rural areas where costs are lower, space is not at such a premium and facilities can be provided for gardening and similar self-supporting activities. As far as possible, however, the destitute aged should be cared for in surroundings similar to those in which they have spent their working lives.

III.3 The maintenance or establishment of work habits is an important factor in rehabilitation.

(a) There should be payment during retraining but it should be in proportion to ability and results as it is in business and industry.

(b) One apprenticeship should be permissible on the same basis as retraining.

⁶ Cf. The Parable of the Talents in the New Testament.

(c) Where unemployment arises from circumstances beyond the control of an individual, his retraining or apprenticeship allowance should be made commensurate with his previous and future earning capacity.

(d) Where university or similar advanced training is being provided the trainee should assume an obligation for at least a part of this as any other student would.

(e) Where the unemployed person is physically or mentally handicapped so that he is unlikely to find self-supporting employment in private enterprise, he should be encouraged to enter a subsidized sheltered workshop or to undertake supplementary community services which would not normally be supplied by the community and for which the community would have to be subsidized in order to pay him a living wage. Such services might include where appropriate; baby-sitting for working mothers, housekeeping in motherless homes, simple gardening assistance or household chores for senior citizens, helping to clean up streets and parks, snow shovelling, friendly visiting and telephone communication with the aged and the sick who are living alone, delivery of information, house to house, in connection with zoning, parking or other changes, etc.⁷

(f) There should be a sliding scale of percentages of earnings by which public assistance might gradually be phased into full self-supporting activity. People will not try to supplement public assistance by earnings if there is no additional incentive.⁷

III.4 There should be much more flexibility in the administration of welfare funds above the basic subsistence level. To this end administrative units should be as small as possible. In a community in which the senior welfare administrator has considerable freedom of action and knows his clientele, an expenditure of a couple of hundred dollars to help a family recover from an unexpected disaster can keep it from losing its home or the breadwinner from losing his job whereas a rigid adherence to the rules will put the family on the skids for perhaps a very long time.

⁷ Such measures have been recommended frequently by the Association of Ontario Mayors and Reeves.

III.5 Educational assistance such as day care and "operation head start" and better distribution and administration of children's libraries, local art centres, free concerts, etc., can so enrich the lives of children as to raise them from the level of deprivation to that of healthy poverty. Adult education should be increasingly available and at less cost, if not absolutely free, for similar reasons.

III.6 It is cheaper and healthier to provide some assistance to senior citizens in their own homes than to push them into public housing or homes for the aged before it is absolutely necessary.

III.7 Nursing home care for the chronically ill should be included in Hospital Care. Otherwise it cripples many poor and middle income families.

III.8 No capital gains tax should be considered which would compel low and middle income families to sell their houses to raise the tax. In owner-occupied houses below a certain cost and occupied over a certain period of time capital gains, like a proportion of the taxes in Ontario under certain circumstances, could be collectable only when the owner leaves the house.

III.9 There should be an end to discrimination *against*, and also *in favour of*, "the poor" as indeed there should be in the case of all mechanically classified groups. People are individuals. It is a weakness of many trained social workers that their dedicated humanitarianism leads them to attach a special merit to incapacity or misfortune.⁸ Thus they are ready to sacrifice the far-sighted to the reckless, the strong to the weak, and the useful to the useless. This presents problems in community strength. The chief goal of all effort for community betterment should be the prevention or reclamation of weakness, folly and uselessness.

Conclusion:

Je suis désolée de n'avoir pas eu le temps pour préparer un compte-rendu français à ce sujet. Je le discuterais volontiers en français mais très lentement, s'il vous plaît.

⁸ A prominent politician recently pointed out that it is folly to talk about giving the poor the responsibility of planning how to cure their own problems, since, if they were able to do so, they would not be poor.

APPENDIX "C"

A
Brief

To

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty
1970

submitted by the

Association of Women Electors
of Metropolitan Toronto

Contents

Introduction
The Urban Disadvantaged
Public Health
Manpower Retraining Programmes
Housing
Urban Renewal
Conclusion

APPENDIX "A"

The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto
Department of Welfare Report,
May 19, 1969.

Introduction

The Association is most grateful to have this opportunity to lay before you our concern with regard to urban poverty.

The Association of Women Electors, formed to arouse among women an active interest in municipal government, has, over the past thirty years, observed all public meetings of City of Toronto and Metropolitan Councils, their standing committees and the City and Metropolitan Boards of Education. Reports of these meetings are available to our members and subscribers, and copies are filed in the Metropolitan Public Library. During those years our members have also served on numerous committees and boards involved with various aspects of poverty.

We do not, in this brief, attempt to define poverty lines, but have accepted the estimate of the Economic Council of Canada*. We agree with the Economic Council that these

incomes do not err on the side of generosity. However, this level of income plus an annual adjustment to reflect the increase in the cost of living, would insure that all Canadians claim some share of the improved standard of living in the nation.

We are pleased, Mr. Chairman, that your committee is studying the feasibility of a guaranteed income. However, it is obvious that some method must be developed to build into any such scheme sufficient incentive, to encourage independence in the recipient. Also such a scheme should not be set up so as to imply encouragement to families to have large numbers of children which they cannot adequately care for, and equip, to cope with this increasingly demanding society.

We should like to make observations and recommendations with regard to the Urban Disadvantaged together with comments on:

Public Health
Manpower Retraining
Housing
Urban Renewal

THE URBAN DISADVANTAGED

It is possible to identify within that section of the population affected by poverty three main groups:

I. The Working Poor

II. Senior Citizens and other persons living on small fixed incomes and pensions

III. Individuals and families on public assistance, divided into

A. Those who have the ability and motivation to become at least partially self supporting

B. Those who are mentally or physically handicapped and who are basically unemployable.

I. The Working Poor

It would appear that insufficient income is the basic problem faced by the working poor. Attached is the May 14th, 1969, Report of the Commissioner of Welfare for Metropolitan Toronto to the Welfare and Housing Committee of the Council of Metropolitan Toronto (Appendix A). In this report the comparison of incomes earned by the working poor and

* Economic Council of Canada—Brief to the Special Committee on Poverty of the Senate of Canada April 1969, APPENDIX "A".

allowances received by welfare recipients is clearly stated. It is obvious that families of four or more persons are financially better off receiving welfare allowances than living on minimum wages. In addition, welfare recipients pay no income tax or regular transportation costs, and benefit from a local free prescription service, dental programme and health services.

The present situation is grossly unfair to the workingman, struggling against overwhelming odds to support his family and pay the very high cost of shelter and food in a large urban area.

The Welfare Commissioner's report estimates that approximately 30,500 families within Metropolitan Toronto fall within this category of the working poor, that is, the group whose income is below the level they could receive on welfare. Surely this situation must be recognized as intolerable. Is it any wonder that we have so many deserted wives and families?

We are aware through our work and contacts that many men are driven to desert their families so that they can claim welfare. This is especially true if there is a long term illness in the family. Although the facts in this situation would be extremely difficult to uncover, we respectfully suggest that your Committee, Mr. Chairman, attempt to ascertain how large a factor desertion for the above stated reason is, when you are examining the problem of female heads of families.

The true dimension of the income problem of the working poor in the Toronto area can be realized by comparing the level of welfare (page 3 of the Welfare Commissioner's report) with the poverty lines as laid down by the Economic Council of Canada. An income of approximately \$4,000. is considered by the Welfare Department sufficient for a family of seven whereas the Economic Council estimates that it is only sufficient for a family of four. Information may be available from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics which would show how many working families earn income below the Economic Council's poverty line.

We are aware that private agencies are anxious to enter into contracts with municipalities to supply counselling services. Valuable as counselling is for the disturbed and troubled family, no amount of family or budget counselling can overcome the basic deficiency of too little income. The working poor urgently require more money.

A constant unemployment figure of between 3 percent and 5 percent would suggest that we are incapable of maintaining, or it is not desirable to maintain, the economy at full employment. If this is the case, the very large number of families where the principal wage earner is unemployed, under employed, or periodically employed, must be maintained at a reasonable standard of living.

We recommend:

1. An income maintenance programme up to the poverty line defined by the Economic Council of Canada, adjusted periodically to reflect the increase in the cost of living.
2. A vigorous manpower retraining programme to upgrade the skills and productivity of this group.
3. Government subsidized 'rent-geared-to-income' housing in greatly increased quantity.

We recommend for immediate action:

1. Income tax relief for those families and individuals falling below the poverty level.
2. Financial assistance with dental costs, prescription drugs and auxiliary medical services.

II. Senior Citizens and other Persons Living on Small Fixed Incomes and Pensions

The meagre existence experienced by hundreds of our senior citizens need not be described here. Continuing inflation has diminished the value of their fixed incomes and in Metropolitan Toronto spiralling shelter costs have further threatened their living standards. As of June 30, 1969, 5,600 qualified applicants were on file with the Toronto Housing Registry for senior citizen's housing.

Our senior citizens, 65 years and over, are that part of the population whose earning capacity was affected by the depression of the 30's. However, in spite of severe economic hardship, most managed to raise and educate their families, pay their taxes and behave as responsible citizens. That many were unable to provide more adequately for their old age is understandable. Surely this affluent country can afford to approach the problems of the senior citizen in a spirit of generosity.

We recommend:

1. An income maintenance programme up to the poverty level as described pre-

viously, adjusted periodically to reflect the increase in the cost of living.

2. An increased supply of housing at rents geared to income.

We recommend for immediate action:

1. Income tax relief. The present exemptions are grossly unrealistic.

2. Immediate increased assistance with the cost of prescription drugs and dental care.

III. Families and Families on Public Assistance

Allowances available under the general welfare assistance legislation and family benefits acts are well below the poverty lines as described by the Economic Council of Canada. These inadequate allowances consign thousands of families to lives of poverty and deprivation.

The Province of Ontario has taken a forward step by setting up a Board of Review to enable persons receiving assistance through the legislation under the Family and Social Services Department of the Province to appeal against the allowances made by the municipal welfare departments.

However, it is in the area of special allowances that the difference between deprivation of essentials of human life and the opportunity to develop social capacity exists. The Board of Review has no right to exercise authority over a local administrator's decision with regard to special allowances. It behooves the Province of Ontario to publish what special allowances are available and to authorize the Board of Review to act on errors or injustices related to them. Amendments to the present legislation will be necessary to make these special allowances mandatory instead of permissive. It is the opinion of our Association that a guaranteed annual income would eliminate the majority of these problems.

We recommend:

1. An income maintenance programme up to the poverty line defined by the Economic Council of Canada, adjusted periodically to reflect the increase in the cost of living.

We recommend for immediate action:

1. That legislation governing general welfare assistance, family benefits, etc., plus special allowances be widely publicized.

2. That welfare workers as well as applicants be made aware of the legisla-

tion under which they are giving or receiving assistance and know exactly what assistance is available.

3. That the Board of Review's jurisdiction be extended to include the area of special allowances.

IIIA. Families and individuals with the ability to become at least partially self-supporting.

Welfare entitlements under the General Welfare Assistance Act, administered by the municipality are indicated on page 3 of the Welfare Commissioner's Report, Appendix A. In addition there is provision for special needs. However the Act imposes a maximum allowance of \$300.00 per month to a recipient with 3 dependants and allows a maximum of \$10. per month for each additional dependant.

All earnings are deducted from the allowance. The recipient is provided with no incentive at all to become partially self supporting. Also mothers of young children are deterred from attempting self sufficiency by the dearth of proper day care facilities.

Under the Family Benefits Act and Regulations, the pre-added budget, that part of the allowance providing for food, clothing, utilities, house supplies and personal requirements, is somewhat more generous than the provisions of the General Welfare Assistance Act. However the same maximum of \$300. per month for a recipient with 3 dependants applies, plus \$10. a month for each additional dependant. This Act encourages some incentive by permitting the recipient to benefit from earning up to \$24.00 per month for themselves and one dependant, plus \$12.00 per month for each additional dependant. A mother with 3 children would be allowed to earn \$48.00 per month without a deduction from her allowance. She is allowed a further 25 per cent of any additional earnings without penalty.

We recommend:

1. Income maintenance as discussed above.

2. A realistic vigorous Manpower Retraining Programme directed toward this group to develop their potential for either partial or full independence.

We recommend for immediate action:

1. That the General Welfare Assistance Act and the Family Benefits Act be amended to raise the maximum to the level described as the poverty line and to

allow those attempting to support themselves, (a) to keep an increased portion of their earnings; (b) to retain an amount equal to the cost incurred for family care.

IIIB. Families and individuals on public assistance where the head of the family is basically unemployable.

It is within this subgroup of the population that a high incidence of serious social problems is found. The retarded and marginally retarded, the emotionally and mentally ill, the alcoholics, the physically disabled, etc. These families, representing often the second or third generation on welfare, lack the necessary mental, emotional or physical strength to break through the poverty trap and re-establish themselves. They are caught in the downward spiral of ill health, despair and neglect. Radical new approaches must be found to reach the children caught in these situations.

The Children's Aid Societies of Metropolitan Toronto at present are able merely to scratch the surface of this problem.

During 1969 the provincial government imposed cutbacks on the budgets of these Societies indicating an indifference to the serious plight of hundreds of children living in the so-called problem families. The Children's Aid Society of Metropolitan Toronto has, since the beginning of 1969, reduced its social work staff by 11 workers.

These Societies have found it necessary to reduce considerably their preventive services so necessary if children are to be protected from serious damage. W. Ward Markle, Director of the Catholic Children's Aid Society was quoted in the *Globe and Mail* last summer as saying, "We are reduced to picking up the pieces". There is a great need for more foster homes, group foster care, remedial services for emotionally disturbed children, diagnostic services to seek out the perceptually handicapped, etc.

Generally speaking, the condition of children in families where the parents are retarded or alcoholic, or both, is deplorable. Only by changing the destructive environment or, failing that, removing the children from its debilitating effect, can any real change be brought about. In families where foster care is not the answer, long term supervision is the only way the problem can be controlled. Here the role of the Public Health Nurse and other supervisory workers is indispensable and should be increased.

We recommend:

1. Greatly expanded child care programmes concentrated on the depressed inner urban areas. We would stress the need for day care centres providing an enriched pre-school experience for culturally deprived children. Without such a programme these children cannot compete successfully at school.

2. Educational programmes for parents of long term disadvantaged families. There is no hope of combatting the culture of poverty other than by providing educational clinics in nutrition, house-keeping and child care.

3. That legislation be enacted to make attendance at such clinics mandatory for families with a history of neglect and abuse of children. The supervision of such families must be tightened.

4. That voluntary sterilization for both men and women and therapeutic abortion be made more freely available in our society. Where the recipient cannot pay the cost, the programme should be supported under public health services. While we recognize that it is extremely difficult for any government to legislate in the area of population policy, we feel it is necessary to draw to your attention the need to prevent children being born into totally destructive environments.

PUBLIC HEALTH

Our Association stands on record as having recommended a universal high standard of health care. The Province of Ontario has offered financial incentives to municipalities to set up health units or districts which have been largely ignored. It seems to us that the financial assistance available to each municipality could be flexible enough to allow for the special needs of the population of each area in addition to providing a basic standard of care. Ill health is a major cause of poverty. The high cost of prescription drugs is a contributing factor and there have been no government plans to extend the limited Medicare programme to include the cost of drugs.

MANPOWER RETRAINING PROGRAMMES

Our Association is on record as having brought the problem of inadequate counselling and medical services to the attention of the former Metropolitan Committee on Adult Retraining. We are convinced that sufficient trained staff should be available to make a proper evaluation of a trainee's potential, his

interests and aptitudes. In addition, a careful medical assessment of a trainee's physical and mental health would add greatly to his chances for success.

While we agree that it is not always possible to adjust the character of the training to the availability of jobs, this aspect of the programme should be constantly under review. It is possible, however, to evaluate the earning potential of a trainee in a particular occupation in advance. To avoid the expensive and discouraging process of retraining for jobs insufficiently remunerative, the circumstances of the family must be taken into account, i.e. size of family, etc.

The medical services available at the counselling centre are not adequate. The staff is not large enough to examine all the trainees. In addition there appears to be no way at the present time to supply needed eye glasses and dental services. The medical examination by a Public Health nurse sometimes results in the prospective trainee being sent to a hospital for diagnosis. The hospital is not informed of the type of training that the trainee is scheduled to undertake. In addition the diagnosis frequently reaches the training centre after the trainee has been registered in a course. There is little evidence that any follow up is done and treatment arranged. Difficulty is experienced in switching a trainee from one course into another if he is unable to cope mentally or physically. In general, inadequate medical screening for physical and mental problems leads to serious deficiencies in the retraining process. We believe that expanded medical and counselling services should be provided in advance of any decision with regard to retraining.

HOUSING

There can be no doubt that high shelter costs are placing a tremendous burden on families, some of whom have to pay up to 40 per cent of their income on housing. The result is inadequate diet, insufficient clothing and overcrowded, deteriorating dwellings.

Within Metropolitan Toronto the stock of housing available at a moderate rent is being constantly depleted through demolition and private rehabilitation. Approximately one thousand dwellings have been torn down annually over the past six or seven years, to make way for private redevelopment, roads, schools, hospitals, etc. In addition, private rehabilitation is depleting that part of the housing stock which has been financially within the means of lower income people. The

renewed buildings are far beyond the financial reach of low income families.

Subsidized public housing appears to be the only way the depleted housing stock can be replenished at rents people can afford to pay.

In June 1969, the Ontario Housing Corporation made a survey of the approximately 16,000 applications on file for public housing. The survey indicated that seven out of ten applications were actively interested in locating in public housing.

The following is a breakdown of the reasons given and the income level of those applying for public housing.

- (1) 36.6 per cent stated that high rents caused them to apply for public housing.
- (2) 40 per cent listed poor living conditions and overcrowding.
- (3) 13.2 per cent stated that they lived in rooms only.

Of the 60 per cent of applicants who were employed, $\frac{1}{3}$ had incomes of less than \$300. per month, while $\frac{1}{2}$ had incomes of less than \$400. per month. Surprisingly, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the applicants stated that they preferred renting to home ownership, given the choice and adequate financial arrangements.**

URBAN RENEWAL

I. Rehabilitation of Housing

Within publicly financed urban renewal schemes, the rehabilitation of private housing must become of major importance. In this way we can eliminate the wholesale clearance of areas which results in the displacement of communities. However, unless public money within urban renewal is made available for private rehabilitation, the process will be self defeating because families will be forced to move, unable to sustain the cost of renovation. It is unrealistic to expect families living in run down areas to bear to cost of renewal of their property. Further, if landlords are excluded from any scheme of government rehabilitation loans or grants, they will pass on the cost of renovation to their tenants.

Our Association, along with other organizations, has consistently called for urban renewal schemes with a large rehabilitation component, but with protection for the tenant as well as the home owner.

**Ontario Housing Corporation, Metropolitan Toronto Application Survey, May 1, 1969.

II. The Social Development of Areas under Urban Renewal Planning

The Association of Women Electors has become increasingly concerned about the lack of adequate social planning within publicly financed urban renewal planning. Older, low income residential areas are beset by a multitude of social problems directly related to poverty. The physical replanning of areas represents only part of the task. Of equal importance is the renewal of the social fabric of the community. The quality of life in the renovated area will depend largely on the opportunities for individuals and families to participate in recreational, educational and health programmes. The Report of the Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto, dated April 16, 1969, entitled "Urban Renewal, Policies and Procedures", emphasizes the need for social planning to develop concurrently with physical planning in any urban renewal scheme involving residential areas.

We propose that the Federal Government require the municipality, when it requests funds, to develop a plan for urban renewal under Section 23A of the National Housing Act; to file also a request for funds under The Canada Assistance Plan, Section 2, (m) (v); to bring forward a companion scheme for social renewal and community development. The two schemes, one for the physical renewal of the neighbourhood, and the other for the social renewal of the neighbourhood, would make up the urban renewal plan. The Provincial Government should be requested to pass enabling legislation to allow Section 2 (m) (v) of the Canada Assistance Plan to become operative as it applies to public urban renewal in residential areas.

Social planning for a neighbourhood will require close consultation with the people living in the area. Citizen participation can be facilitated by accessibility to a friendly meeting place and a project co-ordinator whose first duty is to reach out to the residents.

As a general guide for developing a plan for social renewal we suggest the following three-pronged approach:

(1) Services the people of the area are demanding, e.g. recreational

(2) Services which the community will recognize as necessary once the usefulness of the service is explained: e.g. information services.

(3) Services which can become acceptable after a period of consultation and demonstration, e.g. child welfare, health and educational services.

We think that the goal for citizen participation should be the development of a neighbourhood council or corporation capable of taking over the direction and co-ordination of the community recreational and service programmes.

The City of Toronto will soon be involved with the people of Trefann Court in developing an urban renewal scheme for their area which will have the approval of the residents.

We recommend this opportunity be seized to develop an action-oriented pilot project for social renewal and community development.

The Canadian Welfare Council staff states in its submission to your committee, Mr. Chairman, in Paragraph 60:

"development of integrated and co-ordinated methods of delivering services at the community or neighbourhood level can be one of the most important preventive measures in overcoming poverty"

Trefann Court offers a unique situation in which to bring forward a plan for community development. Over years of uncertainty caused first by the designation of the area for redevelopment, and later, by the unsuccessful introduction of an urban renewal plan and its withdrawal, the people of Trefann have developed a strong identity and awareness. They have learned how to cope with City Hall, have gained insight into their own needs and have a strong sense of neighbourhood.

We urge you to take whatever steps you are able to recommend for immediate consideration in the setting up of a pilot project in this neighbourhood.

Conclusion

Although we recognize that many recommendations presented to the Committee, involve study before implementation, we are certain that others can be introduced fairly readily.

We strongly urge, therefore, that the Committee search diligently for such, and would suggest as an example, income tax relief to senior citizens and working families at or below poverty levels.

Further, we wish to emphasize the great need for increased citizen participation and constructive recipient involvement in the programme planning.

We endorse the resolution of the Ontario Welfare Council's 1969 Conference Workshop on Poverty:

"Social Agencies should help the poor to help themselves—

(b) by encouraging consumer participation on all Boards of Directors of voluntary agencies providing counselling and social services and on Boards and commissions of government departments dealing in 'Consumer Services'".

It should be noted that many voluntary agencies provide highly professional services and the role of the volunteer is a supporting one. Our Association is of the opinion that as a general principle, any service that is accepted by the community as a necessary and reasonable service and has been part of the fabric of the community over a period of time should be supported by the broad tax base and not rely for funds on voluntary giving.

Recognizing the fact that a very small percentage of available social services are financed through the community funds, how much more constructive it would be to use this community effort to pay for innovative programmes that are highly relevant to the current situation in a given community. In this way a flexible approach could be developed to accommodate the need for a new programme. It is imperative that some funds be available to assist individuals or small groups of residents, especially in the less affluent areas, who are trying to help themselves with a day-care centre, a drop-in centre for mothers, or what ever it may be. At the present time there appears to be no way to support these efforts. Unless this flexibility can be found, in frustration, individuals and groups will turn more and more to encouragement from persons outside the existing structures.

We sense in our urban areas, a rising discontent, and an uneasiness, an ever widening separation between the affluent majority on the one hand and the minority of the poor. This minority consider themselves to be the victims of an indifferent system. We must seek out new techniques of communication with the disadvantaged so that together we can devise programmes which will respond to the constantly shifting need.

Appendix "A"

THE MUNICIPALITY OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO DEPARTMENT OF WELFARE

May 14, 1969

To: The Welfare and Housing Committee

As directed by this Committee, this Depart-

21685-10

ment has attempted to summarize the financial problems related to the group of persons in the lower level of earnings in the Metropolitan area. This report attempts to compare marginal earning levels with rates of welfare provided to single persons or families of various sizes under the schedules set down in the General Welfare Assistance Act.

For single persons, the basic welfare rate is made up of (a) pre-added budget, which includes food, clothing, and personal items, etc.; (b) shelter, (c) household supplies or utilities allowance, and, if required, (d) a fuel allowance.

A typical budget for a single person would be—

Pre-added budget	\$47.00
Shelter	43.00
Utilities	8.00
Household Supplies	7.00
Total	\$105.00

For families, the rate would vary from a married couple, no dependents, to a family with up to 14 dependents. Budgets for such families would also vary from an allowance of \$181.00 per month for two persons to \$410.00 for the largest family of 15 persons.

In the Metropolitan area, the last known average wage equalled \$115.00 per week, so that it is indicated for a single person one week's wages would more than equal one month's welfare entitlement. Indeed, even at the new minimum wage rate of \$1.30 per hour, a single person would earn the equivalent of a full month's welfare entitlement in two weeks or less.

It would seem, therefore, that, although the question of welfare for single employable persons has been and will continue to be a contentious issue, it cannot be assumed that welfare allowances should require incentives to encourage employable single persons to undertake employment at even the lower levels of wages.

In the family area, however, low incomes from marginal income certainly do compare with welfare rates and when these welfare rates are augmented by supplementary services such as drugs, medications, dental care, health and hospital services coverage, then the motivation of income alone is often removed from employment.

In Metropolitan Toronto, as previously indicated, the average monthly wage would be approximately \$490.67. There are, of course, large numbers of employees who are

earning wages for below this average. Unfortunately, insufficient information is available to state the total family income of some of these wage earners as income may be augmented by working wives, part-time work, roomers, boarders, rentals, etc.

It is reported that of approximately 884,000 employable persons in the Toronto area at the time of last reporting, roughly 51.4 per cent earned in excess of \$4,000.00 per year, which would be close to the higher levels of welfare payment. Of the balance reporting income of \$4,000.00 per year or less, there is no basis for estimating family size or welfare entitlement.

While it would first appear from this figure that there are some 433,160 persons earning less than \$4000.00 per year, it must be considered that this is based on tax reported earned income. Many of these persons would represent family combinations of working wives and children where combined household income would be beyond the need level. In many other cases, particularly the group

earning under \$1000.00 per year, there would be a combination of earnings, pensions or savings which would further reduce the number involved. Many of the group will be students earning wages during summer months only. Others will be persons who, by choice, work restricted hours.

It is assumed that because of these factors and because lower earnings are often related to inexperience and short tenure that the proportion of single persons in the lower levels of pay will be considerably higher than in the upper levels of income.

With regard to wage supplementation for employed persons, a comparison can be made as to the degree of supplementation required for family units by a comparison between existing welfare rates and the minimum wage. While variations occur in rates paid due to age of family members, etc., the following table indicates average monthly payment per family:

Family Size	Minimum Wage 40-hour week	Welfare Entitlement	Supplement
	\$	\$	\$
2	225.00	172.00	nil
3	225.00	205.00	nil
4	225.00	245.00	20.00
5	225.00	285.00	60.00
6	225.00	320.00	95.00
7	225.00	330.00	105.00

all families in excess of 7 add \$10.00 per month.

It should be stressed as stated previously that the average wage for the Toronto area is in excess of \$490.00 per month and the minimum wage stated here would apply to less than 25 per cent of the total wage earners. Conversely, the bulk of family units, approximately 413,000 of 535,000 in the last record, are composed of 4 or less members.

Income supplementation to equal welfare levels would seem to apply then to a potential 30,500 families in Metropolitan Toronto at rates ranging from \$20.00 to \$100.00 per month, plus the benefits of prescriptions, dental and health services now available to present recipients.

While these latter items can presently be subsidized under the General Welfare Assistance Act, there is no provision under existing legislation for wage supplementation. Further, I would suggest that even drugs or dental

care would require special consideration by the Government of Ontario in view of the cost implications.

It should be emphasized that the 30,500 is an estimate only. It would also include many or most of the general assistance caseload in the employable group.

Assuming the application of a needs test of the same degree as presently administered for existing cases, it will be seen that the caseload for the Department could more than double the existing caseload.

Verification of such earnings and wages as would be available to recipients would indicate a clerical task at least equal to that for processing existing cases.

While I do not believe such concepts as negative income tax or guaranteed annual income can totally replace income maintenance programs for the large group of chroni-

cally unemployed who require full assistance on a ready basis of two weeks to one month intervals for varying periods of time, I believe that income supplementation programs for low wage earners can be better handled on a basis of annual or semi-annual returns reflecting earned income rather than monthly needs. It is also my opinion that such programs are of a scale to be beyond the scope of municipal welfare services having regard to the finances involved.

The question has also been raised with regard to earnings exemptions to welfare recipients as an incentive to accept part-time employment with a view to complete vocational rehabilitation to fulltime work.

While I would support earnings exemptions for part-time work to raise living standards, it should be emphasized that earnings exemptions on part-time work for able-bodied employables would further increase the disparity between low regular wages and welfare standards of payment.

To clarify this point, I would suggest that exemptions on part-time employment for employables be restricted to definite periods of time or to definite employment goals to eliminate long-term dependency on a combination of welfare assistance and casual employment.

Some other reservations with regard to long-term supplementation of earnings or exemption of earnings should be pointed out:

1. Supplementation of earnings on a mass scale would act to eliminate pres-

sure on the employer for increased earnings and could delay amendments to minimum wage laws;

2. Supplementation could create further anomalies in the income tax structure which would act as a deterrent for pressure by the individual for wage increase; e.g., present maximum welfare payment to a family of five equals \$3660.00 per annum. In an employed family such income would be taxed beyond the basic exemption of \$3000.00. It will be seen that to the wage earner, a tax free welfare supplement would be preferable to a comparable increase in earnings.

3. Wage supplementation should not be considered on a local scale without cognizance of the effect in attracting low wage earners from other areas. Even on a Provincial basis, this would provide additional incentive for persons of few marketable skills to enter the Province.

For these and reasons previously stated, earning supplementation should be considered on a national scale and preferably through some system of negative taxation based on family size, rather than on a welfare needs test basis. I believe it undesirable to introduce a large number of fully employed persons to the welfare rolls.

Should assistance be considered, I would suggest that it should first be considered in terms of special need such as high drug or dental costs, rather than on a wage supplement.

APPENDIX "D"

Brief to
The Special Committee
on Poverty

Presented by

Victoria Day Care Services
539 Jarvis Street
Toronto 5, Ontario 925-3419

March 10, 1970

VICTORIA DAY CARE SERVICES

The Victoria Day Care Services has a service history to the children of working mothers which dates back to 1892. In that period the agency was known as the Creche, a name it retained until 1951, when it changed to Victoria Day Nursery. At the first of year 1968 it was changed again to Victoria Day Care Services, a name we believe more aptly comprehends our present programme.

Our function is to offer day-care service on a non-sectarian basis to preschool children within the Metropolitan Toronto area, whose families need this service for economic, social or health reasons. Children with special needs are also accepted. We are open five days a week from 7:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. The programme is provided through group care in nursery school for children two through five years of age, and in Family Day Care for children under two, for children attending school who need lunch-time and after-school supervision, for children waiting a vacancy in a nursery school group, and/or for those children who, though old enough for a group, are not yet ready for one, and require an additional period of individual attention in preparation. Family day care homes are located in the neighborhoods near the day nursery center.

Our aim is threefold: to protect small children; to prepare them emotionally, socially, and intellectually for school entrance; and to strengthen and stabilize their families through help to their parents.

The sole-support mothers and the working mothers comprise our major parent groups, although our service is not limited to them. Because we see ourselves as a prevention programme, we are particularly anxious to help young families "at risk", who need their par-

enting responsibilities shared and their capacity for meeting them strengthened.

A staff of eighteen undertake to provide the actual programme: 8 nursery school teachers, 1 nursery school supervisor, 2 social workers, 3 house staff, a secretary-receptionist, a book-keeper, a janitor, and the Director. A consultant psychiatrist spends two afternoons a month with the staff; a public health nurse visits weekly, and a public health doctor monthly, to supervise the health services to all the children.

The agency is managed by a Board of 15 Directors, and there is a membership, now numbering approximately seventy. More than half of this group serve as volunteers within the programme in such activities as driving, accompanying children to special clinic appointments, staffing the sleep-rooms, operating a Toggery Shop, providing clerical assistance, sewing and knitting, putting out a newsletter, staffing the reference library, raising funds and serving on community planning committees, etc.

Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations

A

1. The causes of poverty are complex and interactional; no single cause can be isolated, though some are listed;
2. Strategies for removing poverty must be directed at each of the identified contributing causes, not only at the problem of income access or distribution;
3. Repressive attitudes in the past have made it impossible to develop our assistance programmes as far as they needed to go;
4. It is too simple to hold "the welfare system" responsible for our failure to remove poverty;
5. We have not allowed the disadvantaged and the poor to tell us in fact "like it is", nor have we considered including them in planning ways to solve their problems. Rather, we have tended to treat them as though they were the problem;
6. Public welfare programmes in the past moved away from removing poverty to just reducing some of its stress. Financial equivalents were developed for identified human needs of shelter, food, clothing, heat, and light. Grants however tended to freeze at

these items. They not quite met the costs of "allowed" need, but could not readily expand the meet, "real" need;

7. This rigidity "locked-in" poverty, and increased its costs. Anxieties about rising welfare budgets brought sanctions on the poor, not the system; demands for tighter budgeting set the cycle off again, and made the potential welfare costs even higher.

8. Public welfare staffs were not able to focus on the life situation of recipients nor were they helped to attempt such assistance;

9. Voluntary social work veered away from environmental concerns to casework with individuals directed toward personal adjustment. Its conservative approach tended to serve the middle and upper middle classes, with the consequence that it tended to reinforce the status quo and appeared irrelevant to the poor and disadvantaged.

10. The gaps between the public and private sectors effectively prevented until now any useful combination of the two approaches (large programmes directed at large numbers, and the know-how of bringing about change). Enabling and supporting services were as a result effectively shut off from those who needed them most.

11. Development of government-based patterns of social security available to almost all, combined with the pattern of concentrated fund raising for voluntary services, also helped to keep the poor invisible, and to lull many Canadians into believing that actual poverty did not exist;

12. While we agree that new systems are indicated, particularly of income access to those in need of more money, this is but one facet of the question; supportive and enabling services must go hand in glove with income access programmes if the chronically disadvantaged are to be equipped and mobilized toward upward mobility, and if the generational pattern of poverty is to be broken. Failure to recognize this inter-dependence will result in a repeat of the experience of partial solution: generalized failure to eradicate poverty.

B

1. We recommend that examination continue of suggested methods for income access to the poor and chronically disadvantaged and the near-poor.

2. We recommend that public-private cooperation patterns be changed to allow fuller use of one by the other; involvement in policy making of one with the other; and direct

participation of recipients of services in planning for programmes, setting of policies, publicizing of information about services, etc. That citizen advisory boards be established in relation to all social welfare and public assistance departments at provincial and local levels in all provinces.

3. We recommend that direct assistance guide-lines, along with grants to fixed income groups, be re-examined each two years to consider cost-of-living implications.

4. We recommend that supportive services now generally recognized as needed to meet normal life crises, be made available to the poor as part of the public welfare system, but provided under both public and private auspices. Such services to include visiting homemaker services, day care, skill training in homemaking and child care, emergency help and support as well as emotional sustaining in crises, etc.

5. We recommend a major recruitment and public education campaign to attract to the public welfare field individuals who can

(a) work directly with the poor, the disadvantaged and the near poor to improve their own life situations and to take the steps necessary to do this; and

(b) undertake in-service training programmes which sensitize and equip welfare staffs for the emotional impact of their work, and which will direct attitudes in such a way as to treat applicants with respect and consideration.

6. We recommend an equally concentrated campaign of public education as to the genuine issues involved in the understanding and changing of poverty, as the Committee itself understands them, in order to prepare the citizens of Canada for future proposals and the financing basis which will be attached.

MAIN BODY OF THE PRESENTATION

1. Introductory Statement

1.1 The phenomenon of continuing poverty in the midst of the affluent society is a cause for much concern and thought. Considerable attention has been given of late to understanding the reasons for this paradox, and many contributing factors have been identified. These factors, which interact on each other, include the following:

(a) economic conditions in a given community, region, or country;

(b) inaccessibility of adequate income to some individuals because of lack of marketable skills;

(c) "locked-in" patterns of poverty which have become generational;

(d) attitudes which have hampered the development of assistance programmes and enabling services because of the suggestion that poverty was, after all, a matter of choice, poor character, or lack of ambition;

(e) political expediency which has slowed patterns of change because consensus could not be achieved about which priorities needed how much financing, or that "welfare" was a priority; and

(f) the slowness of the field of social welfare itself to shift its attention from dealing with the symptoms, results, and consequences of poverty to attempting to deal with poverty and its causes as a central social and societal issue.

1.2 There has not been, nor is there likely to be, agreement as to the emphasis any or each of these should receive as primary causal factors. What has emerged is increasing acceptance of the proposition that poverty is not the result of one single set of circumstances, nor can it be dismissed with a value judgment about the characters and irresponsibility of the poor themselves.

1.3 Access to solution to the problem is no simpler than understanding it. Just as it is not useful to oversimplify causation, it seems equally hazardous to hope that eradication of poverty is "simply" a matter of redistribution of money, or a new system of access to it for those who need more. Nor is it either fair or accurate to blame "the welfare system" as the visible agent of the failure of our society to remove poverty.

1.4 If Canada is serious about stopping poverty, action on all six areas listed above (a-f) will be required. Correlation of initiatives undertaken by public departments will be necessary, and public-private cooperation will have to both improve and change. Attitudes about the poor will particularly require modifying in those quarters which have hesitated to endorse adequate financing of services. But also a new element will require to be included: the voice and opinions of the poor themselves. If changes are to be useful and permanent, rather than illusory, we must ask them what they want and need, and be willing to listen when they tell us. Public-private partnership, long the accepted duality of approach to social planning, will now need to become a triad of public-service, private-service and service recipient. To date, we have not been willing to have the poor "tell it like it is".

1.5 It is not within our competence to discuss and recommend upon national economic policy, nor to suggest which programme of income maintenance is the best. Issues such as these are well documented by the Economic Council of Canada and the Canadian Welfare Council. Rather, we would prefer to limit our comments to areas relating to our own experience and some of the inferences we have drawn from that experience.

2. The Stated Goal of Social Welfare Programmes—and What in Fact Has Happened

2.1 There is general consensus that the present public welfare system is ineffective—or at least that it has not been effective in changing the situation of poverty. Modern programmes of social assistance once had as their goal the removal of poverty and chronic dependence; but the rationale shifted under pressure to that of ameliorating some of the strains of poverty. These strains were associated with identified human needs, and money was acknowledged as necessary to meet these needs: shelter, food, clothing, heat, and light. But attitudes made it impossible for adequate support to even these items (except in some jurisdictions at present), and closely watched guidelines for giving created a priority for guarding the tax dollar instead of meeting actual need.

2.2 Not surprisingly, a cause-and-effect interaction was set up, with the following results:

(a) the pressure of public attitude to watch the tax dollar caused equally strict scrutiny on the part of welfare administrators and their staffs of the requests that came to them for help. Prospective recipients were subjected to very close scrutiny and a mood of mutual suspicion was generated;

(b) social assistance programmes hemmed in by such fiscal accountability anxieties could not expand to meet actual need: they could meet only "allowed" need. These rigid restrictions helped to increase poverty rather than lessen it as families and individuals became trapped in their circumstances and ultimately defeated by them. As welfare costs increased as a result, misunderstanding of this cause-and-effect relationship often brought cries for even more stringent controls on welfare spending, thereby sending the cycle off on another self-defeating round.

(c) Such pressures affected the staff situation throughout the public welfare

system. Restrictive policies, heavy caseloads, poor working conditions, combined with professional self-consciousness to keep trained social workers away from the public welfare field, low priority depressed salaries; bureaucracy buried workers under a sea of paper work. Involvement with the life situation of recipients was impossible and not encouraged. In too many instances welfare departments become "money dispensaries" (or withholders) dispensing something supposed to be a remedy with no idea of the nature of the illness or the diagnosis that should have been made of the extent of the malfunction.

(d) orientation and in-service training programmes for staffs, with emphasis on the legislation and enabling regulations, did little to prepare or equip untrained workers for the impact of their encounter with people who were so different from themselves and who were often incompetent, uncooperative, inadequate, hostile, confused and defeated and bitter. Offices which afforded little or no privacy did nothing at all to build in respect for the personal rights of the applicants, and fed the attitude problem constantly.

(e) because of the necessity of standardizing eligibility requirements and payment guidelines, administrative procedures tended to become ends in themselves. The thinking seemed to be that now that need had been identified and programmes set up to meet those needs, there simply remained the administrative facility which brought the two together.

2. The Field of Voluntary Social Work

3.1 The professional social worker and the profession of social work itself have played their own part in this pattern. It has already been mentioned that trained workers avoided the heavy demand of public welfare work, and sought employment for many years (particularly the '40's and '50's) in private agencies. Working conditions were often better, salaries higher, caseloads controlled, budgets more flexible because they were administered by available Board of Directors, etc. The primary focus of most agencies during that period was individual casework and the service seemed more fully related to the client's full life situation. Two very influential points-of-view largely determined the focus of such casework efforts:

(a) a preoccupation with "adjustment" as the casework goal. Casework during that twenty year period was strongly influenced by psychiatric thought and practice, and there was a heavy concentration on treatment, counselling, etc. in order to effect an improved adjustment of the client to his environment or life situation. This approach presumes that the environment is essentially "fixed", and that the individual should be able to manage competently in relation to it. Such an approach was most successful within the middle and upper middle classes. It turned social work in large measure away from its original attention to environment, and helped to earn the current criticism that it was a protector of the status quo and not considered relevant by the poor.

(b) a second point of view which played into the conservatism of professional social work was a conviction that children, especially small children, are always better cared for by their own mothers. This point of view of course echoed that of the general public. Even in the face of rising protection caseloads which indicated that many mothers were unable to carry this responsibility unassisted, the myth persisted that child-parent relationship problems were essentially a matter of parent attitudes and education and could most usually be resolved by counselling interviews. The development of the child guidance clinic movement, which attracted and served usually middle class and upper middle class families (the wealthy went to private psychiatrists and the poor went nowhere), strengthened this social work approach to parenting.

3.2 These two elements helped the situation of the poor to remain invisible. Poor parents who could not cope with their children were too often met at the point of failure, when the state had to intervene to provide wardship or other protective care. While individual private agencies gave genuine creative leadership to methods just now receiving generalized endorsement, by and large there was little being done to identify and dramatize the plight of the poor, or to initiate action against poverty as a fact in itself which needed eradication. That poverty victimizes its captive audience and acts upon them is only now, it seems, gaining credence as a fact.

4. Some Missing Elements in Social Welfare in The Past

A. Cooperation

4.1 With these many factors and influences at work, it ought to come as no surprise that the public sector and the private sector of the social welfare field grew apart rather than closer. It seems to us essential to face this fact openly and honestly. It is not a question of assigning blame, but rather of putting our finger on another aspect of the reason why poverty has been allowed to go on so long unchallenged.

4.2 Public departments can be subjected to political pressure, but they can also become inflexible, unapproachable, and secretive. Private agencies can be intimidated through their financing arrangements, but they can also be insular, over-professional, narrow in outlook, and protective of past glories. Whatever the case, there has not been a good use of the one made by the other, and a communication gap developed.

4.3 This communication gap led to a credibility gap which led in turn to a cooperation gap. It seems imperative to us that steps be taken to bridge these gaps; no pattern of programmes Federal, Provincial, or local will have much chance of success unless a new pattern of cooperation is developed. And this new pattern must involve access of the average man to information, and to actual involvement in policy formation. This will not be easy.

B. Awareness of Change as a Process

4.4 One of the most serious lacks in our pattern of public welfare programmes has been the absence of an "enabling" rationale. While we set up our services, regulations, and procedures directed at the poor and disadvantaged, we seemed unable to realize that bringing about change in human circumstances and behavior is a process: it does not happen automatically and very often it has precious little to do with money per se.

4.5 If we are correct, that the function of public assistance programmes has been to finance meeting minimal human existence needs, then it is not inconsistent, perhaps, that they developed few if any auxiliary services designed to help people out of the locked-in tunnel. But the absence of such services represents a central and critical failure to understand the nature of the task.

4.6 Ironically, while the public sector ignored the enabling support required to

bring about change in the poor, the private casework field and its psychiatric mentors were concentrating particularly on developing the understanding and skills required to facilitate change in their clients. It was accepted that personality growth was often painful and uneven, that the attempt to change, however well motivated, required considerable consistent support and sharing, and that failures or crises were inevitable and needed to be met with emotional support and sustaining until people were again able to make decisions and choices for themselves. Hours were spent in interviews examining the problems, the possible solutions, and the details of next steps. This excellent support was made available to our more adequate middle and upper middle class clients, who know how to use conversation as the avenue for communication, and analysis of feelings and concepts as the device for change and understanding.

4.7 Yet with the victims of poverty we did the opposite. To those usually the least well housed, the least well nourished, the least well educated, the least resourceful within themselves because of lack of experience with solving problems—in other words—to those least able to manage their chronically disadvantaged lives we gave not quite enough money and expected them to manage it like Wall St. brokers. When they failed to manage it well (and it wasn't adequate anyway), our sanctions fell upon them instead of on the system. When the affluent couldn't manage we provided sensitive long-term supportive counselling. We have done until recently virtually nothing to work with the poor to help them move out of poverty.

5. Implications for Recommendations for Change

5.1 In mobilizing ourselves to overcome poverty attention to two main approaches (at least) is involved: the specific programme required, and the process involved in implementing those programmes so they do work. Developing the one without the other will be to court failure again.

A. Programmes for Poverty

5.2 As a rather over-simplification, it may be suggested that formalized programmes tend to cluster into two groupings:

- (a) those directed essentially to the provision of money; and
- (b) those directed to providing a service which facilitates, and improves individual functioning and coping.

5.3 Appendix B of the Guide for Submission of Briefs to this Committee lists some twenty-eight Federal-Provincial Assistance Programmes whose main aim is the direction of financial support to meet an identified need. The majority of the balance of twenty-three programmes would fit under (b) above as directed toward facilitating or improving the functioning level of citizens.

5.4 Reorganization of the many legislated programmes into a more cohesive and relevant package is necessary, and was initiated in the provisions of the Canada Assistance Act. Many organizations more competent than we to speak to these points are, we are sure, making representation to you. New patterns of income access are indicated, whether as guaranteed annual income, negative income tax, etc. More reasonable levels of direct assistance or family benefits grants will require action as well as the dilemma faced by the elderly or others on fixed incomes which do not adjust readily enough to cope with rising cost of living. We would like to see methods considered which would strengthen the Federal position vis-a-vis the provinces, so that there is more consistent and fuller use made of the provisions of legislation like the Canada Assistance Act by all the provinces. While such programmes languish as pieces of permissive legislation there seems little likelihood that "voluntary incentives" will be adequate to initiate full utilization.

5.5 While income access programmes as in (a) above will no doubt develop, more however is needed. The supportive services required, as referred to in (b), are absolute essentials. Identifying and planning for such services requires a clear look at what is required for family and individual functioning today. In a generalized sense this means that support and help and listening which were provided more generally in the past by relatives and close neighbors when something went wrong or people were ill or in trouble. Such as:

(a) visiting homemakers available on a subsidized basis for the poor as well as those who can pay;

(b) day care programmes geared to the education of children not just baby-sitting them and available not only to working mothers but to mothers at home as well, and to parents who are retraining under Canada Manpower programmes, and available where and as they need it (e.g. in public housing projects, for full-day, half-day or on an emergency basis)

for children from birth up to ten or eleven years of age, provided under both public and private auspices;

(c) as another aspect of the responsibility to share parental responsibility, expanded Big Brother and Big Sister services to serve the 10 per cent of Canadian children now growing up with only one parent;

(d) basic homemaking and child care skill training programmes provided by public departments of welfare in cooperation with private agencies and recipients, directed at welfare families, protection department families, young unmarried mothers, etc., and geared to their own expressed needs and actual functioning levels;

(e) re-introduction of home economics programmes in junior high and high schools aimed at both boys and girls in all streams, geared to realities of modern marriage, homemaking, and child care, since so few of our high school attenders go on to post-secondary education;

(f) a concentrated effort to attract to the public welfare field social workers who can work with groups and individuals on public assistance, to help them mobilize themselves to change their situations. Such counselling and community organization function would direct the poor toward services of which they are unaware, toward legal aid service as required, toward marital counselling or family court as indicated, toward adult retraining courses, toward recreational opportunities, etc. And when necessary, such counselling should be free to direct grievance submission to public welfare authorities with and on behalf of recipients, without risk;

(g) programmes for before-and-after counselling, reception and "settling-in" services including adequate "tiding-over" financial help for the immigrant group in Canada; such programmes to be jointly sponsored by public and private agencies and subsidized by public funds. Without correlation of the personal adjustment factors involved in retraining and relocation of the poor from disadvantaged areas, the poverty will be the only thing that really relocated;

(h) encouragement for youth to remain in school through an assistance programme which allows sufficient income to

the family that youths are not forced to go to work in order to help support the parents and younger children.

B. The Essential Oil to the Machinery

5.6 While it is encouraging to see Canada willing to examine its present situation in order to improve our attempts to eradicate poverty, we hope that one of the most critical mistakes of the past will be avoided this time. That mistake was the failure to build in to the core of the public welfare structure a recognition that money is not the only ingredient missing from the households of the poor. Supportive and enabling services must go hand in hand with any programme of income access. And in the provision of those supportive services there must be staff of the calibre and knowledge required to work with

the chronically disadvantaged on their own rehabilitation. Such staff must be free to engage in such work, supported by a public welfare system more realistic and flexible than in the past. If we fail again to recognize the human component in public welfare planning, we will do little else than re-shuffle our existing and historic pattern under a new set of titles, then assign another committee in 15 or 20 years to examine why it hasn't worked and we still have poverty with us.

Victoria Day Care Services
539 Jarvis Street
Toronto 284, Ontario

Mrs. Craig Davidson, President

Miss Barbara A. Chisholm, Executive
Director

APPENDIX "E"

A Brief

to

The Special Senate Committee

on

Poverty

Presented by

Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto
504 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5, Ontario.
Telephone: 925-8981

Agency Representatives:

Geoffrey V. Brown,
Executive Director,
Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto,
504 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5, Ontario.
Mrs. Laura Ferrier,
Research Associate,
Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto,
504 Jarvis Street, Toronto 5, Ontario.

Introduction

Big Brothers of Metropolitan Toronto is very pleased to have this opportunity of presenting a brief to The Special Senate Committee on Poverty since the Agency has particular knowledge of one significant group in our society—the family unit made up of a mother with children in her care, who lacks the help and support of a father or father-substitute.

Definition of Poverty

The definition of poverty that we would like to present, therefore, is related to this family unit, and particularly has reference to the boy growing up in a fatherless home. Poverty for such a boy means: "Deprivation of the influence of a mature male from whom the boy learns much about adult masculine behaviour; who would normally be the means of introduction to the outside world of business and recreation; who would provide stimulus and companionship, and guidance in personal and vocational matters. Added to this psychological deprivation is the fact that, in most cases where the family head is the

mother, income is barely adequate,⁽¹⁾ therefore the boy is likely to be disadvantaged through lack of financial resources in attempting to reach his potential."

The Population Affected

If the above definition of poverty is accepted, the consequences to the nation of not providing auxiliary services to assist the mother with her responsibilities are obvious since:

(a) boys in the dependent age range (especially up to age 16) constitute the next generation of male adults in our country,

(b) their development into responsible citizens is critically important to our economic, political and cultural welfare,

(c) out of an estimated 3,987,836 boys up to 16 years of age in Canada (DBS Census figures 1966, an estimated 332,340² are in homes where they do not have the consistent guiding influence of an adult male,

(d) there is evidence and opinion that boys growing up in such a home situation are likely to

¹ From: "Brief to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada, 1968" The Junior League of Toronto.

The following statistics point out the extent to which the single mother is responsible for the financial status of her family. The figures are taken from the 1961 Census published by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Series 2.1, Bulletin 2.1-7, Cat. 93-516 (Vol: II-Park I). There are 400,000 families which fall into the single parent category of the total 4,147,444 families in Canada, as of 1961.

Canada: 1. Married, but separated (wife having custody), 8,120; 2. Divorced (wife having custody), 13,005; 3. Widowed (widows), 171,503; 4. Others (men & women) never married or common-law relationship, 9,326.

Toronto: 1. Married, but separated, 10,762 having 30,411 children; 2. Widows, 17,032 having 42,359 children; 3. Divorced (male & female), 2,722 having 6,721 children; 4. Never Married, 927 having 2,043 children.

Income statistics indicate that, whether she works, depends on separation or alimony payments, or receives welfare, the mother with dependent children falls into the lowest family income group in Canada. In Ontario, 20,615 mothers are on Family Benefits, and they have 51,934 dependent children.

² Based on estimated ratio of fatherless boys in the population.

- (1) do less well in school,³
- (2) develop personality and character traits that alarm and distress observers (teachers, social workers, mothers),⁴
- (3) become alienated through a sense of "differentness", loneliness, guilt or suppressed rage,
- (4) demonstrate anti-social attitudes in the class-room and community,
- (5) get in trouble with authority at school or with the police,⁵
- (6) become mildly or seriously emotionally disturbed.

We therefore submit that the population served by a Big Brother agency, made up as it is of mothers on their own and children growing up without the influence of a father, merits the special consideration of the Committee. We are presenting this brief to outline the particular problems of this single-parent family unit. We will make some specific suggestions on how mothers can be assisted in fulfilling their economic role as family head, and what programs can be introduced or expanded to help compensate for father-loss. Assistance to these families will be seen to convert them from liabilities to potential assets for the society, and is therefore to be viewed as a sensible investment. Some of the statistical information used in the submission about such families will be obtained from the Federally financed Research Study now taking place in the Agency. We feel that this information from our Research sample reflects accurately the current picture because:

- (a) families in the sample were selected from registered applications for Agency service, covering the two and a half year period—January 1, 1967 to June 30, 1969,
- (b) all types of referrals are included in the research sample,
- (c) the total referrals included boys in the service age range, 6 to 16 years, and the families represent a full cross-section of Metro Toronto.

³ "School Performance of Children in Families Receiving Public Assistance in Canada" Mukhtar A. Malik (Can. Welfare Council 1966).

⁴ Evidenced by referral to Big Brothers from these sources, intake statistics Dec. 15/69, (See Appendix I).

⁵ Completion of the Police/Court schedule showed that 4% of boys from two-parent homes had a police record, and 1% had a court record; this compares with 16% and 6% for non-referred fatherless boys and 28% and 16% for referred boys.

Figures taken from the Family Interview Schedule and the Police and Court Schedules indicate the situation of families with boys eligible for Big Brother service.⁶ The figures illustrate the size of the problem and the seriousness of the situation if it is agreed that fatherlessness during the impressionable early years of a boy's life can adversely affect his development into an independent, contributing citizen. We are talking about an estimated 332,340 individuals. The psychological deprivation in fatherless families is compounded by loss of income. The departure of the father from the family is most often a major catastrophe depriving the family suddenly of regular income. It may equal any other major catastrophe which wipes out a family's means of support.

In the population we serve, 4% of families depend on Public Welfare and 45% of mothers work to support their families. However, the large majority of working mothers' income does not exceed or even reach the subsistence level.⁷ The working mother has additional expenses with provision of care for children while she works. The situation remains precarious for many years and is resolved only when the mother remarries, which is infrequent, or when the grown-up children enter gainful occupation.

It is evident that some auxiliary services in the community are necessary; that such services in no way substitute for the mother's concern or physical care, but are needed to provide what she cannot by the mere fact of being a woman quite apart from lack of resources.

Community Services which help Compensate for Father-loss

Many organizations offering training and recreating programs exist in the community—Y's, Boys' Clubs, Cubs and Scouts Sea Cadets are a few of these. In this brief we would like to recommend that all such programs should receive necessary assistance from public funds, to ensure that no boy is deprived of their help because of their lack of financial resources. That boys do get turned away happens because most of these organizations provide a program based not on need but rather on expediency. (Their operating budget is determined by expectations of revenue, most of which is likely to come from

⁶ This information now being extracted from the Research Interview Schedules will be forwarded as an appendix to this brief in February.

⁷ \$4,200 for family of 4—Economic Council of Canada.

community fund. The fund can only allocate what it receives, and this amount is not related to need, but to the possible.⁸ many such organizations remain after decades of operation, in essence demonstration projects; that is, they have vindicated their philosophy and proved their usefulness over the years, but financial support has never been geared to demand. Thus the Committee would find upon inquiry that camps where people of limited income can send their children turn away a percentage each season; that recreation programs requiring fee payments are not used by low-income families; that even Cubs and Scouts, where a uniform costs money, are beyond the means of many boys. If governments sincerely want all children to have the advantages of some children from community activities which help develop good citizenship then they should be prepared to offer subsidization on a cost basis to organizations offering approved programs, since even a small difference between costs and revenue adds to a deficit position which is already difficult enough.

Why Some Boys Need Special Programs

The programs described above are primarily group oriented, with minimal staff time available for individual attention. Some boys do not respond to this type of activity, or at least are not at the point where they can participate with ease. For such children, the program offered by Big Brothers is invaluable in that it permits a close personal counselling relationship to develop between a boy who lacks a father-figure and an adult male who has volunteered his service.⁹ The boy's need for such individualized attention often diminishes as he gains confidence or just through the growing-up process, and this is recognized by the professional worker who supervises the relationship. Ideally, there should always be alternatives available when the boy is ready for them, to make place for assisting other boys passing through a critical stage. This, however, is not always the case for the main reason described above (restricted service due to limited budgets).

⁸The goal of the United Community Fund of Metropolitan Toronto was \$12,100,000. Estimated need was \$13,194,262.

⁹The value of this one-to-one type of relationship is recognized by The Ontario Probation Service which now has 23 projects involving volunteers in its adult probation program, plus two experimental programs with juveniles in Metro. The average caseload of a probation officer in Ontario 83.

Cost of Preventive as Compared with Rehabilitative Programs

Unit of service cost to boys in a group is relatively inexpensive, and the figure is often kept low through the use of volunteer adults. Big Brother service, again because of its voluntary component, is not costly (approximately \$300 per year per boy). This compares with rehabilitative service costs ranging from \$2,000-\$16,000 per year. Big Brother service is truly preventive, and expenditure on such a program is dramatically money-saving.¹⁰ In this brief we are not trying to belabour the "savings" aspect; nevertheless, there is nothing wrong in pointing out that saving to the tax-payer results when family disintegration and juvenile problems are prevented rather than merely coped with. We are working from the premise that, except in a small percentage of cases, there are real strengths in these one-parent situations; that it is not necessary to do the whole job, but that a mother bringing up a son on her own needs some help. When she doesn't get it, the costs, in human terms and in tax dollars, can be staggering. One can only conjecture about the saving that might have been affected if preventive services had been available to these families.¹¹

Two Canadian Myths About Poverty

This brief is intended to destroy two prevalent myths:

- (1) that parents not defined as "poor" do not require outside help in fulfilling their parental responsibilities,

¹⁰The number of children in care in Ontario (not in their own homes) in 1970 is approximately 20,000. In 1968, the Province spent \$28,131,270 and the municipalities \$8,987,121 (24%) for a total of \$37,118,391 to look after children who for some reason or another could not remain with their parents. Average cost per child is approximately \$2,000. In some instance, where special institutional treatment is deemed necessary, the yearly cost can be over \$16,000 (\$45 per day). These figures do not include children in Ontario Hospital Schools (except where the children are wards) or children in Provincial Training Schools. The operation of training schools (Dept. of Reform Institutions) in Ontario (estimated 1969-70) is \$11,729,000. An additional \$1,900,000 is budgeted for supervisory and senior administration costs, and a further sum is required for after-care programs.

¹¹For example, there are approximately 100,000 single parent homes in Ontario, but Big Brother service exists in only 25 communities. Although not every fatherless boy needs help, it is simply not available in most cities and towns in the Province. In many communities, there are men willing to give their time, but money to pay for administration is lacking. The senior governments could consider grants to get such programs off the ground, where need and available volunteer resources are validated by Big Brothers of Canada.

(2) that where such help is not obtained through private purchase (baby-sitters, household help, etc.) it is readily available in full supply by the community,

In examining the requirements of the "poor", we should look first at the requirements of the average, non-dependent family. What supportive services are needed in any situation where there is a father, mother and children? What extra services are required when father is no longer in the picture? We find that even where there are two parents, various ancillary services are required. They are supplied by relatives or are purchased. When there is no father in the home, even greater demands are made of grandparents, in-laws, etc. and there is increased expenditure for "hired" help. All of this is possible because there are relatives, and money is not a problem.

In the case of families of limited income, who lack the resource of relatives, the community is asked to fill the gap. The point here is, that such families demonstrate not more dependency, but fewer resources. Their inherent strengths remain the same—a mother devoted to her children, and children living in their own home. When one appreciates the value of this, as opposed to finding accommodation for children outside their own home, it it gives added emphasis to the importance of maintaining the family as a unit. The moral question is, how many would be in their own homes, with their own mothers and fathers, if our communities could bring themselves to providing:

(a) housing at a cost that did not eat up an exorbitant portion of the family income,

(b) relief services for overburdened mothers,

(c) supplementary income where the family head's value on the labour market does not match the cost of family upkeep (more realistic allowances for children and youths),

(d) and such special services as Big Brothers.

*We must ask ourselves what kind of a society do we have, that governments can pay *forty-five dollars a day* for institutional care for a child *after* he gets into trouble, but so few tax dollars are spent on a service like Big Brothers, which for *less than one dollar per day* may prevent at least a percentage of

these troubled children from having to be removed from their homes? The question therefore has clear financial implications. We are avoiding a minimal investment to save spiralling costs in human and financial terms.

Why Voluntary Agencies are not Supported by Government

We urge the Committee to investigate ways and means whereby financial support can be given to non-government preventive agencies which have demonstrated the validity of their programs. Such agencies would have no objections in submitting to examination of their operations—in fact, few businesses undergo such close scrutiny as do voluntary agencies receiving support from charitable funds. To hold back tax dollars on the grounds that these services are the responsibility of private boards and community chests is to evade the issue, which is simply that the community need far exceeds the private financial supply.

We are well aware that getting tax dollars into the operating budgets of voluntary agencies is a complicated business, since governments must concern themselves to some degree with eligibility. There is the added difficulty of jurisdictions. However, it is perfectly apparent that where there is a will there is a way. Although health and welfare for instance, are provincial responsibilities: when it was decided that the development of a home care program would mean thousands of dollars saved in hospital costs, arrangements were worked out whereby municipalities took advantage of legislation for cost sharing with the Province of Ontario, and this provincial expenditure is re-couped from Ottawa under the terms of the Canadian Assistance Plan. Similarly almost all home maker and visiting nurse service offered to citizens in this Province are purchased from voluntary agencies (except in one or two instances where municipalities have hired their own homemakers.) A claim on the government¹² can only be made on behalf of recipients of the service who meet certain eligibility requirements, which usually implies that they have been means-tested. For service to these people, the agency is reimbursed at cost, allowing the voluntary dollar it receives to be used on behalf of those in the community who, although not indigent, need a subsidized service. Exactly the same principle could be used to purchase "other preventive services" mentioned so often

* See Appendixes II and III—Quotes from Head of Police Youth Bureau and Family Court Judge.

¹² Visiting Nurses and Home Act 1958, Amendment 1968.

our enlightened legislation.** For instance, why can't Y's obtain the cost of a camp holiday for the child of a mother who receives family benefits? Or why can't Big Brother service be chargeable for a boy in such a family, if the service is recommended by the court, police, a children's aid worker, or a case worker in the Department of Social and Family Services?

The Effect of Purchase of Service by Government on a Typical Total Program

We accept the fact that governments must restrict their purchase of social services to those who have a genuine need and can demonstrate eligibility. We would like the Committee to understand what effect even such a limited financial contribution would have on our Big Brother service program in Metro. At the present time, approximately 40% of the service given goes to families in receipt of welfare (the other 60% of mothers work or have other income). Our unit costs for service is roughly \$300 per year. In a total case load of 600 boys, therefore, service to 240 boys would be chargeable to the municipality, which would share the cost on a 20/80 basis with the Province. The Province would then collect 50% of its expenditure from Ottawa under the Canada Assistance Plan. The enabling provincial legislation is the Child Welfare Act, 1965.***

Revenue to the Agency, at \$300 per boy, would be \$72,000. Although the contractual budget arrangement with the United Community Fund is in respect to an operative deficit, the fund traditionally has been in favour of expanded programs if they are related to demonstrated need—and what better demonstration of this—in our case, this need is demonstrated by a constant waiting list almost equal to the active cases.¹⁸ Payment on cost basis for eligible boys would therefore free more voluntary dollars to serve families where mother is working, or where income is adequate but the service is required for important psychological reasons—situations of acceptable for public subsidization, but most appropriate for the community dollar.

** See Appendix IV—"One Plan for the Disabled" on. John Munro, The Financial Post, Jan. 17/70. Shareable assistance involves not only the basic requirements such as food, shelter and clothing, it also various kinds of special needs."

*** Appendix V—"Memorandum on the Ontario Child Welfare Act 1965"

¹⁸ Service Statistics Dec. 1969: No. of boys served 498, No. of boys on the waiting list—450.

Reasons why provincial governments do not press for implementation of permissive legislation

It is apparent to the observer that the zeal with which politicians press for enlightened welfare measures does not carry over into implementation and the reasons are quite obvious. Such legislation looks good on the books, is a credit to the legislature, and costs nothing. It is only when the benefits of the legislation reach people that tax-dollars are involved, and unfortunately those who receive service are often silent while those who foot the bill are often very vocal. Few politicians are immune from the outraged cries of constituents. Many a Children's Aid budget, for example, has contained an allocation for services, put there by people who had carefully reviewed the Child Welfare Act and noted the stress on "prevention". Prevention often means more than the friendly counselling of a social worker (it may call for a homemaker to take the pressure off a mother; a pre-school program for a child who needs more stimulus to promote development; a camping experience for a deprived youngster). The case histories in protection files are often prophetic in the sense that they predict what is going to happen if the family is allowed to struggle on without supportive services. However, Children's Aid budgets are reviewed by municipal officials who may not interpret the legislation as liberally. They complain to their member of parliament, and the Minister is very apt to receive a call or visit. The Province can overrule the objections of a municipality, but one does not have to be very politically aware to see the implications. *Where such pressures are not resisted, the whole flow of money to help people with their problems can be stopped, in spite of the good intentions of our senior governments.*

CONCLUSION

The Special Committee on Poverty was convened to examine ways in which more help could reach those in need and, of equal importance, ways in which the rising level of welfare costs can be stemmed. It may seem that this brief is advocating more of everything, but we are in fact suggesting *an attack on causes* which would have the result of *diminishing need*, and the costly measures which must be taken once individual or family disintegration has taken place.

Since the acceptable standard of service has now risen so that social services must employ highly qualified personnel, and institutions

must have trained staff, there is no chance that administrative costs will decrease. A similar situation obtains in the medical sphere where everything from building costs to intern's salaries has doubled or tripled over the past ten years.¹⁴ In that field, concerned people are now looking at alternatives such as better public health programs;¹⁵ home care for patients to get them out of costly hospital beds; motel units where less expensive medical supervision can be provided during the recuperation period. This example should be followed by welfare professionals and members of the community involved in social services. There are alternatives to taking children into care; there are alternatives to sending children to training schools; there are measures that can be taken to prevent boys and girls from becoming alienated and discouraged. We can assist parents in their roles. Such programs do cost money, but not nearly as much as we now spend on institutions, foster homes and the salaries of psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers et al, whom we employ to pick up the pieces. The main points of the brief are as follows:

(1) recent legislation at Federal and Provincial levels put great emphasis on prevention;¹⁶

(2) at the present time, government supplies most of the financial assistance required by people who are unable, either temporarily or permanently, to support themselves,

(3) while an adequate income is the basis for a secure family life, the whole family, or individual members, may from time to time require special services (which, in effect, improve their income potential),

(4) such special services (home makers, visiting nurses, recreational programs, services to youth) are mainly supplied by voluntary agencies,

(5) these agencies are, almost without exception, operated efficiently and designed to serve the whole community. They are able to keep operating costs low because they attract a great amount of volunteer help,

(6) the services provided by these agencies can be "costed" by unit. In this way the agency can sell service to government on behalf of families or persons who meet government eligibility requirements,

(7) precedent for this arrangement exists in the implementation by municipalities of the Visiting Nurses and Homemakers Act 1958, Revised 1965, and in the development of the Home Care Program in Ontario,

(8) if voluntary agencies are to develop their programs to the point where they are no longer "demonstration projects" with long waiting lists, more effort must be made by government to direct public funds into their operations,

(9) the only way to curb the rising cost of welfare in Canada is to prevent need, since programs are bound to become increasingly expensive as standards rise,

(10) it is evading the issue for such groups as the Economic Council of Ontario to talk of "pilot projects and experimental programs" when organizations that have proved their worth for over 50 years receive little or no financial support from government. For the government to leave the responsibility for these preventive programs on the doorstep of voluntary funds, and at the mercy of charitable impulse, is unjustifiable from the point of view of social policy or economy,

(11) in hard financial terms, this brief demonstrates that a shift in distribution of public welfare funds could bring about measurable savings.

We believe that parents who ask for help are not trying to evade responsibility, but are truly concerned with their children's welfare and that it is in the community's interest to supply these supportive services. If there ever was a time when the family was self-sufficient, it is long past, and clinging to such antique notions does more credit to our romanticism than our common sense.

¹⁴ Fortune Magazine, January 1970.

¹⁵ Globe & Mail, Jan. 29/70 "Health Minister Thomas Wells plans to confer in the near future with Metro Municipalities to review public health grant structures." Globe & Mail, Feb. 5/70—Dr. Sherwood Appleton has been appointed a consultant with the Ontario Dept. of Health to help organize community service in the mental health field. Both he and Dr. V. J. Butler, head of the Psychiatric Dept. of Scarborough Centenary, believe "that to help people before they get seriously ill, aid must be readily available in the community."

¹⁶ Juvenile Delinquents Act 1969 (Federal), Canada Assistance Plan (Federal) Child Welfare Act (Province of Ontario) 1965, Family Benefits Act 1966 (Province of Ontario)

We look forward to the report and recommendations of the Committee in the hope that it will open up more opportunities for agencies such as Big Brothers to help in the development of happy individuals and good citizens. The cost spiral of our old approaches

betray a poverty of imagination and surely impoverishes all of us—rich and poor alike.

Respectfully submitted,
Geoffrey V. Brown,
Executive Director,
Big Brothers of Metropolitan
Toronto.

APPENDIX "F"

A Brief to the
Special Senate Committee on

Poverty

by the

Ontario Federation of Citizens'
Associations

Definition of poverty used for this brief—we have accepted a broad definition of poverty—the inability to enter and participate in the mainstream of society.

The Ontario Federation of Citizens' Associations does not have a staff of researchers, no paid employees; it does not have a team of experts and yet most member associations centre around lower income areas, and consequently many members are "experts" in terms of the lives they lead. Nevertheless, as we compile this brief we feel we are more likely to ask questions than to answer them, and better equipped to indicate what needs to be done than we are to tell how to do it.

1. Public Education

One of the major problems faced by Canada's low income people is the complete lack of knowledge and understanding displayed by the general, more affluent, public. This is most noticeable in the "just above poverty" income segment, and least detectable in the high income segment—who perhaps see themselves with the most to lose should the recent riots in the U.S. spread here. Naturally, there are many exceptions.

The public at large is most content to bury its head in the sand and pretend poverty does not exist. The average man in the street has no conception of how much a senior citizen must get by on, no idea of how much is given to a deserted mother with several children to care for and if faced with the prospect of existing on the same income would have no idea of where to start.

This general lack of knowledge, and apathetic viewpoint commonly displayed must make it extremely difficult for governments in power to gain the courage to make meaningful changes; they feel, quite understandably, that they would not be returned to power if really progressive social reforms took place that might possibly increase taxes or reduce services available elsewhere.

Letters to the press, comments received by individuals and observations in general appear to indicate that the welfare recipient bears the brunt of the public's spite; occasional reports are published of an individual "cheating" the Welfare Department by collecting while working. Attention is often drawn to the apparently employable man receiving assistance with no consideration given to the fact that he may have a severe heart condition, disability, or other responsible reason for being unemployed.

It is assumed by the public that most recipients of public assistance are lazy uneducated, heavy drinking social parasites. A few undoubtedly are, but we believe they are a much smaller percentage than those in the rest of the population who diddle on their income tax, and all are made to suffer equally. Implementation of the following recommendation should better educate the public:

Recommendation: We recommend that the Special Senate Committee ask the Federal government to publish reports not less than quarterly, giving breakdown of the number of people receiving assistance in the following terms:

- (1) Number of blind or otherwise medically disabled persons
- (2) Number of deserted, divorced or widowed mothers with families
- (3) Number of employable males in a depressed area (little work available)
- (4) Number of employable males in non-depressed areas
- (5) Total number of people receiving public assistance

Such report to indicate the national totals and the total applicable to each province.

2. Welfare—Public Assistance

From what we have observed in the press a frequent topic covered in briefs to this committee cover the field of public assistance—welfare, family benefits, old age pensions etc.

There is no doubt that allowances are totally inadequate and we feel confident that this is one area where the Special Senate Committee will recommend substantial changes.

Institutions are by their nature slow moving bodies, governments—perhaps the biggest institutions—perhaps the slowest of all. Therefore, it seems likely that structural changes in the whole system of public assistance will not be achieved overnight.

In this field, rather than attempt to present detailed suggestions for changes in the total system, we wish only to express our opinion that one basic change is required—people receiving assistance need more money—and concentrate on some lesser but still important amendments that could be made immediately.

(1) Christmas allowance. Children of families receiving assistance do not experience a Christmas that is considered normal in this country. "Santa Claus" is seldom able to purchase the gifts a young child has his or her heart set on. A four year old surely cannot comprehend why friends have Christmas trees, decorations, presents, a table loaded with goodies etc. when he has so little. Does he blame his parents? Can he understand the heartbreak his mother feels? Society attempts to salve its conscience by donating to charities—providing food hampers—passing along new or used toys—then promptly forgets the poor family for another 360 odd days. Doubtless people's generosity is appreciated by most of those who receive gifts. The children, at least, have something—although a jigsaw puzzle with two pieces missing is small consolation to the little girl who so desperately wanted a doll that talks. Accordingly, we ask, in the name of humanity,

Recommendation: That the Special Senate Committee request immediate legislation providing for an additional gift of \$100 payable on December 1st in each year to any family with a child or children under the age of 16 that has been receiving public assistance continuously for the preceding three months, i.e. since September 1st of that year, and that such payment be in addition to, and entirely distinct from, the regular budgeted allowance.

(2) It is recognised that some individuals, and some families, are better able to budget their income than others.

Those who have difficulty are of course those who have the worst problems in making ends meet. We submit that in most cases this is a result of lack of education rather than irresponsibility and we recommend: All county or municipal Welfare Departments employ expert home economists whose sole responsibility would be to assist family budgeting. They would spend time with individuals requesting help in preparation of shopping lists, store shopping and advise and instruct on choice and selection of bargains; in the field of cooking to make most economical use of purchases.

(3) Under existing legislation, a review board is necessary to examine the cases of persons who claim they are not receiving the amount to which they are entitled and it is our understanding that a province must have such a board to obtain federal funds to assist with their program.

Recommendation: We believe that the Federal government should insist on two very important changes in the composition of these review boards, and we make the following recommendations:

(A) That the review Boards be instructed to hear, and make rulings on complaints relating to the attitude or activities of departmental social workers

(B) That the review Boards must be comprised of ordinary citizens not in any way connected with welfare administration and/or recipients or former recipients of service by a ratio of 2-1 to past or present administrators.

We don't suggest any existing boards are biased, but are satisfied they lack the confidence of those they are supposed to serve.

(4) It has been the observation of many of our members that while municipal welfare given to families over a short period of time—temporary unemployment, sickness, etc. is inadequate, it does not necessarily represent extreme hardship on a short-term basis.

In instances where receipt of public assistance is prolonged the situation becomes vastly different, e.g. single parents with young families, permanently disabled men, etc. Even a budget conscious mother who can exist and feed her family from month to month on her allowance can find nothing to spare to look after occasional furniture requirements, costly repairs to household appliances, drapes, rugs, winter clothing, snow boots, holidays, etc.

The result, in effect, is a gradual but steady deterioration of such homes. As things wear out, or are damaged, they are not replaced or repaired and the family head faces increased depression as his or her home collapses around them. Family squabbles or full scale arguments may increase, and there is probably an increased need for an "escape" whether it be liquor, sex or desertion.

While we have never seen such statements in writing before, families obliged to receive assistance for substantial periods of time must face the fact that the Canadian public, through their governments and administrators, want:

- (1) their homes and families to eventually disintegrate
- (2) their children to always wear "hand-me-downs"
- (3) adults or children to turn to crime in an effort to keep pace with neighbours
- (4) to ensure they never enjoy a vacation together
- (5) their children to go without such things as Easter eggs (we know of one family allowance recipient criticised for buying a child an Easter egg), Christmas presents, birthday gifts, parties, outings, trips and adequate education.
- (6) Separated women to forego male company permanently.

This same public is always ready to criticise, but never to understand the teen-age girl who steals a lipstick, the adult who tries to "cheat" the system by working part-time, or the man who sees a case of beer as the only way out.

Accordingly, until permanent and adequate changes are made in the entire public assistance system, and regardless of budgets or any cost of living increases that may happen to be granted, *We Recommend*: That families headed by permanently disabled men or women with one or more children under the age of 16 who have been receiving assistance continuously for two years, receive an increase of twenty-five percent of the amount then payable, and after 5 years, an increase of a further fifteen percent.

Minimum Wage

We contend that the minimum wage is grossly inadequate, and *Recommend*: that the minimum wage be substantially increased.

3. Relationship of Poverty to Crime

To our knowledge, no comprehensive study of this topic has been undertaken in recent years, yet—as you will note from comments in the preceding paragraphs—we believe a relationship definitely exists.

Recommendation: That a comprehensive, coast to coast, study be sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare to explore the relationship between poverty and crime, with emphasis given to varying types of crime.

Such a study could further notify the public that it may be more costly to have poverty in its midst than to eradicate it.

Relationship of Credit to Poverty

Easy credit, we have noted, can lead to poverty. Not only in terms of illegal or quasi-legal fringe lenders who charge usurious rates but banks, finance or loan companies with money to lend or retail stores anxious to make a sale, will lend beyond an individual's ability to repay under some circumstances. The number of loan companies advertising consolidation loans with one easy payment indicate a recognition that they or their cohorts have extended credit too liberally.

Loss of job, extended sickness or changes in family composition (working wife pregnant) can have disastrous results.

We recognize that no government can legislate good sense; this problem must be tackled by other methods for the protection of the public.

Recommendations:

- (1) That the federal government should sponsor a study to examine and publicize the relationship between easy credit and poverty.

- (2) That legislation be proposed placing a limit on interest on any kind of loan at 12% per annum calculated on a reducing balance.

- (3) That limits be set on the interest rates payable by lending institution (Banks, trust companies, etc.) for depositors' funds of various types.

We believe the first of these is self explanatory. The second would eliminate loan being made to the poor risks—the people most likely to have difficulty in repaying while the third will avoid lending institution being caught in a squeeze between high rates on deposits and a "pegged" lending rate. Some restrictions may be required to govern the flow of money in or out of the country should Canada's rates differ from, say those in the United States or elsewhere.

Social Agencies

While naturally the prime concern of poor people at all levels is the improvement of their economic status, many have some degree of contact with, or dependence on, social agencies.

It would appear that social agencies frequently concentrate on preventative measures; we have a number of concerns relating to agencies that have dealings with the poor (We know few do so exclusively).

We voice these concerns in the hope that public airing may focus attention on them. We do so, too, without specific recommendations, since we are unsure of the extent any government could, or would, wish to intervene and legislate.

Some agencies have been around a good many years; they attempt to move with the times, and on the whole supply consistently good service in their field. Our question is, why must this category of agency depend for funding on the United Community Fund? Surely, soundly developed service, consistently supplied for many years, should render an agency eligible for public funding from the government directly, without a corresponding increase in external supervision.

Our second question relates to accountability. To whom is a social agency accountable? Funding generally derives from the United Community Fund who in recent years have arranged for the Social Planning Council to conduct "reviews". The logical question then follows—to whom is the United Community Fund accountable?

Should a government make a poor decision, or be guilty of poor planning or foresight, there are always opposition parties who will ensure the fault is rapidly made public, giving the government a chance to change its ways or risk public displeasure at the polls. Where is the "opposition" party in the United Community Fund?

Also, can the Social Planning Council, which itself is dependent on United Community Funds, really make objective reports on sister organisations? Is it possible that some thought might be given to whether a report might be unacceptable?

We fear the staff of the Social Planning Councils, or their equivalents, across the country must surely be caught between opposing pressures—between needs of citizens on the one hand and demands of Community Funds on the other.

We will be coming back to the functions of the United Appeals and United Community Funds later in this brief, but we thought your committee would be interested in the views of lower income people concerning social agencies and social workers.

In October 1969, this Federation held a 2-day conference under the title, "The Active Community". One workshop discussion was

"Working with Social Agencies and Professional Social Workers". Below is a selection of comments and opinions expressed in the workshop, taken from our published report. Please read each paragraph as unrelated to that preceding or following.

"Agencies are competing against each other—represent only their individual Service, never together. They must work together for common good."

"Social agencies help to establish a climate of power for change—self help—not too much being done for fear of establishment. Must keep noses clean."

"People are not involved in running agencies—only on the receiving level." This is a way of maintaining the status quo.

A few agencies realize that recipients of service must be involved—this hinders agencies getting together.

Social workers (agencies) feel they are professionals and know what people *NEED*, not want.

There are problems—can social agencies help correct them? Do they really want to?

Most agencies patch up pot holes, never build anything new.

Agencies tend to be secretive, not letting people know about their service because they don't want to be swamped with work.

Agencies are shunning their responsibilities by not advertising.

The United Community Fund

Government-operated social services fall into the "corrective" or perhaps "rehabilitative" categories: Apart from the provincial assistance given the Children's Aid Society, governments do not operate to any degree in the preventative field. The needs in this area have to be met by private appeals for funds—a non-enforceable tax to support the preventative aspects of social services.

As agencies grew in both size and number, the number of separate appeals became both too great and too costly. Formation of some sort of "United Appeal" became a logical next step forward.

We believe the time has come for Canadians to take another step forward for several reasons.

We respectfully direct the Senators' attention to the City of Ottawa, where, according to reports, the goal of the United Appeal was not achieved. Quoting Judy Barrie in the *Ottawa Citizen* of January 30, 1970, this is what is expected to happen as a result.

"Family Service Centre will offer help to 300 families less than last year, and 600 less than its planned 1970 capacity.

The Y will not be able to develop hope for programs and services in the physical department.

The Maycourt Clinic will have to eliminate all plans for repairs and replacements.

Training of social welfare students will be erratic and training of professional social work students will be cut back 50 %.

The Victorian Order of Nurses increased its fees.

Community Development activity will be cut down."

Bill Huck, Central Budget Committee Chairman, is quoted as warning that United Appeal is close to a much more serious situation. After reviewing the 1970 recommended allocations he said "this is a mild way of saying what could generally be called a financial crisis."

We see a distinct possibility that within one or two years the Toronto goal will not be met. There are a number of reasons for this belief and we may not be learned enough to fully appreciate the significance of some of them.

Firstly, the attitude of the public in general. The United Appeal, for various reasons, has never had the support of all the people; in recent months, however, we have heard an increasing number of respectable middle or upper class people mentioning disenchantment with the United Community Fund.

Secondly, the amount of the appeal. At approximately \$12,000,000 in Toronto, this represents roughly \$6 a year for every city resident. A small amount, yet a large percentage of it comes as tax deductible donations from businesses and business men; how much and how many "ordinary" people are really committed?

Thirdly, our concern lies with the attitude of the UCF itself, and some of those involved in it. As an example, in 1969 some questions of genuine concern arose among our members regarding some aspects of the U.C.F. We believe the Metro Federation of Citizen's Associations acted responsibly with regard to these concerns. Instead of voicing them through the press, which would undoubtedly have harmed the appeal then under way, we requested the Executive Director to come and discuss them at an informal meeting with our

members. He was unable to come due to a "conference on computer systems", but invited some of us to meet him in the daytime when we are working or seeing to the needs of our children.

When computer systems become more important than people, we believe an organization has ceased to be cognizant of, and responsive to, the needs of people.

It is not sufficient to simply say an organization has ceased to be relevant to present society—anyone can do that; to make a valid point suitable alternatives must be given.

The only answer we can see in giving the general public some say in its own affairs is for the United Community Fund to come directly under governmental jurisdiction, where the public can demand rather than request satisfactory answers to questions and when long-standing displeasure can be voiced at the polls.

Further advantages accrue—funds raised by direct taxation from both private and industrial sources would be far greater and would ensure "fair share" giving, totally independent reviews could be undertaken, valid and worthwhile new services could be funded without a ridiculous 3-year waiting period, and a full measure of independence and security could be offered to both public and agencies by careful legislation.

Recommendation: That United Community Funds should be placed under the direct jurisdiction of regional, county or metropolitan government, financed by direct taxation. We recommend that discussions relative to this change begin forthwith between all levels of government, the United Community Funds and representatives of the community at large to ensure no loss of autonomy faces the agencies and no reduction in service faces the public. Reviews to be conducted by independent bodies. (Greenholme Neighbourhood Association does not support this recommendation).

Cultural Improvement

At the beginning of our brief, we referred to poverty as the inability to participate in the mainstream of society. We used this definition deliberately since poverty in this sense does not refer only to those on the lowest rung of the economic ladder.

May we quote one example?

York University here in this city has a number of "continuing education" courses, as no doubt do most other like institutions. From

a recent mailing some of these courses include Effective Public Speaking (\$60.00 fee), The Violent Society (\$35.00 fee), Man Alone; Alienation in the Modern World (\$35.00 fee), Creative Drama (\$35.00 fee).

Why is it assumed that only the affluent would participate in such "interest" courses? Fees of \$35 or more are just as difficult to the \$7,000 office worker with several children as they are to a \$4,000 a year man.

There certainly seems to be a lack of awareness that many divorced or separated women have a reasonable education and would enjoy the opportunity to reach out for such courses, which undoubtedly can contribute to the quality of life.

Frankly, we do not see how the Special Senate Committee can act on this issue; making such courses available at reduced cost is a dubious "band-aid" answer at best, since it involves the indignity of applying and would probably result in reduced fees not being taken up by those who need them.

We have merely brought this in to point up one of the many ways in which the lower income segment of society cannot avail itself of the resources Canada offers.

Participation in Boards and Decision Making Bodies

There has been a great deal said about the need for citizen participation lately—in fact, it has been the "in" thing to talk about, even though implementation seldom exceeds tokenism.

We endorse the concept of citizen participation, and we lay stress on the word "participation". We are not at this time suggesting wholesale takeovers.

Rather than leave the topic on vague, ambiguous terms, we are prepared to quote examples of how such participation could result or has resulted in direct benefit to organizations. We will not name them since we do not wish to cause embarrassment or discourage useful energy which could be put to better use.

Not too long ago (last year) a volunteer organization decided to bring a circus to this city, and by soliciting donations from businesses, made tickets to the circus available to under-privileged children. This appears on the face of it to be a really worthwhile cause and we would not question the motivation. Undoubtedly, the organization raised thousands of dollars from businessmen who thought they were "doing their bit for the kids".

Tickets were printed entitling children up to 8 to free admission to the circus, and while we are not aware of all methods of distribution, we know some were handed out at schools. We ask the Senators to visualize the happy, smiling faces of little 5, 6, 7 or 8 year old children who perhaps seldom get a real treat, running home to mother—"Look, Mum, I've got a free ticket to the circus."

May we now direct your attention to the plight of the mothers. Few would allow a 5 or 6 year old child to go alone, yet adult tickets cost something up to \$4.50, a small fortune to a mother on welfare. Then there are travel expenses—and what child could enjoy a circus without a bag of popcorn and a can of pop? Now perhaps you are beginning to visualize some of the crestfallen faces and moist cheeks of kids who have had a candy held out, only to have it snatched away when they reach out to grasp it. A few parents, meeting with the planning committee organizing the event, could have readily pointed out the pitfalls beforehand, and helped to make a worthwhile endeavour into an outstanding success with only minor changes.

In contrast, we hear of a group organizing a day care centre that brought a former user of day care services on to their committee and rapidly found her services and advice so invaluable that she became involved in even the smallest decisions. Not only was this group prepared to try out the concept of participation, they soon found that it really worked.

Recommendation: We therefore ask the Special Committee to wholeheartedly endorse the concept of full citizen participation in planning, policy making, or field operation, whether at governmental, or social or volunteer agency level, since only in this way will citizen groups cease to be forced into "protest" operations and be able to concentrate fully on meaningful, creative tasks.

Tenant participation at board or decision making level of Provincial and Municipal housing authorities would be an excellent case in point.

We ask this Committee to exert all of its influence on businessmen across the country to persuade them that they alone are ineffective in trying to operate socially-oriented organizations.

An insurance company executive, for example, does not try to tell a taxi company how many cabs are needed in an area; why should he think he can dictate policy to a social agency?

We believe the time will come when the social or business prestige that accrues to those who count the number of boards they sit on as a measure of success will become a social disgrace if they are unqualified, ill-attending and ineffective in that capacity.

Community organization

We applaud the steps taken by various levels of government to provide funds or "seed" money to foster community development. We particularly commend the Department of National Health and Welfare, the CMHC, Department of Secretary of State and provincially, the department of the Provincial Secretary.

The whole field of community development is relatively new; there is no agency dedicated to this purpose other than the C.Y.C. which we believe, despite criticism, is doing an effective job in many areas.

People with a near-sighted approach say governments cannot be expected to fund groups who will likely end up challenging those same governments.

We ask why such challenges are necessary in the first place, and suggest that because they are necessary a few people are sufficiently far sighted enough to realize that money spent this way—an insignificant part of our national budget—is going to have a far reaching effect in improving the quality of life for many—perhaps all—citizens.

Final Recommendation: We urge the Committee to recommend greater expenditures be made in the field of community development, responsive to the needs of people in communities and we urge creation of one department to administer such funds rather than the present multiplicity.

SUMMARY OF RECOMMENDATIONS

1. We recommend that the Special Senate Committee ask the Federal government to publish reports not less than quarterly, giving breakdown of the number of people receiving assistance in the following terms:

- (1) Number of blind or otherwise medically disabled persons.
- (2) Number of deserted, divorced or widowed mothers with families.
- (3) Number of employable males in a depressed area (little work available).
- (4) Number of employable males in non-depressed areas.
- (5) Total number of people receiving public assistance.

2. We ask the Senate Committee to request immediate legislation providing for an additional gift of \$100, payable December 1 in each year to any family with a child or children under 16 that has been receiving public assistance continuously for the preceding 3 months (i.e. since September 1st in that year) and that such payment be in addition to and entirely distinct from, the regular budgeted allowance.

3. We recommend that all county or municipal welfare departments employ expert home economists whose sole responsibility would be to assist family budgeting. They would spend time with individuals requesting help in preparation of shopping lists, store shopping, and advise and instruct on choice and selection of bargains; in the field of cooking to make the most economical use of purchases.

4. We recommend that Review Boards be instructed to hear and make rulings on complaints relating to the attitude or activities of departmental social workers and that review boards must be comprised of ordinary citizens not in any way connected with welfare administration and/or recipients or former recipients of service by a ratio of 2:1 to past or present administrators.

5. We recommend that families headed by permanently disabled men, or women, with one or more children under the age of 16 who have been receiving assistance continuously for two years, receive an increase of 25% of the amount then payable, and after 5 years, an increase of a further 15%.

6. We recommend that the minimum wage be substantially increased.

7. We recommend that a comprehensive coast to coast, study be sponsored by the Department of National Health and Welfare to explore the relationship between poverty and crime, with emphasis given to varying type of crime.

8. We recommend

(1) That the Federal government should sponsor a study to examine and publicize the relationship between easy credit and poverty.

(2) That legislation be proposed placing a limit on interest on any kind of loan at 12% per annum, calculated on a reducing balance.

(3) That limits be set on the interest rates payable by lending institutions (banks, trust companies etc.) for depositors' funds of various types.

9. We recommend that United Community Funds should be placed under the direct jurisdiction of regional, county or metropolitan governments, financed by direct taxation. We recommend that discussions relative to this change begin forthwith between all levels of government, the United Community Funds, and the representatives of the community at large to ensure no loss of autonomy faces the agencies and no reduction in service faces the public. Subsequent reviews to be conducted by independent bodies. (Not supported by Greenholme Neighbourhood Association.)

10. We ask the Special Senate Committee to wholeheartedly endorse the concept of full citizen participation in planning, policy making or field operation whether at governmental or social or volunteer agency level, since only in this way will citizen groups cease to be forced into "protest" operations and be able to concentrate fully on meaningful, creative tasks.

11. We urge the Committee to urge greater expenditures be made in the field of community development, responsive to the needs of people in communities and we urge creation of one department to administer such funds rather than the present multiplicity.

Summation

Whether governments or big business realise it or not, we are moving slowly but surely into an era when the needs of people demand attention—where the value placed on people must transcend the value placed on the dollar. Many of this country's young people have already reached this conclusion, and need only the experience, maturity and expertise to discover how to put their ideas into effect.

The influence of churches has, unfortunately, decreased; poorer people see some church leaders as outdated, while many congregations are regarded as living in the past, hypocritical, and unable to even see, let alone face up to the social ills that plague our society.

Some social workers are seen to be dedicated to the improvement of society, while others are merely content to maintain the status quo. We have nothing but contempt for those who laugh at suggestions put forward by the "un-educated" as happened on one recent television program. However, we see the role of the social workers as an enabler, not as a leader.

Governments are traditionally slow to react; the machinery does not seem to be there for a true quick response. Where then is leadership to come from, if not from people themselves? To go further, what better place is there?

We see a very real possibility of violence in the streets of many Canadian cities, and many of us feel this could occur within a relatively short time—five years. Those involved will lose, the affluent society will lose—heavily, and Canada itself will lose. This must be avoided at all costs. People will not live with frustration, indignity and degradation indefinitely.

There is an ultra conservative segment of society who refuse to acknowledge the inevitable and who cannot see beyond the end of their noses. They will not accept the possibility that re-assessment and re-evaluation of government spending can be a valid alternative to increased taxation. Improved social conditions do not have to mean higher taxes, and efforts spent in this direction may well be infinitely more rewarding than trying to keep "these people" in their place.

It has often been said that a part of our society needs the element of poverty for its own increasing wealth and survival. This segment, if it does exist, has the most to lose should poverty be eliminated. We contend it would have even more to lose if poverty is not eliminated.

Some of us have expressed doubts regarding the effectiveness of briefs to this Committee; denial of this would be an untruth. Others say, perhaps rightly, that they have sat on committees, written briefs, participated in discussions, held meetings and confronted authorities to the point where they are sick of talks, studies and surveys; they want action.

In travelling the country, members of your Committee have undoubtedly heard such sentiments, and we ask you to convey a sense of urgency to those who will create change.

Finally, these hearings are providing an opportunity to publicly air proposals, however radical they may seem, that can lead to change or reform as needed, and stimulate public discussion and education. This is itself is a worthwhile purpose.

This Section of the Brief has
been prepared for the

Special Senate Committee on Poverty
by the

Greenholme Neighbourhood Association

174 Jamestown Crescent,
Rexdale 612, Ontario.

In view of the ever rising cost of living, with no relief in sight, there are many groups in our country who feel the effects of our economy more than others. These, to be specific are the one's being subsidized by the government agencies. As you are probably aware, each subsidy brings with it varying benefits.

One area of benefit brought to our attention by our membership that we feel needs improvement is that of the prescription medicine.

In the case of families on welfare, we understand a card to cover the cost of prescriptions is sent out monthly to each family. The family then presents this card to his druggist, who fills the prescriptions when and if their doctor feels one is necessary. At the end of each month the druggist submits these cards to the Welfare Agency, and they are paid by them. This procedure certainly relieves the recipient of any additional worry concerning finances during illness.

In the case of a family receiving Family Benefits, the parent must have the cash on hand at the time of an illness, or he is forced to go from neighbour to neighbour, in an effort to find someone willing to lend him the amount needed immediately. In the cases where there are several children involved, it may prove to be an impossibility to borrow such an amount, and the parent would have this worry to contend with also. It is true that they could submit the prescriptions once a month to the Welfare Department, and they will be reimbursed to the amount of \$20.00 total bills, but this aid is not available at the time most needed, and in the cases where there are several children, it does not take too long to acquire \$20.00 in drugs at the present high costs of prescriptions.

We do not feel that a parent should be put in the position of having to choose which child should receive the medication, or in depriving the rest of the family of their food allowance in order that this medicine be purchased. Nor do we feel that the little privacy

that these people enjoy should be exposed by having to beg neighbours, friends and relations for monies to pay for this.

There is no apparent reason why these people who receive the Family Benefits, in one form or another, should not be treated equally, and all be given this prescription card. They obviously would not be used if not needed, and would have that much freedom from worry.

We would hope that this step would help those involved to cope with our inflationary spiral and ease their minds somewhat.

This Section of the Brief has
been prepared for the

Special Senate Committee on Poverty
by the

Lawrence Heights Neighbourhood Association.

We, the Committee of the Lawrence Heights Neighbourhood Association, offer this brief as a summary of Public Housing as we see it today, and as we hope to see it tomorrow. We suggest a change of attitudes and objectives, and offer our Government a way out of their ever-increasing, over-commitment in Low-rental Public Housing. We introduce some complexity, and do so without any embarrassment, knowing that there is no simple answer to this complex problem. There is the possibility that the mechanics of our suggestions may not be as complex as the present manipulations for collecting differential rents, land leasings, and N.H.A. Mortgages. Ours is the worms eye view, and is conservatively tailored to reduce the risk of its being rejected.

We have broken down our brief to cover the three types or classes of citizens who tenant Ontario Public Housing.

No. 1 The family whose affluence would allow them to save and move out of Public Housing if their income was not so heavily penalized by our existing rent scale.

No. 2 The family with a steady income, but who would require an initial subsidy to move out of Public Housing.

No. 3 The family whose earning power is so limited by physical, mental or social inadequacy, that they must obviously always remain the recipients of rental subsidy.

SUGGESTION FOR FAMILY NO. 1

This suggestion covers families whose earning power has increased subsequent to their becoming tenants of a low-rental unit.

Their difficulty in getting ahead is that the housing authority bases their rental system on differential rates based on the fluctuating income of the family, without regard to the size or cost of the housing unit involved. This was a just system in the country of its origin, but here in Canada where personal income tax exemptions are so low, this is not just. The outcome of its application here is that while still in a very low income bracket, the Public Housing tenant may find his earned dollar penalized by two government sources. This will hamstring the family's efforts to better itself.

An Example: A Public Housing tenant, who with an added effort increases his earning power by \$1,500 a year. If this money is taxable income, it is a long way from his pocket.

Income tax will take 300; Increased rent, 500; Job pension 100; Total 900.

This means that this family will forfeit three-fifths of their new wealth, without the opportunity of spending any of it on food or clothing, or in the more affluent cases, having saved it. This harassment of a family's finances belies the Government's stated policy of protecting the lower middle income groups. It contradicts the Provincial Government's stated intention of stabilizing the outlay that the lower middle income groups must make for shelter. It cripples their own tenant's propensity to spend, and attacks their earnings in a more immediate way than the inflationary effects that have hit the open rental market. They in fact lead the field in this aspect.

OUR PLAN—RENTS

The first move would be to establish a permanent ceiling on the rents of the existing units. The Housing Authority should NOT follow these rent ceilings to the current market prices, but rather on the original cost of the units involved should be the key to the new rent scale. The cost of high-price projects could be excluded from the median used for its assessment. The Authority would still collect rents at the present scale, except that the monies collected in excess of the rent

ceiling would be placed to the credit of the tenant as a H.O.M.E. deposit account. When these credits and the tenant's gross salary have reached the level of home purchase requirements, the Authority would be justified in terminating the tenant's lease. The tenant would have a deposit for his new home, plus a proven record of ability to pay.

The Authority would once more have a housing unit available to them at the low cost of the accounting procedures involved in the processing of the rental credits.

OUR PLAN—HOMES

We visualize the Province leasing a home-site for 99 years to a tenant who has a credit of \$1,000, at a yearly ground rent of \$150. Groups of 25 or 50 eligible tenants would form co-operatives, employing builders to erect new homes on the leased sites. Their full mortgages would be covered or backed by the monies normally made available to the Authority if they were erecting low-rental units on these sites. That the co-operatives would take on the costs of the building would lift the costly burden of guardianship from the shoulders of the Housing Authority. When they are established, Co-op committees would liaison defaulters or financial casualties among their members back into Public Housing. On the other hand, the Authority would channel eligible replacements from their projects into existing Co-op houses.

For example: If the Province had purchased a tract of land, which they did in 1956 and still have unused, which would provide 2,000 home sites. Say the cost of this land was four million dollars. The initial down payments, from credits or otherwise, of \$1,000 per site would immediately return two million dollars. The ground rent over the term of the lease would return about three million dollars, bring their return to five million dollars. At which time, the Province would still own the land. In the interim period, the terms of the lease would provide the Province with control over the state of the buildings occupying their land, giving the Province a necessary slum control for the future. We feel that the Province could save vast sums of money if it is not the custodian of the premises involved. This method could provide immediate relief with home and apartment type Co-ops. The future would also be well planned for. It may supply the pattern for the nucleus of our satellite cities, and give our little man a working part in the development of our great country.

SUGGESTION FOR FAMILY NO. 2

The family with a steady income, but who would require a subsidy to move out of Public Housing.

RENT and HOMES

We would find this family, with the implementation of our new credit system, paying close to or slightly above the rent ceiling. However, their accumulation of H.O.M.E. credits is slow. A small Government subsidy would get them on their way into a co-op home, and the Authority would again get a vacant unit at a very low cost.

For example: If in 1962 the Ontario Government had subsidized 100 of their young tenants to the extent of \$1,000 for a down payment on a home, they could have reclaimed 100 housing and saved themselves hundreds of thousands of dollars. While the housing market has now changed, and manipulations of this kind might not be so simple, we feel that subsidizing these people into the protected housing we have suggested would be feasible and advisable.

SUGGESTION FOR FAMILY NO. 3

The family whose earning power is so limited by physical, mental, or social inadequacy, that they must obviously always remain the recipients of rental subsidy.

OR

Families No. 1 and 2 if the existing outlook on public housing is going to be maintained.

If our plans Nos. 1 and 2 are rejected, we must necessarily include the first and second type families in blanket coverage with the third. Governments don't seem to object to blanket coverage of complex groups, but we await their reaction when such coverage is slanted against them in favour of the other fellow—US. If people must live in Public Housing they should be allowed a respectable living, and not be governed by a semi-feudal tenant tax system. Our plan No. 3 to achieve this, follows:

PLAN NO. 3—RENTS

We believe that a differential rent scale should be maintained with the monthly rent ceiling set at 90 per cent of the prime wage earner's weekly income with overtime and bonuses excluded. The composition of the family's earning would be handled as follows:

(a) The first \$2,000 of a working wife's earnings would be exempt when assessing rent.

(b) The earnings of a working child under 21 would be exempt when assessing the rent.

With regard to clause "B", we have found that rent penalties on a working child's earnings often lead to a breakup in family composition, by forcing a child to move out of the home prematurely. The children leave home to take the burden of the additional rent off the parents. Many of these children have become burdens to society in their new environment, i.e. unwed mothers, etc.

SUMMARY

We will expect Ontario to lead the way by putting the land they hold into the Land-Lease Co-operative Market.

We will expect Ottawa to break open the land speculation with the threat of heavy capital gains tax. As an incentive, Ottawa may guarantee lifetime tax exemptions on ground rents received by landowners who put their land in the Land-Lease Market within the next ten years.

We expect the landowners to awake to the fact that they can not hope for vast profits in their lifetime, nor any profit at all, if they do not participate in the new concept of land development.

The monies for the first 2000 homes, say 30 million dollars would not be returned to Federal coffers by way of mortgage payments. The income ground rents (Prov.) and mortgages would go into an easily accessible fund for the expansion of the Co-operative Home Building Plan. As the projects expand the income will grow, and as the income increases the growth will accelerate.

The tax will be removed from building materials.

Sanitary regulations, made prior to the scientific age, concerning septic tanks, and drinking water sources will be modified.

Laws concerning control of mutually owned or condominium properties will be changed.

It is quite obvious that Public Housing is here to stay, but not necessarily here to grow and grow. Our plans have provided for the Co-op apartment owner and home owner while it plans for the happy survival of those remaining in Public Housing. We admit that our brief is primarily directed toward the

improvement of the lot of Ontario Housing Tenants, as their financial stability through the fair fixing of rents, is the goal of this Association. You may be surprised to know, as we were, that only the strong can decently survive in this environment that was designed to protect the weak. Financial instability is definitely the cause of many of the social problems in Public Housing, and has its

source in the current unjust rent scale, with its accompanying dismal outlook for the future.

We believe that, with modification, our Plans Nos. 1 and 2 would help all home-hungry Canadians to join in the Co-op Home Purchase idea without passing through the "Limbo" of being a Public Housing Tenant.

APPENDIX "G"

A brief
Presented to the Senate Committee on
Poverty
by
The Staff of Duke of York School
of
The Board of Education for the City of
Toronto

March, 1970

Ladies and Gentlemen:

We, the members of the staff of Duke of York School, extend to you our thanks for allowing us the opportunity to present our views to your committee.

Obviously, the solutions to the problems of poverty will not be found within one governmental jurisdiction. Therefore, we appreciate your interest in the programme being developed within a single school located in the downtown area of Ontario's capital and largest city, Toronto.

In presenting our views to the committee, we find it insufficient to rely solely on written and verbal communication. Therefore, we ask your cooperation and interest in joining us in a short tour of the school to gain some personal and visual impressions of our efforts. We hope that you will be able to take time to talk with the children and the staff.

Sincerely,
Walter Sinclair,
Principal,
Duke of York School.

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Summary

The growing number of children coming from conditions of urban poverty, who also have been unable to benefit fully from the services of the Toronto school system is of grave concern. The Toronto Board of Education established a pilot project at Duke of York School to discover some possible ways of lessening the negative effects of poverty on the education of children.

The concept of inner-city schools was established and extended to a number of other schools. By the early 1970's approximately sixty schools will be involved.

In addition to the commonly accepted purposes of our schools, 'Inner-City' schools must have been unable to benefit fully from the that will explicitly provide for the special needs of children who are forced to live under deprived circumstances in the 'downtown' areas of our city. Some of these unique purposes have been identified by the Toronto Board of Education's Central Inner-City Committee as follows:

1. To help children learn those ways of behaving that are commonly accepted by society and that will enable them to remain in school.

2. To provide experience that will compensate for deficiencies in language development. (To develop competence in the basic communication skills.)

3. To help parents understand what the school is doing about helping their children remain in school, particularly understanding the relationship between having success at school and remaining in school.

4. To establish working relationships with community agencies that will help children to continue to go to school successfully and that will enable the agencies to focus on community problems that adversely affect school.

5. To establish a school-teacher-pupil relationship that communicates to each pupil that he matters and that as an individual he is worthy of the concern of the school staff.

The extremely poor conditions under which some families live are well illustrated in the Duke of York School area. In order to better serve the children, the school has found that it is required to adapt to the needs of the children and the community. It is the process of adapting which has revealed the inadequacy of the present method of operating. When educators look carefully at children as individuals the immensity of the problems becomes obvious.

Duke of York School as an example of Toronto Schools has undergone many significant changes. This brief is an attempt to describe the direction which these changes have taken. Children are being treated more individually. The programme is being adapted to the needs of children. The school is organized to facilitate the teacher's work with the children. Also, teachers participate in the making of decisions relating to the whole school. Parents are being involved more deeply in the school and the education of the children. The hope for the future is that this participation will continue and become greater in terms of the community school concept.

The nature of the school programme has necessitated the use of resource personnel and volunteers. A day care programme has developed to serve a small group of children with special needs.

Involvement with social and welfare agencies has become more intense especially with specific projects. The liaison role of the school among the agencies has increased.

The beginnings of the extension of the school day and year have been made. Each day and some evenings see children involved in the school. The summer programme has served to broaden the experience of children.

It is hoped that the brief reveals the intensity of the program and the complexities involved in finding solutions. The pressure on the school itself is considerable as it attempts to break new ground.

The criteria used to identify inner-city schools in Toronto themselves imply the fact that no single group can by itself solve the problems of poverty. All levels of government must be involved. Public and private awareness and participation in the search for solutions are fundamental.

Finally, the solutions to the inner-city school problems are not to be found within the schools themselves. Other factors such as employment, income, health, and housing are more basic in a family's search for growth and accomplishment.

The processes for working at the problem are most significant. These processes must include the involvement of all of the residents, agencies and groups who have responsibilities for the problem. This would bring new understanding, establishment of priorities in developing a plan for proceeding.

The school cannot afford to be identified as the sole agency responsible for the solution of the problems of poverty. At the same time, it must not be isolated from the main attempts to solve the problem.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. The establishment of pilot projects with:
 - (i) the involvement at the community itself in solving its own problems.
 - (ii) the participation at the various levels of government, federal, provincial and municipal.
 - (iii) the coordination of various disciplines such as medicine, psychiatry, psychology, education, social work, sociology and urban planners.
 - (iv) the involvement of the public through private citizens and industry.
 - (v) constant feedback to the participants that will enable the development of new methods and direction.
2. Improved training for educators, teachers, consultants and administrators.
3. The encouragement of greater participation of the Universities in the realities of poverty.
4. The facilitation of cooperation among social and welfare agencies.
5. The establishment of Preschool nurseries for some children.
6. The establishment of Day-care programmes.
7. The development of the community school concept.
8. The allocation of more funds for inner-city schools.
9. The provision of more adequate housing.
10. The improvement of employment possibilities on an income for the unemployed and unemployable adults.
11. Easier access to adult retraining programmes.
12. The provision of more adequate means of feeding children who are under nourished or do not receive balanced diets.

Background of the Toronto Inner City School Programme

During the year 1965, Duke of York School was established by the Toronto Board of Education as a "pilot school for experimental purposes". The school was so designated for the development of "...experimental programmes designated to meet the needs of downtown children."¹

This step was taken, largely as the result of the efforts of certain administrators and teachers. These people with their concern for the development and improvement of education in general had become particularly involved with the problems the downtown schools were encountering with many children. The problems took the form of low academic achievement, undesirable behaviour and a high dropout rate. In other words, the school programmes seemed inappropriate for a large number of children.

A number of visits were made to some of the large American urban areas such as New York, Chicago and Philadelphia. Ideas and impressions from these centres were shared and conditions were related compared and adapted to those of downtown Toronto. Briefs were presented to the administrative staff and the trustees of the City. From these proposals, grew the programme for Duke of York School.

During the following few years it was felt that the programme at Duke of York School was sufficiently successful that there should be an extension of the concept to other schools. Thus by the year 1968, there were twenty seven designated inner-city schools.

Also during this time, a number of the other Borough Boards of Education in Metropolitan Toronto felt that some of their schools were equally in need of assistance for the same reasons as the City's schools. As a result a Summary Index for Inner-City Schools² was developed by the Metropolitan Toronto Board of Education's research Department. The Index, developed for application in 1968 included a series of criteria which were designed to indicate, by objective measures, whether or not a school should be designated inner-city.

The criteria are in the areas of:

1. Income
2. Public Housing

3. Juvenile Delinquency
4. Socio Economic Rank
5. Economic Achievement
6. Household Characteristics
7. Social Welfare.

In 1969, there were forty and by the early 1970's there will be approximately sixty inner-city schools within the City itself. Each year the Metropolitan School Board makes decisions regarding the financial maintenance and extension of the whole programme. Its decisions, of course, are based on budgetary questions that relate to the whole of Metropolitan Toronto.

When a school in Toronto has been designated and approved as inner-city, certain benefits accrue:

1. The regular class average is reduced to 30 children per teacher. This reduction may mean the employment of additional teacher staff as well as the acquisition of classrooms.
2. An initial financial allotment for each grade 1 class for necessary supplies, furniture and equipment. Each year an additional grade is added to the programme. The previous grades receive a maintenance allowance which is less than the initial one.
3. If the school population is large enough a vice-principal is added to the staff.
4. A resource teacher is employed. This is generally an experienced teacher whose work becomes related to a number of classrooms rather than one only.
5. Lay-assistants are employed for kindergarten and some primary classes. These assistants usually don't have teacher training or experience. We do prefer to hire those who have had experience working with groups of children.
6. A classroom for four-year-olds, that is, junior kindergartens, is opened if there is not one already in the school.
7. An increase in supportive services and other agencies such as the Attendance Department and the Child Adjustment Services within the Board of Education itself.

DUKE OF YORK SCHOOL

The School District—the people and the conditions

Duke of York is situated in the downtown area of the City of Toronto. Needless to say

¹ Minutes of the Toronto Board of Education February 1965.

² See Appendix A.

there are characteristics of the district that are similar to those of many other large urban areas in North America. There are many existing facilities and institutions which create a rich background in which the children may grow and learn. Within a few blocks of the school, we can find almost all types of transportation—air, rail, water and vehicular. There are many industries, commercial enterprises and governmental institutions within walking distance. Historic sites such as Mackenzie House, Scadding House and Fort York are nearby. As with many downtown areas there is a whole range of entertainment available. One finds a wide variety of ethnic groups who provide a wealth of interest and experience to the district.

This description probably coincides with the conception of the area held by the daily transients, those who work downtown during the day and those who come downtown to participate in the night life. However, behind this facade of action and interest exist conditions which make downtown living laden with dangers and pressures. The constant flow of traffic presents a danger to the health and safety of residents. Industry and transportation add to the alarming growth of pollution of both water and air. Much of the housing needs improvement. The Moss Park Apartment Complex operated by the Ontario Housing Authority is the only major low income rental development at this time.

"Many of the houses are old. A survey showed that 78 per cent of them are 60 years old or older, and that 62 per cent of all non-apartment properties required repairs or alterations to conform even to minimum physical standards of the Building and Housing Standard By-laws (by 1961, 95 per cent of these had been brought up to standard). Many of the buildings are over crowded, and almost 30 per cent have been converted to rooming houses."³

To say the least, these conditions present hazards and discomfort to many residents. For example:

"The district with about 3.5 per cent of the properties in the City had 11 per cent of all fires in 1960".⁴

"Today the area south of Wellesley Street between Sherbourne Street and

Parliament Street is a low income residential area. In addition to families, there are concentrations of roomers, transients, and people with social problems. Two of these social problems appear to be the "skid row", located generally near Queen Street, and the "red light" area around Jarvis and Dundas Street."⁵

The existence of many cheap rooming houses and hostels for men tends to attract an inordinate number of transients to the area. These people in addition to the daily transients for work and entertainment have little stake in the community itself.

The income level of residents is low.⁶ At the same time families tend to be large.⁷ Most of the employed male residents are in the unskilled and semi-skilled classes.⁸ Many of the adults, who lack sufficient formal education feel the pressure of a shrinking labour market for semi and unskilled employment. Even where the desire to upgrade their qualification through the services of the Federal Department of Manpower exists there appear to be many factors which prevent their participation in such programmes. These factors include the loss of present employment, the impossibility of moving families to centres other than Toronto where desired programmes are offered as well as the fear of becoming involved in re-education because of previous unfortunate experiences with education.

It is not our intention to suggest that all of the residents of the Duke of York School district can be classified as poor, disadvantaged, unfortunate, inadequate or culturally deprived. This is simply and directly not the case. However, there is a significant number of people who are in the range of partial to complete inability to participate in an adequate way in the affluence, socio cultural mobility and excitement of life in society as a whole. It is with the families which fall in these areas, that we concentrate our greatest efforts.

The characteristics of this group of people include some or all of the following:

1. distrust of institutions,
2. a general resentment of authority

³ City of Toronto Planning Board. "Report to the Committee on Buildings and Development" (Area bounded by Gerrard Street, Parliament Street, the Gardiner Expressway and Jarvis Street (February 26, 1970) p. 2.

⁶ See Appendix B. Table 2B.

⁷ See Appendix B. Table 1B.

⁸ See Appendix B. Table 2B.

⁵ City of Toronto Planning Board *Plan for the City* p. 3.

⁴ *IBID.*

3. ignorance, crime, delinquency, illness, disease, malnutrition, apathy, a sense of hopelessness, withdrawal, isolation and day to day or short term view of life.

4. a lack of communication skills and low educational attainment in general.

5. physical and/or mental handicaps, victims of unfortunate circumstances.

6. transience of families.

7. rejection by society.

8. time, knowledge and lack of skills related to child development

THE CHILDREN

As implied above, all of the children who come to Duke of York School do not have problems in participating in the programme presented. But many do. These are the children whom the school is partially or completely failing to help adequately.

These children come to school sorely equipped to benefit from what could be called a standard educational programme. They tend not to trust adults. They fear new experiences. They are not motivated toward academic learning. They settle differences by physical rather than verbal means. They are explosive in behaviour. They are not adequately rested or fed. Their language and intellectual development is retarded. Their experiences have been narrow and few.

Within the school system they can be easily defeated and their low achievement has made them candidates for special classes. The higher they go in the system the greater becomes their difficulty in coping. This inability to cope is within the areas of the demands of the system itself as well as from pressure from peers, either direct as with for example language and behaviour or more subtly through isolation from peer groups.

It is entirely possible that the child from an impoverished background will ultimately serve to point educators in a direction that will lead to a more effective way of operating our schools.

"...I want to maintain that the deprived child is more than a mere exasperating problem. He has without knowing it, and often without his teachers being aware of it, made a vital gift to the progress of education. He is so to speak, a mirror held up to our schools and communities in which we can see our shortcomings—our basic weaknesses which, of course, injure all children whether deprived or not, but which become critical when a

deprived home and a bad community compound the weaknesses of the school."

It is our hope at Duke of York School that we are pointed in the right direction to help all the children develop adequately by adapting our programme to the particular needs of each child.

Before beginning the discussion of the school programme itself it is necessary to point out that the group of children which can be classed as deprived presents us with our most difficult and often seemingly impossible task. As much as we have tried to adapt our approach the daily challenge to the staff is physically and mentally exhausting. The school, by law and with very few exceptions, must include all children who come to it. There are not enough resources we have discovered that can make the job less exacting. We have not discovered enough ways of handling the problems of these children to make the job possible for the teachers or the students.

One of the most nagging problems to the school is in the rate of transience. Although 60 to 70% of the school population may stay during a school year, the other 30 to 40% are in constant motion. One year 1967-68, with a school population between 600 and 700 there were about 450 transfers in and about 500 transfers out. The amount of paper work that ensues is phenomenal. These pupils who may stay for a day, a week or a month do not get time to settle into the school. By the time the staff is in a position to help, the children have left.

School Programme

Generally speaking, the staff attempts to minimize undue pressures on children by furnishing programmes that involve acceptance support and encouragement of each child's development. It is essential that school be the least a happy and satisfying place in which children spend their time. Punitive measures help to accomplish neither this aim nor desirable learning in general. The staff utilizes the resources of the community by extending the classroom through visits and field trips. We thus provide as interesting, relevant and diverse a programme as possible within our present capabilities and facilities. We challenge the children in ways that hopefully avoid going too far beyond their present

* Melby, E.O. "The Deprived Child: His Gift to Education." *The Community School and its Administration*, Vol. IV No. 12, August 1966 pp. 1-5.

level of competence. Our emphases are on social, physical and academic development. These areas are, of course, inseparable. However, we find that for a number of children the psychological and social needs are most obvious and pressing and must through necessity be dealt with directly. Finally, we try to accept the children at their actual level and work from there in facilitating their development.

Each teacher is supplied with materials, equipment, furniture and books to develop the programme for his group of children. Resource personnel are available as a source of support and help for this programme. Some classes have the full or part time services of lay assistants. All teachers use the time and skills of volunteers from outside the school.

There has been a general move away from the use of a standard curriculum in most schools. We have participated in this trend. Children are not exposed to year end exams given for the purpose of deciding whether or not they should be promoted to the next grade. The pupils are placed in classrooms by age rather than achievement.

In September the teacher receives the group of approximately thirty children. His basic responsibility is for the development of a programme for this group. His other responsibilities as a member of a team are in relationship to the whole school and staff.

Although, each classroom in the school is different there are certain similarities that do exist. Each teacher sets out a routine of operation. These routines are often developed in cooperation and participation of the children themselves. The children are organized into various groups in which they work at particular tasks. Sometimes the whole class works together. Sometimes the children work individually. Various areas of the room are designated for specific kinds of activities. Frequently, children do not have their own desks, rather, they have a place in the room to store their work. Children move from centre to centre for various activities. At these centres teacher and children have placed various types of materials of interest as well as work assignments. These centres usually have a theme such as science, language, reading, mathematics, social studies, music and art. A centre at any particular time is much more specific within the context of the theme.

The basic element in each classroom is the teacher-pupil relationship. We find that most of the children who present problems have a low feeling of self-esteem. The most direct approach in dealing with this problem is through the teacher who assists the child by providing opportunities for success not only with the classroom tasks but in supporting his relationships with his peers.

Perhaps the following illustration will clarify the school's attempt to adapt to the child and his environment. One of the essential tasks for a child to deal with in order to develop personally and at the same time 'survive' in the educational system is to learn how to read with a high degree of competence. It is well known to us that factors essential to learning how to read are in operation long before the reading itself begins. His oral language development is one of the most important. The four-year-old brings with him a considerable experience with language. He has learned the language of his home and immediate environment. It is upon this base, however inadequate, that the kindergarten must facilitate fluency with language. In order to do this, frequent opportunities for relevant talk not only with adults but also with other children must be provided. The child must learn that speech is not the only way of communicating with other people. He can communicate through paint and modelling materials. As the child proceeds through the kindergarten programme he also receives many experiences with printed material. He is read to each day. He sees his name in print. He sees signs about the room. At some point the child may tell the teacher a story which she will write down during the telling. Although the child has had many previous opportunities to tell and listen to stories, this step of having it written for him is an important one. Gradually, most children begin to recognize words and other visual aspects of printed material. From here he will begin to experiment with his own writing and even attempt to read simple books. The perceptive teacher is able to decide when the child is ready to begin the more formal task of reading the work of others, either children's writing or material published for children. Frequent visits to our library have aided in this development. During the grade one year when most of the latter parts of this development are occurring, children have become ready to read and most parents understand the process.

This continues throughout the grades in a programme which includes writing, reading, speaking and listening as complementary aspects of an integrated process. In all grades, the children are called upon to use their own experiences as topics for discussion and writing. These experiences are supplemented by many field trips and enrichment activities, both during and out of school hours. For younger children these excursions are usually in the immediate community. However, for the older children there are experiences which take them beyond this area. As a result, we feel that the child comes to know his own community more adequately and gradually becomes aware of a community larger than his own.

What we have found at Duke of York School is that many children enter school with a meagre language development, general experience, experience with books and motivation for learning. As a result, this group does not learn how to read until perhaps the third grade and even later. We have found that even with attempts to allow the child to develop his skills at his own rate there is pressure on him from the fact that many children have in fact learned to read. Thus, there are many older children who are unable to read. Although we have access to a Reading Clinic, the waiting list for this facility prevents them from becoming involved in the service. The task falls to the teaching staff.

The discussion of the field of reading although it is only one of many aspects of a teacher's work serves to illustrate some of the difficulties. It is obvious that the teacher cannot, on his own, adequately meet the widely varying needs of all the children in his classroom. There has been a move from the teacher working in relative isolation to a position where he must learn how to utilize the skills of other teachers and resource personnel, some from disciplines other than teaching.

A teacher needs to know when and how to involve another professional in the solution of classroom problems. He needs to know how to translate information provided by another professional into educational terms. A difficulty here is that we often do not know the precise meanings of terms used in other disciplines. We tend to be action oriented. On the other hand social workers and psychologists tend to look at the behaviour of children from a casual point of view. The question most often asked by teachers is in terms of knowledge of causes as opposed to methods of changing undesirable behaviour.

It has been found in most areas of working with children—learning, health, both physical and mental as well as behaviour—that the major portion of the problems must be dealt with in the school because of the shortage of outside services and the strict intake requirements of most serving institutions.

As a result of this situation the teacher's skills are taxed to their utmost. The diagnosis of problems and the development of adequate methodology give a constant need for in-service training especially for young teachers.

In addition to the programme offered to the children during the regular hours of school there are many extra curricular activities provided. The gym is in action almost every day before school, at noon hour and after school. Such activities as chess, knitting, creative dancing are also available after school. A local community group encourages a number of children to participate in games three evenings per week. These activities help the children to broaden their experiences and become more deeply involved in the school. However, it must be indicated that they also mean considerable additional effort by an already busy staff.

School Organization

The staff of the school which serves the some 520 children consists of the following:

<i>Teaching Staff</i>	<i>Teachers</i>	<i>Assistants</i>
Kindergarten Junior and Senior.....	3	3
Primary.....	7	1
Junior.....	5	
Special Education.....	4	
French.....	1	
Physical Education.....	1	

Resource Personnel

Principal
 Vice-Principal
 Guidance Counsellor
 Social Worker
 Resource Teacher
 Special English Teacher
 Librarian
 Public Health Nurse
 Audio Visual Technician (Part time)

Office Staff

2 secretaries

The school also has access to the services of a number of other resource personnel who serve a number of schools. These include:

Psychologist	General Academic Consultants
Psychiatrist	Kindergarten Consultants
Speech Teacher	Special Education Consultants
Subject Area Consultants:	Art, Music, Physical Education

Since the beginning of the project, the school staff have worked in groups and committees. The groups have been based on grade level; the committees on specific areas such as communicating with parents. At present, the staff is formed into three groups, each of which has a number of regular grade teachers, a special education teacher and a number of resource personnel. The groups elect two representatives each to an Advisory Committee. These representatives are all classroom teachers. This committee also includes one resource person as well as the principal and the vice principal.

The responsibilities of the three groups include the cooperative development of programme, the discussion of common concerns about the school, in-service courses for the group as well as other topics of interest. The Advisory Committee on the other hand is involved with the formulation of school policy and the provision of a means of communication through the representatives which bring their opinions, ideas and concerns of their group, so that these may be shared and discussed. The representatives take back and discuss the implementation action required with respect to the policy decisions of the committee. The committee also has the power to call ad hoc committees to deal with specific and immediate issues.

This cooperative work is in addition to and apart of the day to day educational function of the school. The resource personnel serve as support to the teaching staff. The vice principal, guidance counsellor social worker and public health nurse work along with the school psychologist in a referral system which begins with the teaching staff. Such problems as attendance, health, extreme behaviour, specific learning disability are dealt with in

consultation with particular teachers. The outcome of these consultations may be a test being administered by the psychologist, a home visit by the social worker or nurse, long term visits with the guidance counsellor or referral to another agency outside the school.

The resource teacher works in a number of areas. One of these is the coordination of the volunteer programme. Much of her time is spent in assisting teachers choose suitable materials and books for particular groups of children. She also studies and tries out new materials from publishers in order to judge their suitability for the school. At times, she spends time in classrooms demonstrating techniques and helping in the solution of classroom problems. Although her work is mainly with adults she does on occasion work with small groups of children outside of their classroom.

The special English teacher works with children who are learning English as a second language. Groups of children, mainly Chinese, come to her classroom each day to participate in a programme which is designed to help them learn to speak and to read English fluently. Constant discussion with child's classroom teacher helps to avoid any duplication of effort and ensures that the programme is suitable in both situations.

The librarian is in charge of the resource centre which includes not only books but also many other non print materials such as records, slides, filmstrips, 8mm films and sound tapes.

The centre is equipped as are the classrooms with equipment appropriate to these non print materials. Children come in groups or individually to follow up on activities begun in the classroom. Research projects stem from the child's interest and the teach-

er's guidance. The classroom teacher helps the child articulate his problem or questions. The child then visits the centre to find appropriate materials that answer these questions. The librarian helps the child develop his skills of locating information. In addition, and particularly for the very young children the librarian brings large groups of children together for book talks and reading stories. The centre is also available to children for reading for pleasure. Many children find the soft furniture of the centre a warm and comfortable spot to curl up and read a book; it may be the only time of his life when the child is alone and in peace.

Parental Involvement

"Much depends on the teachers. Every chapter could end thus—but perhaps it is even more apt here than elsewhere. Teachers are already hard pressed, and nowhere more so than in the very districts where the cooperation of parents is most needed and hardest to win. We are aware that in asking them to take on new burdens we are asking what will sometimes be next to impossible. . . Yet we are convinced that to make the effort will not only add depth to their understanding of their children but will also bring out that support from the home which is still often latent. It has long been recognized that education is concerned with the whole man; henceforth it must be concerned with the whole family."¹⁰

Perhaps the greatest single error in the beginning of the project Duke of York School was the absence of any involvement of the school community with the proposed change in programme. The early attempts at communicating to the parents included a formal meeting at which the programme was explained. This, however, was sadly insufficient. The confusion of the initial stages are undoubtedly attributable in part to the lack of communication.

The first significant attempt at adequate communication came with the abolition of formal report cards. In their place were substituted parent-teacher conferences. Each parent was asked to come to the school and discuss his child's progress with the teacher. During that first year we reached over 90 per cent of the parents for at least one interview.

This development of a 'new' method of reporting to parents was reached with a great deal of effort on the part of the staff and particularly the Reporting to Parents Committee. The committee during many meetings, which by the way continued up until this winter, discussed many issues. These included such areas as methods of assessing children's progress, various topics of assessment other than academic, invitations to parents, methods of including the hard to reach parent and methods and techniques of interviewing. To assist the rest of the staff in the method of reporting, in-service meetings were held and also a substantial manual was prepared.

The novelty of interviewing caused some teachers anxiety. However, during subsequent evaluation of the idea, the teachers felt that in spite of the time and difficulty involved it was indeed effective. Many said that they learned much from the parents about the children. Furthermore, it was found over the long run that in this way of reporting the parents could learn more not only about his child in school but also about the classroom programme.

The method is still in use, however, with some changes. Each parent is now asked to come to the school at least twice per year. When the parent arrives, he is asked whether or not he would like to have a written summary of the interview. In this way, some parents who prefer to have some written record of his child's progress are satisfied.

No matter how successful a teacher tries to be with a child, he is usually defeated if there is an undesirable attitude toward the school and the teacher. It is this need for a cooperative and sympathetic relationship between the home and the school which is basic to the child's success.

We have found a number of parents who were not sympathetic to the 'new' methods of education. The children were occasionally of little help here. Some children were enjoying their activities to such an extent that when they arrived home they were saying that they really enjoyed their play in the classroom. Parents, used to other methods of learning objected. Our partial solution to this difficulty has been to invite the parents to visit the classroom while it is in operation during school time. In spite of these visits and the teachers' explanations, however, we have had to at times adjust the programme for a particular child in order to come closer to the parents' expectations where they are widely divergent from the school's. At the same time

¹⁰ Children and their Primary School: a Report of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) London, H.M.S.O., 1967.

continual contact with the parents has brought greater mutual understanding and further adjustments to the programme.

Our general approach to parents has been to make them feel as welcome as possible in the school regardless of the reasons for which they visit. We attempt to show the parent that we are working toward the same end, that is the development of the child.

During the second year of the project, a parent-teacher group was organized and an executive was elected. The first few meetings were quite successful in terms of attendance. Although much effort was expended on the subsequent meetings the number of people in attendance dwindled considerably. The concluding meeting involved a discussion around the fact that unless the children were somehow involved parents would not attend. The staff of the school was already organizing such activities. It was felt this year that the parent-teacher group should become inactive.

The school has also tried to involve parents in other ways this year. We have held a number of open-house days for the parents to visit the school during the day. The parents have participated in excursions intended for parents and pre-school children. Both of these have met with success. A number of teachers have had parents into the school to observe the children in the classroom during the day.

A local residents group has formed during this school year. In discussion with the staff of the school they have inquired about the availability of the school for evening activities for both children and parents. This appears to be a most promising development.

Volunteers

The Toronto Board of Education has given the authority to schools of the City to utilize volunteers as aids to the school staff. Duke of York School has for the past several years utilized the services of many volunteers. This year there are approximately fifty. They come from a variety of places. Most are housewives from a more affluent area of the city. Some are retired teachers. Others are university and teachers' college students. A few are parents and residents of the school district. It is our immediate aim to expand this latter group not only because of their skills and assistance but also to develop a closer relationship with the community.

The volunteers work in many different ways in the school. Often they assist during field trips. Some work with individuals or

groups of children under the guidance of the teacher. A number have been involved in music programmes. One participates in the school chess club.

At the beginning of the year, many of the volunteers participated in an in-service programme given by members of the staff. The volunteer is asked to complete a form which indicates such details as the age of the children they wish to work with, their particular interests and skills as well as the times they will be able to come to the school. Each volunteer is then assigned to a particular classroom where she will spend as a minimum a half day per week. There is at least one volunteer for each class. We have found this programme an excellent way in which to add to the variety of the programme and also to give children experience with a diversity of adults from different backgrounds. We are continually looking for additional volunteers as the need arises.

Social and Welfare Agencies

In the first year of the project, the Social and Welfare Agencies of the immediate and nearby community were asked to send a representative to a meeting at Duke of York School. The intent was to explain what the school was attempting to do and to develop some kind of coordinated approach to the problems of the area. About forty-five agencies were represented at the meeting. These included churches, juvenile court, Y.M.C.A., Central Neighbourhood House as well as many others. Very little came of this first attempt at coordination. It was discouraging to all because even though we knew that many of us were working to help the same families we were not coordinating our efforts or even sharing basic information.

During the following years of the project, a different approach was taken to the problem of cooperation among agencies. Two particular examples will be discussed below. The first, the Duke of York Day Care Programme included the following groups: the Toronto Board of Education, the Health and Welfare Department of Metropolitan Toronto, the Parks and Recreation Department of the City of Toronto and a number of private foundations. Secondly, the Duke of York Summer Programme included an even larger number of organizations. These were: the Toronto Board of Education, the City of Toronto Public Health Department, the City of Toronto Parks and Recreation Department, the

Metropolitan Toronto and Region Conservation Authority and the Y.M.C.A. of Metropolitan Toronto as well as four private foundations and a number of individual sponsors.

The experience gained from these two programmes seems to indicate that for successful cooperation certain elements need to be present. First, there must be a specific project which is designed to meet a particular need. Secondly, is the need for a coordinator and a fund raiser who are deeply committed to the project. Thirdly, the necessary agencies who would have a possible interest. Those who express interest and are willing to provide some kind of resource be it staff materials or facilities should be asked to join in the enterprise. Finally, and not of the least importance is the employment of project staff members. Some evaluation of the success of the project should be made if it is to continue.

The school has continued to work cooperatively with individual agencies with respect to individual cases. We have invited workers to conferences devoted to the discussion of these particular cases. Also staff members have been invited to attend case conferences held by other agencies.

The school social worker has been most effective in acting as a coordinator of the involvement of families and children with agencies. Families who come to her are involved in discussions about problems. She discusses the services offered by various agencies in relation to the problems. The choice of procedure and method of attack on the problem is left up to the parents. In support of their decision the social worker assists in the referral procedure toward the particular agency chosen. Where a number of agencies are already involved with a family the parents not infrequently come to her for help in the coordinating of these efforts. The point of view taken is that the school should avoid imposing service but at the same time assist by discussion of the problem and encourage the family to decide upon and take a course of action.

The Duke of York Day Care Programme

The day care programme operated in the school is under the direction of a Board of Directors on which are a parent and the school principal as well as other members. The programme has a permanent staff and has a number of volunteers that help. It is financed largely by the Welfare Department with some assistance from private founda-

tions. A further cooperating organization is the Department of Parks and Recreation for the City of Toronto.

All of the 35 children in the programme attend Duke of York School. They range in age from 5-9. However, the organization even though it uses the school operates rather independently but cooperatively with the school. The selection process for children begins in the school with the teachers, guidance counsellor and social worker but the final selection and approval is by a member of the permanent staff of the Day Care programme. Since the Department of Welfare finances the programme they set the fee to be paid by parents. There is a sliding scale for fees which varies with the financial status of the parents.

The children are taken at noon hour to the John Innes Community Centre for lunch. The afternoon activities take place in the auditorium of the school from 3:30 to 5:00 p.m. In addition to these, there are frequent field trips and excursions to such places as the Y.M.C.A. at Spadina and Bloor Streets where there is an arts and crafts programme provided. We have found for certain children this organization has fulfilled an important function.

Summer Programmes

During the first few years of the project the efforts of the school staff, particularly the guidance counsellor and the vice-principal were strictly those of referral and coordination. Institutions offering summer programmes, both day and resident camps, were contacted and asked the number of places that could be made available to the children of the school. The parents were informed and those interested were invited to the school to meet with representatives from the various camping organizations. Each representative at the meeting presented to the parents the details about the camp, including the programme, the cost and the method of applying for placement. The parents then decide which camp was suitable for their children and then filled out applications. A considerable amount of follow-up work was done by the guidance counsellor to make sure that those parents who were interested in having their children attend a camp were included in some part of a summer programme. This service has and will continue in the future.

During the year 1969, a summer day camp was organized for about 150 of the children of Duke of York School. The school cooperated

with five other agencies and received support from a number of private foundations and individual donors. A chairman and the school principal obtained three supervisory staff members and selected young volunteers to operate the programme.

The programme was divided into two 2-week periods during each of which different groups of 75 children were involved.

The objectives of the Day Camp Project included ideas such as:

"—the provision of an outdoor education programme that is child centred and develops natural science and camping skills away from the usual environment of the children".

"—to encourage an appreciation for outdoor living".

"—to develop the growth of the individual child".¹¹

The camp was structured to best accomplish these objectives. Each day the children assembled at the school and then were taken by bus at 8:15 a.m. to a conservation region, Bruce's Mill, just outside of Metropolitan Toronto. They returned to the city at 4:00 p.m. Groups were kept small with approximately six campers per counsellor so that as much individual attention as possible could be given to the children.

The daily programme included a wide variety of outdoor activities as well as arts and

crafts. Lunches were provided. A day was spent at the Black Creek Pioneer Village to learn and experience the life of pioneers of early Ontario.

An interesting comment appears in the *Report '69*

"Although formal swimming lessons were held at the beginning of camp, the lessons were disbanned. We found that the children were happier when allowed to progress at their own speed. By removing the lesson the pressure to achieve was eliminated".¹²

Needless to say the teachers at Duke of York have found that this concept applies in almost all areas of learning for the children.

The plans for a continued and expanded day camp programme for 1970 have been approved by the Toronto Board of Education. Since there is some financial expenditure involved, final approval must await the passing of the budget by the Metropolitan Toronto School Board.

¹² *ibid* p. 2.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A—Summary Index for Inner City Schools

APPENDIX B—Table 1—Population and Residence Characteristics

Table 2—Social Characteristics

¹¹ Duke of York, York Camara Day Camp Report
¹² Y.W.C.A. of Metropolitan Toronto, p. 1.

INNER-CITY INDEX

To the Chairman and Members
of the Academic Committee:

Inner-City Schools

During the summer of 1967, at the direction of the School Board, the Advisory Council of Directors appointed a committee of Metro officials to discuss criteria for Inner City Schools. From time to time, the Committee has considered applications from area boards for approval of schools as "Inner City" Schools and had made subjective judgments in each case on the basis of supporting data supplied with the applications, along with data pertaining to income and public housing.

At the same time the members of the Committee, in conjunction with the Metropolitan Research Department, have studied criteria that might be used in a more objective manner. As a result of these studies, an Inner City Index has been established. The Index takes into account such items as income, public housing, juvenile delinquency and economic and household characteristics, and translates these items into a point score. A summary of the Index is attached to this report, and the attached documents, "Schools Approved as 'Inner City'" and "Schools for Consideration as 'Inner City'" indicate how the Index may be used.

At the meeting of the Advisory Council of Directors held on October 2, 1968, approval was given by the Directors to the Index and to the procedure for its use as explained by members of the Metropolitan Research Department. In addition, a list of 37 schools submitted for approval as Inner City Schools by area boards of education was considered. The Directors gave approval to the following 26 schools:

Etobicoke	Lord Lansdowne
Braeburn	Leslie
Elmbank	Montrose
Scarborough	Old Orchard
Pringdale Gardens	Pauline
Warden	Perth
Toronto	Pelham Park
Christie	Palmerston
Blake	Roden
Bruce	Shaw Street
Brock	York
Duke of	Bala Avenue Jr.
Connaught	D. B. Hood Jr.
Dovercourt	George Syme Jr.
Davenport	Memorial Jr.
King Edward	

APPENDIX "A"

It is recommended:

1. That the Inner City Index prepared by the Metropolitan Research Department be approved for use in determining the status of schools as Inner City Schools.

2. That the above-named 26 schools be approved as Inner City Schools, effective September 1, 1969, subject to budget considerations.

3. That the schools listed on page 306 previously approved as "Inner City" Schools be re-confirmed.

F. G. Ridge
Director of Research and
Planning
R. E. Jones
Co-ordinator of Academic
Programmes
W. J. McCordic
Director and Secretary-Treasurer.

METROPOLITAN TORONTO SCHOOL
BOARD

Summary-Index for Inner City Schools

Following the direction of the Inner-City Committee, the Metropolitan Toronto Research Department proceeded to describe as many Metro-wide demographic factors as possible. Other than Juvenile Delinquency (1967), Ontario Housing (1968) and Social Welfare (1967), the balance of the factors are based on re-worked 1961 census data. (Factor maps are available for inspection).

For each of the following factors, if the school met the criterion, a credit point (+) was given:

- (a) Income—\$4,100.00 or less (1961 Census, D.B.S.)
- (b) Public Housing—majority of pupils are from public housing (Ontario Housing Corporation data, 1968, and data from principals).
- (c) Juvenile Delinquency 7 per cent or over—Police contact (Metropolitan Toronto Police data, 1968).
- (d) Socio-economic Rank—lowest rank (Metropolitan Profile, Social Planning Council of Metropolitan Toronto 1965).
- (e) Economic Achievement—above 1.0 rank (High positive signs indicate low economic achievement) (Socio-

Economic Correlates of Housing Condition, 1965).

(f) Household Characteristics—below 1.0 rank (High negative scores—deficiency of basic household amenities) (Urban Renewal Study, Metropolitan Toronto Planning Board, 1967).

(g) Social Welfare—estimated heavy density Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto data, 1968.

The Total Points column was arrived at by counting each + as one point with the exception of the Ontario Housing, and in that column each + was counted as two points.

The presence of more than 50 per cent of the enrolment from Public Housing has been

judged to be a doubly potent factor in the determination of Inner-City School Status.

The school boundaries in some cases overlap two or three census tract areas. In those cases, information is given for all census tracts involved. Only one point (+) per column, however, is counted.

Additional factors may be developed as data becomes available.

Dr. F. G. Ridge
Director of Research and
Planning

Dr. D. C. Hambleton
Educational Research
Co-ordinator

October 12, 1968

TABLE 1
Population and Residence Characteristics

APPENDIX "B"

A. AREA POPULATION

Census Tract No.	Year		% Change
	1961	1966	
99*	4,109	4,003	- 2.5%
101	3,184	5,056	+58.8%
103*	1,868	1,215	-34.9%
105*	3	2	-33.3%
Total.....	9,164	10,276	+12.1%

Comments: The population increase from 1961 to 1966 was primarily a result of the Moss Park Apartments development. The City's population declined by 2% in this period.

B. CHILD POPULATION IN 1966

Census Tract No.	No. of children			No. Children per family
	Under 6	6-14	15-18	
99*	339	391	113	1.3
101	522	468	139	1.3
103*	147	232	69	2.3
105*	0	0	0	0
Total.....	1,008	1,091	321	
% of Age Group of Area Population.....	10%	11%	3%	
% of Age Group of City Population.....	10%	13%	5%	

Comments: Tract 103 has a high number of children per family. The proportion of children to total population is slightly lower in the area than in the City as a whole.

C. RELATION OF LODGING FAMILIES TO TOTAL FAMILIES IN 1966

Census Tract No.	No. Families	No. of Lodging Families	% of Lodging Families of Total Families
99*	677	152	22%
101	952	76	8%
103*	205	14	7%
105*	0	0	0
Total.....	1,834	242	13%

Comments: The proportion of lodging families is slightly higher than the City figure of 11%, while in tract 99 the ratio is twice as high as the City figure.

Special Senate Committee

TABLE 1 (cont'd)

B. OWNER OCCUPANCY IN 1966

Census Tract No.	No. of Occupied Dwellings	No. of Owner Occupied Dwellings	% Owner Occupied of Total Dwellings
99*	847	213	25%
101	1,381	159	12%
103*	241	71	29%
105*	0	0	
Total.....	2,469	443	18%

Comments: The level of owner occupancy is quite low compared with the Citywide average of 51%.

*Census data has been adjusted to account for differences between tract boundaries and the area dealt with in this report. Tract 99 has been reduced by one-third; tracts 103 and 105 have been reduced by one-half.

Source: Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1961 Census, 1966 Census.

TABLE 2

Social Characteristics, 1961

A. IMMIGRATION, EDUCATION, BRITISH ORIGINS, JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

Census Tract No.	Population	% of Immigrants 1946-1961	% of Population with University education	% of Population of British Origin	Juvenile Delinquents per 1000 youths 1962-1965
99*	4,109	17.3	2.5	53.1	100.3
101	3,184	16.2	2.1	42.1	113.4
103*	1,868	10.9	1.1	50.8	109.9
105*	3	0	0	0	0
Total.....	9,164	—	—	—	—
City of Toronto.....		29.1	7.4	51.8	44.0

Comments: The area had a lower proportion of immigrants than the City as a whole. The rate of juvenile delinquency was more than twice the City average.

B. EMPLOYMENT CHARACTERISTICS

Census Tracts No.	No. Persons in Labour Force	% of Population	% of Women in Labour Force	Average Family Income (\$)	% Men Earning Less Than \$2000	% of Primary Craftsmen and Labourers
99*	1,856	45%	26.9	3,581	27.7	38.7
101	1,418	45%	20.9	3,385	31.6	35.9
103*	577	31%	23.0	3,498	25.3	45.0
105*	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....	3,851	42%	—	—	—	—
City of Toronto.....		48%	37.6	4,972	15.5	42.4

Comments: Income levels were considerably lower than for the City as a whole.

*Census data has been adjusted to account for differences between tract boundaries and the area dealt with in this report. Tract 99 has been reduced by one-third; tracts 103 and 105 have been reduced by one-half.

Source: Metropolitan Profile, Social Planning Council, 1966.

REFERENCES

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APPENDIX "H"

Convenient Caring
or

Truly Caring

A Brief submitted to the
Senate Committee on Poverty
Toronto, March 10th, 1970.

By Jim Steele,
Advisory Chairman,
Neighborhood Youth Corps.,
15 Forman Avenue,
Toronto 289, Ontario.

Convenient Caring
or
Truly Caring

Convenient caring about the problems of the poor is that action that is limited to doing something that relieves us of temporary embarrassment or relieves our conscience. In the private sector, this is the individual or group that provides a hamper at Christmas for a poor family but then forgets that the needs of individuals and families are just as real during the other 364 days of the year. At the government level, it is usually making a study and then making recommendations in all sincerity but knowing that there is not a snow balls chance in hell of these recommendations being carried out.

Truly caring about the problems of the poor entails concern and action to meet as best possible for a long period of time those problems that are literally destroying individuals and families. In the private sector, this entails the long term support and government, it means the implementation of government programs and also the support of private groups by government. To put it as bluntly as possible, what I am saying that no level of government has the resources, financial or people, to alleviate poverty and bring dignity and meaning into the lives of people. It is only through the maximum involvement of people and their talents from the private sector, the volunteer, can we provide meaningful happenings and make people feel that they are important and that people care about them. I do not for one minute, mean the Lady Bountiful spreading of goodies but the going out into the larger community of many people who on a very personal basis work for and with people. We must get away from the idea that government must and can meet the needs of all of the people.

Truly Caring Involves Both Understanding
and Action

It is all so easy to either say the poor made their own bed and now let them make the best of it or to even say that the problem is not serious and hide our heads in the sand until such time as all hell breaks loose.

"The Puerto Ricans have a wonderful phrase. They say: 'you can't cover up the sky with your hand.' You just can't cover up ugliness and misery and poverty. There is no point in trying. And I think that young people put us on the spot when they point out that we still try to cover up ugliness—even the best of us". Dr. Oscar Lewis.

When I am part of taking sixty children on an outing in the winter, I often find that about forty of them either have not mitts scarves or are even in running shoes. I have had occasion to see old people sitting at the windows of houses in a row on Winchester Street and only seeming to leave their station to either eat or go to the bathroom. I often have old people phone me up asking for people to visit them in rooming houses, or asking if I can find them part time employment in order that they can retain their dignity. When I see youngsters who are lovable and interested at seven or eight years become frustrated and hostile at eleven or twelve, I often ask myself why. Why should some youngsters live in houses where the sidewalk is their front yard and the backyard a junkyard?

Cold impersonal government programs that are based upon theoretical approaches and large expenditures of money will never answer the very personal problems of people.

We have only to look to the south of us, the United States, to see that despite the expenditure of billions of dollars that the "fat cat" theoretical approaches have done little to alleviate the problems of poverty there. In fairness, some of the programs have had some element of success but the empire building political wrangling and the cold impersonal approach have provided little to motivate people or to add dignity to their lives. Even the so called participation of the poor was nullified by giving them a minority vote in any decision making or putting them on city payrolls and thus making them civil employees rather than representatives of the poor group.

As the young people quite aptly put it, "The Way" are the problems of the majority.

people who low income to be solved with the absence of "grass roots" involvement. I do openly admit that serious emotional problems of some people can only be handled by professional people but when it comes to such a large problem as poverty that only the participation of many people, professional and lay, can we truly bring meaning, motivation and dignity into the lives of people who are often defeated, frustrated, confused and on the verge of hostility.

What is happening to people as a result of poverty

"I see a change that comes over young people in the slums at about the age of fourteen or fifteen. It's ironic but very young children—in Harlem, for instance—frequently seem brighter, more energetic, even happier than children of the same age whom I see walking with their nurses along Fifth Avenue between Fiftieth and Seventieth streets. But the slum children at the age of about fourteen seem to lose those positive qualities: the faces of some of them seem deadened and others antagonistic"—Senator Robert Kennedy

During the past eight years, living and working with young people in the downtown area for the entire fifty-two weeks of each year, I find the very young to be interested and lovable but as many get older the influence of the environment that they live in and the attitudes of their own community and the larger community as expressed by the news media definitely does much to create a feeling of frustration and hostility. On the other hand, the small group of youngsters that we do come into contact at about age seven or eight and continue to work with and for do become involved in their own community at the senior high school age. Unfortunately, there is a lack of continuity in working with young people and sufficient numbers are not being reached. Particularly, in the age group 11 to 15 there is a breaking down of involvement. It does seem that something is done for the very young and then this involvement gap, age 11 to 14 occurs and then we become concerned about young people at age 17 again forgetting that this gap may have done damage that will make it virtually impossible to motivate these youngsters.

Many old people in our so called "affluent society" are lonely, often hungry and in many instances living in rooms in inferior housing. Most people recognize that old age pensions are not kept abreast of the cost of living. Our particular groups find that the young can bring meaning into the lives of the old by

becoming involved in doing chores for the old, visitations and by holding social evenings. While this does put meaning into the lives of old folk, we must step up our efforts and also recognize that not all older people are sick and can't do things for themselves. Many old people on the banks of the East River, New York City, are employed for a few hours a week in a subsidized factory doing light work which provides additional income, meaning and dignity. While not all old people are able to become so involved, those who do come out of these factories with a light in their eyes that no amount of money could provide. We also plan to open a store where donated food would be provided free or at a nominal charge—many old people insist upon paying something—for those who are ill or who after paying high rents from their meagre pension have little left for food. I also feel that regular visitations to lonely old people in rooms by the young would add much to the lives of both. Young families will also be asked to adopt old folk under a "Foster Grandparents" program which once again would add meaning and stability to both the old and some families.

Generalizations and categorizing of the poor

"Well I've been trying to urge people not to lump all the poor together and not to treat them as one homogeneous mass. As you study individuals and families you see that some rather crucial distinctions have to be made between the results of poverty in different social and cultural contexts. Dr. Oscar Lewis.

"And I think that our antipoverty program in this country should try to distinguish between families to whom poverty has given a whole way of life and families who are poor but still subscribe to the basic values of the system in which they live."—Senator Robert Kennedy.

We often, without intending to do so, destroy people by saying that all poor people are lazy, scroungers, second-class citizens, etc. As we are all aware, if we repeat something often enough we not only begin to believe it but so does the person or group that we are talking about. As many individuals as possible must be made aware that they are capable of certain achievement and that they are important as individuals. In all of our programs, we try and work on a basis of a volunteer to each two or three people and also we are concerned that the volunteer be involved on a continuing basis. One shot deals like hit and run raids in the war often do

more damage for we raise the hopes of people and then slam one more door in their faces.

While it is important that people recognize the needs of people and the lack of the facilities for meeting these needs, I do feel that the press, radio, television and others can play an important role if they also give recognition to the potential that lies dormant in depressed areas. We must attack the creation of "economic ghettos" now or suffer the grave consequences of many societies throughout the world.

The involvement of people in meeting the needs of other people

"Open your eyes and seek another human being in need of a little time, a little friendliness, a little company, a little work. It may be a lonely, an embittered, a sick or an awkward person for whom you can do something, to whom you can mean something. Perhaps it will be an old person or a child. Or else a good cause needs volunteer workers, people who can give up a free evening or run errands. Who can list all the uses to which that precious working capital called man can be put?" Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

"No one has the right to take for granted his own advantages over others in health, in talents, in ability, in success, in a happy childhood or congenial home conditions. One must pay a price for all these boons. What one owes in return is a special responsibility for other lives," Dr. Albert Schweitzer.

"Your success depends on freeing yourself from blaming either the child, his parents, or his race or nationality. You will need to face honestly your own preconceptions about racial and national traits and about the whole poverty population. Instead of generalizing, learn to look at each child individually, value him for what he is, and explore ways of setting up the kind of rapport that sparks learning.

Self-esteem and self-confidence are basic to learning. The personal interest that you show in the child may well be the catalyst that makes him recognize his own worth and his ability to achieve"—Anna W. M. Wolf.

Everywhere I go, both within the effected community and out into the larger community, I find people young and old who do care and do desire to become involved in making the community a better place to live in and to grow up in. For instance, I recruited 50 young people for a summer of involvement at a church dance. One of the main difficulties that I find that churches, schools, etc. are over

protective and want to limit the understanding and involvement of young people. It is little wonder that young people become involved in drugs, etc. for they have so much to offer but are often cut off from being of service to others by adults who neither have the same idealism or care enough about others. I find that young people who do go out into the community gain much from the experience and often find themselves in helping others.

Programs that we either have in operation or can put in operation that would have an effect upon poverty are as follows:

You will no doubt read many reports and many will involve large expenditures of money that put the possibility of becoming a reality in the remote area. What I am suggesting here, because of the involvement of the private sector and the establishment can become a reality within two months.

The Senior Citizen

1. A subsidized industry where old folk could work for a few hours a week and bring additional income and meaning into their lives.

2. A central food store where free food or at a nominal charge would be available for those who are ill or because of their meagre pension are not eating properly.

3. A Foster-Grandparents program whereby young families would make old folks a part of their family life. This does not entail the moving of the old person into their homes but rather the old person becoming a part of the family life.

4. Visitations to the old who need the company of people to overcome the loneliness.

5. Social happenings for the old.

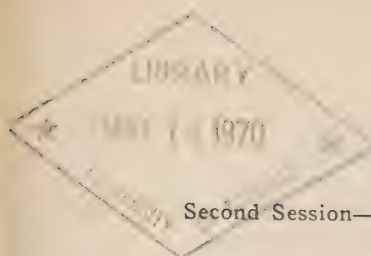
Programs for the Young

1. Programs for the young must start at a very early age and continue without any gaps during the years up to 17 or 18 and must be for fifty-two weeks of the year for much of the good done can be undone during certain periods of the year particularly during the summer period when school is out and many programs cease to operate.

2. Tutorial programs and exposure programs on a personal basis are a must.

3. We have found that our farm and small town vacation program, making use of week-lies and dailies, not only takes youngsters out of the city but provides a solid family exposure.

4. Happenings must take place both within and outside of the effected community.
 5. The involvement of local and out of the community young people is important for this provides motivation for both groups of young people.
 6. A summer camp which combines both the joys of nature and also works upon school deficiencies is needed for such things as reading a grade behind can be alleviated during this period.
 7. Programs which go out into the streets during the summer, on vacant lots, etc., involved young volunteers, youngsters and parents. This program truly brings people together and many solid friendships are formed.
 8. The importance of preventative action and programs must be sold for we find it easier to reach youngsters at an early age than to wait until they become problems at age 16 or 17.
 9. The providing of proper food and clothing is as important in our own country as it is abroad.
 10. The recognition of the courage of the children by the general public rather than treating youngsters as misfits is important.
- Anything that is done to alleviate poverty must be based upon a long term basis for the band aid approach does little good and is a waste of money.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 27

WEDNESDAY, MARCH 11, 1970

WITNESSES:

Special Committee of the City of Toronto. Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto. Community Legal Aid and Services Program. National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section. St. Christopher House. Portuguese Canadian Congress. Kensington Area Residents' Association. (*Joint Presentation*) Vocational Rehabilitation Centre of Metropolitan Toronto. Students of the Social Service Course of the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. SOS—Volunteer Action for Social Change. Students' Administrative Council, University of Toronto. O'Connor Drive Development Community Association.
(See the MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS for the names of the witnesses who were heard by the committee.)

APPENDICES

(See the MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS for a list of the briefs printed as appendices.)

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Toronto, Wednesday, March 11, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, Sub-committee "A" of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m. in St. Lawrence Hall.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Cook, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson and Inman. (6)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

SPECIAL COMMITTEE OF THE CITY OF TORONTO: Alderman Anthony O'Donohue; Alderman Horace Brown; Alderman Karl Jaffary; Alderman John Sewell.

FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO: Mr. W. J. White, Supervisor, East District Office; Mrs. E. Pearl, Chairman, Social Action Committee. In attendance but not heard: Mr. E. F. Watson, Executive Director.

FROM THE FLOOR: Mrs. J. Farthing.

At 11.45 Sub-committee "A" adjourned until 2.00 p.m. at St. Lawrence Hall.

.....

At 2.00 p.m. Sub-committee "A" met at St. Lawrence Hall.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Cook, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson and Inman. (6)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

COMMUNITY LEGAL AID AND SERVICES PROGRAM: Mr. Ian Alexander McDougall, Director; Mr. Larry Taman, Chairman.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN OF CANADA, TORONTO SECTION: Mrs. Morris Vigoda, President; Mrs. Jack Roden, Vice-president, Education; Mrs. Benjamin Gross, Research Volunteer, Service Department.

In attendance but not heard: Mrs. Gerald Wiener, Vice-president, Service.

At 4.15 p.m. Mr. Walter Pitman, M.P.P., was heard.

At 4.45 p.m. Sub-committee "A" adjourned until 8.00 p.m. at St. Christopher House, 67 Wales Avenue.

.....

At 8.00 p.m. Sub-committee "A" met at St. Christopher House.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Cook, Everett, Fergusson and Inman. (5)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE. PORTUGUESE CANADIAN CONGRESS. KENSINGTON AREA RESIDENTS' ASSOCIATION. (*Joint Presentation*) Mr. David Maben, Executive Director, St. Christopher House; Mr. Paul Lane, Alexandra Park Residents' Association; Mr. Dan Martynuik, President, Kensington Area Residents' Association; Mr. Antonio V. B. Prates, Secretary, Portuguese Canadian Congress; Mr. Manuel Mira, President, Portuguese Canadian Congress; Mr. Edward J. Clarke, Secretary-Treasurer, Toronto Negro Veterans' Association; Director, Kensington Area Residents' Association.

FROM THE FLOOR:

Mrs. Pauline Shapiro;
Mrs. I. Smolsky;
Mrs. L. Wood;
Mrs. B. Adams;
Mr. Sam Snyder;
Mrs. W. Eisen;
Mr. Antonio Vaz;
Mrs. M. LaChapelle;
Mr. Donald Dolson;
Miss Barbara Neat;

Mr. Americo DeSousa;
Miss Darlene Morray;
Mr. Delfim Viana;
Miss K. Brown;
Mr. Brian Nasimok;
Miss Margo Kleiker;
Mr. E. A. Edison;
Mr. Ken Acton;
Mr. Alf. Barclay;
Mr. Ronald Singer.

The briefs listed hereunder were ordered to be printed as appendices:

- "A" - Briefs submitted by Aldermen Anthony O'Donohue, Horace Brown, Karl Jaffary and John Sewell of the City of Toronto;
- "B" - Brief submitted by the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto;
- "C" - Brief submitted by Community Legal Aid and Services Program;
- "D" - Brief submitted by the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section;
- "E" - Brief submitted by Mr. Walter Pitman, M.P.P.
- "F" - Brief submitted jointly by St. Christopher House, the Portuguese Canadian Congress and the Kensington Area Residents' Association.

"G" – Brief submitted by the Italian Aid Society.

At 10.30 p.m. Sub-committee "A" adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Thursday, March 12, 1970, at St. Lawrence Hall, where the full Committee will meet.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Toronto, Canada, Wednesday, March 11th, 1970.

At 10.00 a.m. Sub-Committee "B" met at the Vocational Rehabilitation Centre of Metropolitan Toronto, Division of the Jewish Vocational Services, 74 Tycos Drive, Toronto.

Present: The Honourable Senators McGrand (*Chairman*), Carter, Pearson and Sparrow. (4)

In attendance: Messrs. Michael Clague and Alan Holman, Community Liaisons for the Committee.

The following persons from the Vocational Rehabilitation Centre of Metropolitan Toronto were heard: (*evidence not recorded*)

1. Mr. Milton Friedman, Executive Director.
2. Mr. Bernard Berger, Associate Director.
3. Mrs. B. MacKenzie, Rehabilitation Counsellor.
4. Mr. H. Muller, Rehabilitation Counsellor.
5. Mr. H. Vogel, Rehabilitation Counsellor.
6. Mr. E. H. Miles, Workshop Co-ordinator.
7. Mr. L. L. Lockshin, Chairman, Management Committee.

A question period ensued. A guided tour of the Rehabilitation Centre was then provided.

At 12.00 Noon the Sub-Committee adjourned until 2.00 p.m.

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At 2.00 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" met at the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute.

Present: The Honourable Senators Carter (*Chairman*), McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow. (4)

In attendance: Messrs. Michael Clague and Alan Holman, Community Liaisons for the Committee.

The following witnesses were heard:

STUDENTS OF THE SOCIAL SERVICE COURSE OF THE RYERSON POLYTECHNICAL INSTITUTE: Mr. P. A. Hanrahan; Miss E. Peters; and Miss S. Fitchett.

SOS-VOLUNTEER ACTION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE: Ken Murdoch, Executive Secretary; Mr. George Ford; and Alan Livingston, Chairman, Central Committee.

STUDENTS' ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL, UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO: Gesta Abols, President; Mr. Eilert Frerichs; Mr. Ron Weihs; and Miss Jean Golden.

MISS SALLY YORK.

At 5.25 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" adjourned until 8.00 p.m.

At 8.00 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" met at O'Connor Drive Public School, 1665 O'Connor Drive.

Present: The Honourable Senators Sparrow (*Chairman*), Carter, McGrand and Pearson. (4)

In attendance: Mr. Michael Clague, Community Liaison for the Committee.

The following witnesses were heard:

O'CONNOR DRIVE DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY ASSOCIATION: Mr. Ralph Hughes, President; and Mrs. Lynn Lemesurier.

The briefs listed hereunder were ordered to be printed as Appendices.

"H" -- Brief submitted by the Students of the Social Service Course of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute of Toronto.

"I" -- Brief submitted by SOS-Volunteer Action for Social Change.

"J" -- Brief submitted by Students' Administrative Council of the University of Toronto.

At 10.15 p.m. Sub-Committee "B" adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Thursday, March 12th, 1970, at St. Lawrence Hall, when the full Committee would meet.

ATTEST:

Patrick J. Savoie,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Toronto, Wednesday, March 11, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Subcommittee "A") met this day at 9.35 a.m. at St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will call the meeting to order. One of our committees is already out on the road this morning making some inspections and we have to join with them about 12 o'clock.

This morning we will be having four position papers from Alderman Horace Brown, Alderman Karl Jaffary, Alderman John Sewell and Alderman Anthony O'Donohue, all of whom have taken the opportunity to present their points of view as it affects poverty, for which we are most appreciative. Each of them will make a short summary, not longer than five minutes, and leave themselves open for questions. We will start with Alderman Brown.

Alderman Horace Brown: Thank you, Senator Croll. and my colleagues regret there is no official brief from the City of Toronto. That is why we are here. Our submissions were really intended to support the representations that might have been put forward by the City of Toronto.

I think what appals me greatly, senator, and it is not my brief but it is in my heart, is that in North America, and it is becoming incipient in Canada, there is a growing swing to the right in thinking, a feeling that we are no longer our brother's keepers, a materialistic outlook, a view that it is sinful to be poor. I find all of this extremely depressing.

As a product of the depression myself, I know, and you know, senator, what those days were like. I do not want to see them come again. However, the signs are all there: the growing unemployment, growing restlessness, the feeling of people, "I am all right, Jack; look after yourself." These are all the things which lead to a depression which none of us will forget. Of course now we call it inflation because it is the other side of the coin.

If we are going to take the position, the Victorian position from my point of view, that we shall always leave the poor with us, then I think we abdicate any

sense of responsibility we have as public officials. It is a shame and a disgrace that in one of the most affluent nations of the world some of our people should be almost on the borderline of hunger, and in fact it is happening to far too many of our people. I know that two-thirds of the world goes to bed hungry. That of course is a crime against our so-called civilization. However, it hurts to know that this is also happening in Canada, sometimes right in this city. Perhaps it is not absolute hunger, but it is a case of never having enough of anything.

I have always said that welfare is a right and not a privilege. I have always said that welfare is merely a subsistence as it is handled now. I would repeat for the benefit of all that are here that that is still my view, that that is all it is.

I find it incredible that many of those who are among our marginal income families are working for wages below the income that they would receive if they were on welfare. I find it incredible because I find it just as incredible that there should be employers who would take advantage of such a situation.

I think that most of us are poor in many ways, and one of the ways in which we are poor is poverty of intellect. Our poverty of intellect shows itself in so many ways, senators, in so many, many ways. And when we say that these problems do not belong to us, to each and every one of us, to those of us who have been fortunate enough to at least receive some measure of security, then I think we are not being quite human.

I don't want to see a return to the past and yet the past is coming up on us in very rapid fashion. We see so many today who express the old woodpile philosophy: If he wants to eat let him go out and chop wood so he can earn his dinner. That of course would be a bowl of soup and a crust of bread. As far as I am concerned, that is not any kind of charity whatsoever.

I believe that every human being in this country is entitled to a decent living, and I believe that every human being in this country should get exactly that. What is a decent living to me may not be a decent living to someone else but I do feel that nobody should be on the verge of hunger, that nobody should have to go around in ragged clothing, that

nobody should be without an adequate education. In that latter respect I am speaking of those who need re-education in order to come back into this technological age in which we all live.

Senator, you and I have spoken several times on these matters in past years and I think we have somewhat the same philosophy in regard to them. We came through it. We know what it is like. I pray to God that these same things will not happen again and that our young people will not have to go through it, because if our young people have to go through it I have enough faith in them to believe they will not go through with it, that they will take to the streets and change things—unless we change them first ourselves.

I think we can change them. I wish we could change them. I am very glad to see your committee at work, senator, because I do think you are bringing to the people of Canada some eye-opening which is very needed. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you, Alderman Brown. Now we will hear from Alderman Jaffary.

Alderman Karl Jaffary: My name is Karl Jaffary. I am one of the city of Toronto aldermen, one of the aldermen from Cabbagetown, as it turns out. The chairman was saying earlier this morning that poverty is no longer confined to Cabbagetown, and I suppose that is true, but we think we have as good poverty as anybody else has. Alderman Sewell and I are here to talk about it.

I am very sorry the city of Toronto does not have an official brief before you. Something may come in later. The two points I want to make are really points that were made in that brief that you do not have before you. The things that we wrote were things to support that brief. Since I was the man who at least put the words on paper I would like to bring to you the main thrust of that position on which the city is not agreed but on which I think the four of us are, and that is that poor people do not have enough power, that in fact poverty is a question of power quite as much as it is a question of money.

I am not necessarily talking about group power in the sense we hear of student power, black power and that kind of power. I am talking about the power of an individual to make real decisions that affect his life. A lot of it relates to money.

My colleague, John Sewell, was saying that, for instance, when he worked as a community organizer on a very low income he still wasn't poor. A lot of clergymen are in this position as well because they have options open to them. They can do all kinds of interesting things with their lives. People are poor

when they cannot make those choices. And it often boils down to a question of choices: Where are you going to live? If you have no choice about where you are going to live, a significant amount of power has been removed from you. As long as public housing is something which we provide in poorer parts of town and in large projects, that situation of course continues. You either live in a public housing project or you live in a very bad room or flat somewhere, and those are the only choices you have.

There are the choices about education, about what kind of a vacation or what kind of recreation you are going to have. There are a whole range of choices that some people cannot make and when their choices are so limited that they are virtually prisoners, I think they are poor.

I was interested to see in the Star last night that the major brief about poverty seemed to be a brief being presented not to this committee at all but to the Honourable John Yaremko, which, in any event, seemed to get the major news coverage. What we are saying here seemed to be about the points that Alar Borevoy was making on that occasion.

In this context of the power of a person to make decisions affecting his own life I simply want to make a few comments about how one maintains financial power which can deal with some of these things. I think the place I would like to start is with the statement that everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration, ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, supplemented, if necessary, by other means of protection. That is Article 23(3) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That seems to me to be a position which we all accept intellectually.

If a man is doing anything that contributes in any way to the society, no matter how menial, he ought to be able to live decently on the money he gets. I am sure you have heard before this that that is not so in this country, that people who work for the minimum wage in Ontario at any rate cannot live decently and cannot support their families. That seems to me to be a problem that can have all kind of complicated overtones. The Workmen's Compensation Board have told me if we raise the minimum wage then there will be people put out of work. Surely we have to accept the proposition that if a man does work he has to be able to live decently. He cannot do that now.

I think the second stage we get to is one which we all accept intellectually as well, and that is that if a man cannot work for some reason or other that is not any fault of his, he still should be able to live decently. One of the two general categories of people I envisage in this respect is the man who has an accident, and the general scheme for dealing with him is workmen's compensation. There I am falling

to the jargon, "the scheme for dealing with him." That is the attitude, of course, I am unhappy about.

Then if there is some malaise in the economy as a whole, we have unemployment insurance. It seems to me that as a society we pretend that these schemes deal with the problems and they provide really not much more than a comfortable rug under which to weep our leavings. The levels of remuneration under unemployment insurance are such that a man with a family of four, living on unemployment insurance alone, frequently can get more money living on general welfare assistance. In Metropolitan Toronto we frequently have to augment unemployment insurance benefits by paying general welfare assistance.

When you get an insurance scheme that is down to that sort of level, something that provides less than welfare, it seems to me that it is a travesty to call it insurance. What we are really doing is that we tax these poor people for a very inadequate welfare service. It is a bad welfare scheme because they are old sometimes they cannot qualify, but even if they do qualify, the benefits are too low. Workmen's compensation is in much the same category. They have a maximum compensable income which is lower than many men earn. The maximum they can get for 100% disability is 75% of their income. The result is that a man can be involved in an industrial accident, sometimes something which is entirely his employer's fault, if you want to assign fault, and he finds himself statutorily barred from anything but what may be about half of his normal income. And, as a result, he goes through great hardship.

I have really just dealt very briefly with those who work. I think they have to be paid more. And those who are compensated for being unable to work because of something that is not their fault, in that case too we have to pay them more.

We come finally then to the group of people who are not working and where traditionally we would say that that is probably their fault, that they don't want to work or they can't work, and general welfare assistance under the Ontario Family Benefits Act, which of course the federal government contributes to, seems to be the basis of their income.

It seems to me that we have kept those rates of income at a calculatedly low level in order to provide incentives for them to go out to work. Most of them cannot go out to work. If you ask why they are not working in the first place, you find a vast number of social reasons why, generally, they cannot. It may be that the husband was working at a minimum wage and he got disgusted with doing that, and in some instances he may have started drinking as a consequence. It is a bad life living on minimum wage. If he then finds his wife nagging him, he may leave. My wife would nag me if I earned the

minimum income, if that were the level at which we were living. I think she would have a right to nag me. If she nagged me to the extent I think she should, I would probably desert her. At that point I am not sure whose fault it is, when there is a family with no means of support. The levels at which we attempt to support these people at the present rates of our welfare, in my opinion, are woefully inadequate.

I can only conclude with another article from the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, that everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and family, including food, clothing, housing, and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

Well, senators, we do not have that. People who live on general welfare assistance levels, I think, frequently live at a disgustingly bad level. There is a lot of talk about fancy schemes like guaranteed annual incomes and so on, and those may be a nice idea, but I think the first thing to do is simply raise the benefits under the schemes we have now. I cannot see a great deal of difference between family benefits and general welfare assistance and the guaranteed income except perhaps you could tax the poor people on the guaranteed annual income if you gave it to them that way.

It is something people have a right to. We know what the limits of it are. Let us start by making the limits, limits on which someone can live. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Alderman John Sewell.

Alderman John Sewell: I just wanted to make a few remarks about poverty in general. Like Karl, I define poverty in terms of power, and being a politician I define it in terms of political power. It is very obvious to me that the poor in our society have absolutely no political power. What that means is that those who have power make up the laws and those who do not have power do not make the laws and, therefore, they get nothing to protect them, which seems to indicate there is something wrong with society. We are denying power to poor people. They really cannot do anything to affect their lives.

The laws that are made are not made by them. Nobody wants to help them to get the power or re-distribute the power so they can begin to make laws so they are going to get some benefits. I think that is the crucial problem in poverty right there. The poor people are not involved in any way in the political system and therefore they do not get any of the benefits out of it.

I will give you two examples of that in terms of Toronto politics, which I think will somehow indicate what I am trying to say. Firstly, when the original motion was made that this city present a brief on poverty to your committee, the mayor turned to the other members of the executive committee and said, "Look, our problem is that we don't have any official in the city who knows anything about poverty." Now, I think that is indicative of what is happening. We just do not have anyone in Toronto in an official capacity who knows anything about poverty.

Various people have suggested that Mr. Anderson, the commissioner of welfare for Metro, perhaps knows something about poverty. He might know one aspect of poverty. However, in the city itself we do not have anyone in that position. The man the mayor suggested to do a brief on poverty happened to be the commissioner of development, the man who is responsible for getting big developments in this city. I don't know what he knows about poverty. That is one point.

The second point is that this city council has not yet defined what poverty is. They refuse to do that. I think that is a complete opting out of trying to do anything about poverty. It is very interesting that the city cannot even prepare a brief on poverty. You cannot expect them to do anything about the problem. They just are not interested.

Those are two points. Now I would like to give one third indication of why I don't really feel that the present politicians are going to do anything about the poverty problem. It is very interesting that the thing that is most talked about in the city right now is the Spadina Expressway. People are talking about it in terms of the cost, in terms of who is going to use it. It is very interesting that almost all the politicians who have the power of decision on the Spadina Expressway are in favour of it. In other words, they are against spending that money in a different way. They are not really interested in looking at the problem of the fact that the poor cannot use the Spadina Expressway because most poor people just do not have cars. I think that is a very crucial point, that the priorities of this whole city are wrong.

How do you get around that problem? To me there is only one way of getting around it and that is by somehow helping the poor to grab the power from those who have it. Once they have the power they are going to be okay. They can look after themselves because they would then be in the decision-making position.

I don't think politicians are going to do that because I don't think politicians really want to give up any of their power, and that augurs very bad in terms of poor people in our society. I would think that probably my job—and maybe the jobs of other people—is trying

somehow to destroy what we have now so that the power will be redistributed so in fact poor people will have some decision-making capability. Thank you.

Alderman Jaffary: Alderman Sewell and I occasionally wave the flag of anarchy over Cabbagetown with some effect

The Chairman: Alderman O'Donohue, please.

Alderman Anthony O'Donohue: Mr. Chairman, think all the problems here have been well covered. I would like to go through my five minutes by reading a letter I have, one which I received yesterday from a family, which indicates the problems they have. I think it is a typical situation of people who are poor. I am not going to use the real names. It goes on as follows:

"Dear Sir: I am writing to you in desperation. I do hope you can find time in your busy schedule to read this and perhaps help me in some way by letting me know what I can do next.

I have four daughters living with me, Terry, age 10, Brigid, going to school, Kathy, 12, and Mary, 11 going to Queen Street School. I have been on mother's allowance since September, 1965, receiving \$291.

We desperately need a low-rental house or apartment. In the past two years we have had to pay \$150 a month for rent plus light and gas. We have gotten to where I just cannot keep this up any longer and feed and clothe the girls properly. We have been eating far too much starch and not enough meat every day because meat is so expensive.

I really don't know whether you are interested in the details or not. I just don't know where to turn next. I am so discouraged. I have lived in Toronto all my life. After my separation I wanted to start again, start a new life. I could not find any work over \$60 a week. This just would not support us. The little money I had went for some furniture and upkeep for six months. A neighbour finally called welfare and I was so ashamed.

Mrs. Gold came to see me and was very nice. We were living in the east end at that time. The landlord raised the rent then from \$150 to \$160. We moved then. We have moved six times in twelve years, constantly running from cockroaches and landlords with greedy hands. If I complained they got our notice. No one wanted four girls.

Mary took rheumatic fever last March and spent three months in hospital. She goes twice a week still and must be watched all the time. I have a letter from the doctor stating she must not climb stairs. We have always lived on the third floor. It costs us \$20 to \$24 a month for drugs, Mary's and

mine. I have had drugs as well because I have a very bad case of arthritis.

When I was put on mother's allowance Mr. Potter didn't tell me that they covered the drugs, so I paid out \$126 for the drugs from September to January. I couldn't make ends meet. I finally called family service and told them they would have to place the girls in foster homes as I just couldn't manage them any more. We nearly froze in one apartment and had to move in December. I took this place because it had a thermostat. We are nice and warm now. We are again on the third floor. The plaster is falling from the ceiling and walls. It needs painting badly. The toilet doesn't work properly. There is one wall plug in the middle room and we have to use about 200 feet of extension cord to all the rooms and trip over it constantly.

The light in the bathroom doesn't work, so we have to use the extension through two windows to get around. The place is overrun with cockroaches. The landlord promised to re-decorate it before Christmas but hasn't touched it except to put in a sink. He took three weeks to connect the gas stove. Heat, gas and light was supposed to be included in the rent.

In February we had the lights go, so we had to sign for them ourselves. Mary still has to climb the three floors and I worry about her. We had nothing for Christmas but Terry found a Christmas tree six blocks away on Boxing Day. She brought it home and we decorated it. I just felt terrible. The girls are honest too and well-liked by the teachers . . ."

Mr. Chairman, I could go on with this but it is a very, very sad sort of letter to read because it indicates very clearly the problems of a family on subsistence this level. It goes on to tell about where the mother worked and that she had to give up her work because she was not making enough. I'm sorry, I cannot continue.

The Chairman: You can take a minute before going if you like.

Alderman O'Donohue: No, that's all.

The Chairman: Well, we have had a very cooperative presentation from four politicians. Have any of the senators any questions to direct to any of the aldermen?

Senator Fergusson: I was interested in Alderman Brown's reference to Canada Manpower, which apparently he thinks is doing a very good job in some areas. We have had others who have criticized very much what Canada Manpower was doing. It is rather

encouraging to hear that some people think it is worthwhile.

Alderman Brown: Of course I believe I mentioned I am a governor of George Brown College, a college of science and technology which has replaced Canada Manpower in many areas, as many community colleges are doing.

My feeling is that Canada Manpower in many instances is doing a pretty fair job but that what is wrong is that those who should be the most encouraged are the most discouraged, simply because they have not the requisite education. I pointed out how difficult it is for a man, say, of 50 or 55 with a family of four or five children to go back to school. How would we like to have to do that? Yet we really do not give him enough money to live decently. If he has the wish and the incentive to go back, we should provide the incentive from our side as well, something greater than that which we are giving. I know that there are pretty fair incentives in some respects but they work better for a single person than the married person.

I am not saying that the single persons have a bed of roses in which to lie in respect to this; they have to economize when they take a Canada Manpower course. However, I do think that the concept is good, and I would hate to see it cut back. I would like to see it enlarged.

Senator Fergusson: You would like to see it extended beyond what it is, beyond the 52 weeks that are allowed?

Alderman Brown: Yes, and the financial incentive made greater too because I don't think it really is an incentive for someone to stand up and say, "Well, I am 50 years old but I am going back to school."

Senator Fergusson: How far back do you think we should take it? There are some with practically no education.

Alderman Brown: Madam senator, this of course is very true. In my work as former chairman of the committee on welfare in the city and chairman of welfare of Metro, it became very apparent to me that the majority of those who are caught in the bind are caught in the bind by lack of education. They were forced by economic circumstances to go on the labour market without the requisite skills. Now the world has moved on past them. They have no world any more. They have been discarded by society.

Senator Fergusson: They could be productive.

Alderman Brown: This is the point. I would much rather see a productive taxpaying citizen any time

than pay out all the money on other things and not get some results for it. I think that our whole aim should be, where they are employable—and, as my brief points out, there is the increase of unemployables, which is very bad in my estimation—but where they are employable they should be given every incentive to be productive, taxpaying citizens, because that is good for the economy. I feel that same way about prisoners being rehabilitated. Our society seems to lack the will to do it.

Let me put it another way: Perhaps they have the desire to do it but they have not done it. Whatever has been done has been done too little and perhaps in most cases too late.

Senator Fergusson: Perhaps they have not the foresight. If we don't make these people productive they have to be kept alive anyway.

Alderman Brown: I could not agree with you more. What do they say it costs to keep a prisoner? \$20,000 a year. How much better it would be if that man were re-educated and put outside and were paying taxes.

Senator Fergusson: Another idea of yours on page 6 rather took my fancy. I have been reading a survey about children from disadvantaged homes and how it is harder for them to be even interested in getting an education because they are not urged to do so in their homes as perhaps in the homes of the people in the middle class and people in the upper brackets where they may be urged to do this sort of thing. Maybe we do need somebody who will go out and talk to these young people and make them see how important it is to get an education.

Alderman Brown: I think the discouragement you speak of and the need for encouragement is quite true. It reflects in all areas of our society. For instance, you speak of the more affluent who seem to have the urge. Even if you just take voting records, in my ward, where there is probably a fair element of poverty and marginal incomes, in the last civic election 29.2% voted. In the more affluent wards, for instance, in ward 10, I think it was 47.3% voted. That was the highest, I am sorry to have report, voting percentage in the city.

So I think that state of affairs is reflected in almost everything touching on poverty. Mind you, there is the odd individual who will rise above this by sheer force of character and so on.

Senator Fergusson: In spite of it, you mean?

Alderman Brown: That is the way to put it, yes. When I say "missionaries" in the brief, I am a great believer in detached workers and community workers such as John Sewell was, the detached worker being the one who is completely out in the field and

working with the people and getting to know them while living with them. I am a great believer in that.

They can talk all they want about the Company of Young Canadians, but I believe that the concept was very good and I think a great deal of good was done in many, many areas by that group. They were living with them and getting to know on a very personal basis about their problems. They were living at the same scale these people were living. They became confidantes of these people. I am sure that they encouraged quite a number to seek a better life. If democracy is ever going to work it is going to have to work at our lowest levels.

Senator Fergusson: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Senator Everett.

Senator Everett: Alderman Sewell, in your verbal presentation you talked about the fact that the poor have no power. I don't think anybody would disagree with that, that as a group they lack power in comparison with other groups in our society. However, would you say that power is tending to increase?

Alderman Sewell: Yes, very much so. I think that society is moving into a position where everything is completely centralized, and where people are in fact losing the decision-making abilities over their own lives.

One example is what is happening with tenants right now. A lot of tenants are being forced to move into apartments where there is a standard lease, where they cannot change the colours on the walls or change anything, for that matter. That has happened basically to the middle class. What is happening to the poor while that is going on is that they are being forced to live in smaller and smaller units. They are packing them three and four families to a house now. I think the trend is basically to make everything centralized which means that one does not have the control over one's conditions that one wants to have.

In my written brief I tried to outline some ways in which we can get around that sort of thing in terms of housing, namely that we have to begin making money available to small developers, i.e. individual persons. Right now money is only available to the large developers, so it means they get control more and more.

I think we have to look at various ways of decentralizing what is doing on so in fact the decision-making ability can be returned to actual people rather than to corporations.

Senator Everett: That is your prescription. I don't know whether you answered my question or not, and that is whether or not you agree or think that the poor are gaining more power in society?

Alderman Sewell: Oh no, I don't think they are gaining more power. I would disagree with that 100%. What is happening is almost a form of tokenism where the poor are being allowed to say more but they are not getting anything more out of it. That, is my opinion, is what is going on right now. We are beginning to hear them but nobody pays any attention to what they have to say. In fact, they do not have any power.

Senator Everett: Let us go back then one step. You say that they are becoming more articulate?

Alderman Sewell: I don't know if they are more articulate. There are more people listening to them but that does not mean anything. I mean you can listen by listening alone is no good. The real crux of the thing, I say, is power. It is no good just to have someone saying something without being heard. That is my position. I can say all sorts of things in the city council chamber but I have no power. People listen to me only because they never vote the way I want them to vote. That is the real problem.

Senator Everett: Being a member of city council you know this situation of the poor with a complete sense of frustration, I gather?

Alderman Sewell: No, one always has hope. What I mean is, if you want to go around solving the problems of poverty, you have to continually confront the political system we have right now. I mean, you have to confront those politicians.

Senator Everett: It is not so much confronting the politicians as it is the question of confronting the average public as to what really goes on in society. That is why you interest me greatly because you say, "I understand you, 'Let's destroy society; let's get rid of society as we know it.'"

Alderman Sewell: When did I say that?

Senator Everett: If I understood your verbal brief, I thought that was precisely what you were saying.

Alderman Sewell: I was saying that we will have to change it, and I think it needs some very fundamental changes, the whole of society. If you want to call that destroying society, that's fine.

Senator Everett: That is not what I call it. I am interested in your definition of what you want to do and what sort of model you want to create. I can understand either one side of the coin or the other. I can understand evolution. I can understand the frustration if the evolution is too slow. I can also understand a complete destruction of all the values we live by to be replaced with other values. I would just like

to know which side of the coin you are on so we can go on with the questioning, you see.

Alderman Sewell: Well, how does one state this? I would like to see some very fundamental changes in society because I don't believe we are ever going to get around the problem of poverty without some fundamental changes.

Those fundamental changes can come about through evolution in terms of changing values. Right? We can try to change the value system we have. If that is a valid model, I think you can do it that way.

I would think probably there is not going to be a revolution. It is going to have to be done through evolution. There is just not a revolution coming on, as far as I can see, not in this country.

I would think, if one is interested in seeing a change in poverty, one would have to put oneself in a position where one were willing to try to change the society, and the first part of changing the society is confronting it with what it is now. After you confront it, then you can begin banging away and try to get those people who are making decisions now to make different decisions, to come up with some distinctly different decisions.

That is the type of thing I am interested in. That is the type of thing I think will get us to understand what poverty is all about, defining it purely in political terms.

Senator Everett: I don't think we probably disagree except that I think that politicians tend to reflect the values and judgments of their constituents. To say that politicians are going to make the decisions is in a sense in a democratic society dictatorial, to say "We are going to decide this and this and this." In a democratic society, surely the function of the politician is to lead by changing the ethic of the people he represents. But he has to carry them with him, no matter what else he may do.

Now, Jerry Rubin says, "Destroy the schools, destroy the courts." He appears on television the other night in a judicial robe, takes off the robe, tears it in half and jumps on it. It is all destruction. But at no time did Rubin ever say what he was going to replace that destroyed society with.

Alderman Sewell: You are asking me what I would replace it with?

Senator Everett: I would, first of all ask you this: Do you want to destroy it? And, if you do, what sort of society, what model of society, do you suggest in its place? I want you to tell me what model of society you can point to in the world which you would like to see replace the society we have today, taking into account that our society probably evolved better than any other society in the world.

Alderman Sewell: First of all, it is very questionable whether in fact the society will evolve, because I do not believe that politicians generally reflect the mood of their constituents. I just don't believe in elections that much. I have been through one and I find it is a sham. I don't think I got elected for anything I stand for. I got elected because I had a good machine. The thing ran really well. That is one point.

The second point that I sort of adhere to is that it is not my job to go around making decisions about what this society is going to look like. My job is to get the people together who live in my ward so that they can begin making the changes they want. That means I am not the person who has the blueprint for what our society is going to look like. What I want to do is give the people in my ward the ability to make the decisions and carry out the action so they can get the type of society they want. That is not my decision; it is their decision. All I am doing is trying to provide a situation whereby they can make those decisions. That is what, for instance, the whole matter of Trefann Court is about, the whole fight we have had there. Basically it is trying to get the people into a position where they can make the decisions.

Senator Everett: Is your fight against the structures that exist in society today? Presumably it is because you are on the council for that reason?

Alderman Sewell: Sure. You fight wherever you can.

Senator Everett: You are fighting within the structure of society. Why are you so interested in destroying it?

Alderman Sewell: Because I do not think it is doing the things it should be doing. That's all. It has poor people in it.

Senator Everett: That is why we are here. That is why Alderman Brown is here. He doesn't think it is doing the things it should be doing.

Alderman Sewell: What I am trying to do is suggest a way that I think it is going to be changed, at least the way I am going to work to try to change it.

Senator Everett: So far you have not suggested those ways. You have said you are nothing more than a conduit for the people in your ward. I don't find fault with that. However, it seems to me you have not talked about some of the things that could happen to our society. You have not put that down in definite terms. I think you owe that to your electorate. Mr. Brown has. He has talked about what he would like to see in society. He has gone out on

the end of a limb. But all you are prepared to say, seems to me, and I apologize if I am misstating it, is that you seem to be prepared to say is that society is wrong, let's get rid of society.

Alderman Sewell: I think what I said, and somebody has a tape recorder we can play the tape back, if you like—

Senator Everett: It will all be on Hansard anyway and we can check it out later.

Alderman Sewell: My position was that as a politician it is my duty to organize the poor so that they can take power away from the people who have it. Once they do that they can make the decisions that they want to see made. Okay?

Senator Everett: Yes.

Alderman Sewell: I think that is fairly specific isn't it? I have said what I want to do. I want to organize the poor so they can take over the decision-making power. That is not called destroying society; that is called playing the games of the society. That is what developers do all the time. They get into a position where they are going to convince council of something.

Senator Everett: Nobody can find fault with the concept. If your constituency is the poor, and God bless you if that is the case, then by all means you should do what you can within society to change society.

Alderman Sewell: But I am rather disappointed that you want to define it in terms of destroying society.

Senator Everett: No, I didn't want to do that. Lord knows I don't want to do that. Far from it. I don't want to see society destroyed.

Alderman Sewell: That is what I understood.

Senator Everett: Alderman Jaffary, you wanted say something too, I believe.

Alderman Jaffary: Just a couple of comments on this same discussion. I think of a speech by the former director of community programs in New Jersey which was made about ten days ago, in which he was talking about the whole structure of how we run society as being a system in much the same way as the new systems in computer science, the concept by which they figure how things work.

He was saying, and I thought this was very interesting, that the two groups of people who could deal with that system effectively are the kids who

have been raised in our television world and the poor people who have been having to put up with the system for a long time. They know where to put a pressure on at one end in order to get an output at the other end. If you embarrass a senator's wife, ten days later a grant is announced for this community program. Sometimes that is the only way you get action. I am talking about senators in the American context here, obviously.

I am not terribly concerned about what the structure is, what the formal constitutional structure is, because I think we all know that, given almost any structure, things can work, and, given almost any structure, things can be solved. I feel there is an elaborate structure which is an interplay of the governmental structure, private sectors and a lot of other pressure that are asserting themselves and that, to make the kind of thing come out of that structure that I would like to see, pressure is going to have to be put on at specific places.

When you talk about tearing down the system, or changing the system, you are doing two things. First, you are making politicians aware of the pressures that may be on them to do things. That means organizing poor people who, first, are confronting their politicians, and to some extent this is all a great P.R. thing. It is trying to persuade the politicians that a poor person is as effective as anybody as someone else. It is also, as you say, trying to affect other people in the society who are talking to their politicians.

However, poor people at the moment, when they are talking to politicians, are talking most ineffectively. I don't think you can therefore say that evolution is ruled out or that evolution is the way it is going to go. What you say is that the present system creates stresses, that those stresses have to be manifested in political power being exercised by the poor, and one would hope by other people, and the result of those pressures, we hope, is going to be evolution. If the result of those pressures is no change, then something more drastic may happen.

Alderman Brown was saying that, if we don't deal with this better and achieve a better result than before, the people will take to the streets. I think we are all saying the same thing.

The Chairman: Alderman Brown, I think, wants to say exactly what he said before.

Alderman Brown: Yes, I still believe that too because we have to change, but what is bothering me is that our society is changing but, unfortunately, it is going backwards. That is what bothers me. That is what I was trying to say. We are going back in our philosophy. We are starting to neglect the things for which this nation has stood.

For instance, if you will forgive me for saying so, we have the deliberate federal government policy now of creating unemployment, which to me is atrocious. It is a complete negation of what democracy stands for, in my estimation. So we are changing our society, and it is being changed at a very high level, but it is being changed backwards.

In addition, the thinking of the people is going backwards. When I say the people I am talking, I suppose, about what Mr. Nixon refers to as the great, silent majority, the ones who don't bother to vote. They are the ones who are going backwards, moving backwards. Perhaps they are moving backwards faster in our neighbouring country to the south than we are, but all the signs are here too.

Senator Cook: You want a change in our policy. If there is an acceptance of unemployment now it is only because we honestly believe that there will be a great deal more unemployment in the future.

Alderman Brown: But how can you argue that, sir?

Senator Cook: That is the whole point of it. It is not a change in the thrust of thought; it is a change that we must accept some unemployment now or the alternative is that the whole thing may collapse, and we will have twice as much unemployment in the future. Whether it is right or wrong is not the point; it is an honest thought. It is not a hardening of heart and deciding to have unemployment just for the sake of having unemployment. It is putting up with a little unemployment now in the hope we will not have a lot of unemployment in the future.

Alderman Brown: I don't call 6% a little unemployment.

Senator Cook: I don't think we should quibble about words.

Alderman Brown: No. My argument is this, that that is fine, yes, but who are you creating unemployment for? It is the old story about, "Yes, I would be glad to have welfare cases integrated into the community, but please don't put them next door to me." The whole idea here, is, sure, we will create unemployment, but please don't create it for me. That is what is bothering me.

Alderman O'Donohue: Possibly, Mr. Chairman, I might make a comment here on the submission I made on the minimum wage?

The Chairman: I think Senator Everett was about to ask a question of Alderman Brown.

Senator Everett: It is with regard to what Alderman Brown just said. The policy of the govern-

ment, as indeed it is that of most nations in the western world, has been to lick inflation, which historically has probably been the worst curse of all. If, as a result of licking that inflation by imposing monetary and fiscal controls, we create the type of unemployment you are talking about, then I think the federal government, or whatever government does that, is guilty of a sin. However, you don't have to exclude one just because you don't want the other. There can be programs such as retraining programs, manpower programs, relocation programs, and, as you were saying, better unemployment insurance. There can be programs that either stop the unemployment from increasing or direct resources to those who unfortunately have to be unemployed for a temporary period. So you make a choice.

If you want to say that we want continuing inflation, please remember that you are talking about the problems of the poor—and you go into housing developments and I am sure you see it a lot more than I do—it is inflation which has been killing them. They are the people who have really been hurt by inflation. So I don't think the two things run hand in hand. And indeed, if the federal government does not do something about unemployment within the policy of trying to control inflation, then I will join you in the criticism.

The Chairman: Alderman O'Donohue had a point he wanted to make.

Alderman O'Donohue: Mr. Chairman, there were a couple of points I wanted to make. First, it appears to me that over the years two of the three levels of society have been able to look after themselves in some way or other. The two, the white collar and the blue collar, have organized and they have done sufficiently well, as we are all aware. However, the other level, the third level of society is the unorganized level, which has not been able to do anything for itself, and has had to depend entirely on the generosity of the powers-that-be, that is the various levels of government, to set minimum wages, for instance, for them. Now, I happen to have a lot of this in my ward, where most of the people are people who we would call poor. In their own terms they may not be poor. They are hard-working people, working for something like \$1.30 to \$1.80 an hour. I personally feel that this is not sufficient to live on now for a man and wife with a couple of kids. This is why in my presentation I suggested we should increase the minimum wage.

I know it may increase the value of food in restaurants, the value of clothes and perhaps many other things, but I think it is something we have to bear across the board. I think politicians at the federal, provincial and municipal levels have to stand up and say that the minimum wage should be

increased in order to keep these people really out of the poorhouse, because, as I have said before, I know from my experiences that some of these people are really in dire need of help. The only way we can help them is by taking a strong stand on the minimum wage matter, especially in the case of immigrants.

If they are constantly working from morning until night, from dawn to dusk, they never have a chance to get off the ground. They have a bad command of the language, to start with. They cannot really better themselves. They really have a double burden to bear. Not only do they suffer to some extent but their kids suffer as well because they have to leave school early and go to work probably for minimum wage as well, which, to my way of thinking, is the worst thing that could possibly happen to them.

The Chairman: Mr. Alderman, almost from the day we began our hearings that has been a matter of very serious concern to us and we have heard about it constantly. It is not just as easy as all that, and I think you can appreciate that. You cannot defend the minimum wage, the present minimum wage, in the present orientation and context with today's cost of living and all the rest of it. It is not an easy problem to deal with at all.

We have five minutes, and I am going to give each one of you one minute. This is my question of you. When you were younger, when we were all young, we put great faith in education, and during the '60s we have had massive expansion in education. Where are the results? Each of you might give that minute of your time.

Alderman Brown: I don't quite follow you senator?

The Chairman: What are the results? Here you went out with a great expansion of education, you looked upon that as being the solution to many of our problems, but, in fact, where are the results?

Alderman Brown: I would say that was forced on us by our advancing technology. We had to cope with the fact that Russia was turning out more engineers in a year than the whole of the North American continent was turning out in two or three years. They were turning out more doctors. They were making universities free for those who could qualify. We had to cope with this problem of education which, as in the case of medicine, suddenly went ahead. I guess medicine has gone ahead faster than anything else since, as I understand it, its progress has more than doubled in the last two years, a fact that in the past fifty years medicine has advanced more than in all the past 3,000 years of recorded history.

What have we done with it? Actually, I have a great faith in young people. I wish I had the brains that most of them have. I wish I had the education that most of them have. I never finished high school. That was my own fault, nobody else's. I wanted to be a writer and so I went out to be a writer in a very sparse market for writers in Canada even then. But, senator, just with computers alone, and I have had something to do with computers from a writing point of view, it amazes me that these young people eat these things just as a matter of course. To me they are all Greek, more Greek than Greece.

I think we are doing a great deal with it, frankly. I think that the results will begin to show. However, that I am worried about is the many, many that are being discarded by this technology, who no longer fit to society, who are on the scrap heap. Senator, if you and I had to go out and look for a job tomorrow, I think we would have a hard time getting one.

The Chairman: How about the others? And would you direct your answers more to this: Have we had the right sort of education? Who wants to take that one?

Alderman Jaffary: I think the money we have spent on education has probably been well spent. I think that what spending it has probably done has been to increase the gap between the upper and middle class amounts of power and the power the poor people have. We have not made massive injections of educational money into elementary education. I think that is where poor people are most vitally affected.

I think as well that the rest of the cycle of poverty, the state of housing and the pressures on a child to go to school and earn, and so on, have meant that the poor in society have not been benefitting from those educational expenditures to anything like the extent that richer people have.

The Chairman: Alderman Sewell?

Alderman Sewell: Just to back up what Karl has said, in our ward there are 17 elementary schools. There is not one 5-year high school. That is what education is about for the poor.

Alderman O'Donohue: I don't think that our educational system has worked the way I thought it would work or that it should work, primarily because we have had so much with respect to education, we have put so much money into it, and I think a lot of it has been wasted.

The parents in general have sort of thrown over to the educational system the whole family situation. I think they have suffered because of that. That would be my statement on it, senator.

The Chairman: One more thing, perhaps I will just leave you with this statement: somebody said it was

necessary to confront the system; I don't know who made that statement. Mr. Sewell, I think, said something like that. Last night at one of the meetings a lady stood up and said to me: "I went to work. I have five or six children. I was earning \$240 a month working. Welfare would pay me \$300." She went on to say: "I went to the welfare department and said, 'I am working and I can earn \$240 and I cannot get along on it. Make up the difference.' And they said, 'No, you are either on relief or off relief. That is the rule'". The result was that she goes onto welfare rather than continue to work.

In seven provinces in Canada, all of them poorer than the province of Ontario, that woman would have had her earnings augmented to the extent of what she would have got on relief, and on top of that she would have been permitted to retain 50% of her earnings above that up to a maximum of an amount I am not too sure about. So I am delighted when I see here four aldermen, young, vigorous fellows like yourselves.

Alderman Brown: Oh, thank you very much.

The Chairman: Mr. Brown is an old friend of mine. You have left us with some problems and I am leaving you with a problem on behalf of the committee, to involve yourselves with the proper authorities. From a purely economic point of view it is something of a disaster, as you can see. Here was this woman getting \$240 and all she needed was \$50 or \$60 to pick her up. Those are the kinds of mistakes we are making. It is not the poor people who are making those mistakes at all. So, you young fellows, just keep at it. Thank you very much.

We are now to have the presentation of the Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto. Mr. William G. White, the supervisor, will be the spokesman, and he will introduce the people with him.

Mr. William G. White, Supervisor, Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, I will introduce the chairman of our social action committee, Mrs. E. Pearl and Mr. Ed Watson, who is our executive director.

I would say that you are a hard group to make a presentation to. When we hear what you have been saying to the press and on TV, and I saw Senator Croll the other day, well, I can understand the position of the preacher who said it was a lot easier to preach to the heathen than to the converted.

I am going to assume that you know who we are and what we do. I will just say that the Family Service Association is a service agency. We are convinced of the value of our services, and we are also convinced of the need for them away beyond what we are funded for. In spite of that we are not going to say anything about services in our brief at all. That is because we

believe that poverty is a matter of lack of money and has to be met with money.

We think that most of the poor have the strength to participate in our society just as well, if not better, than many of those who are not poor. They will do so if they have an adequate income. They will probably do it more economically too.

We think that the cause of poverty has to be seen as deficiencies in our way of distributing income and that what we need are economic compensations for those deficiencies. Those deficiencies make poverty. There is no aberration in our society but it is just an integral part of our way of life.

In our brief, first we speak from our experience of the poor in Metropolitan Toronto. We cannot pretend that it pertains to all of Canada. We know there are things about Indian poverty, rural poverty, that we just do not understand, but we think that it is valid for most urban areas, certainly the larger urban areas.

We have chosen to concentrate on the working poor, and we have done that for two reasons. First, because we believe the position of the welfare poor has been much more adequately represented in front of this committee. I will add that we are as greatly concerned about the welfare poor, and probably more often, than we are about the working poor. Our second reason is that we know the working poor are not only most of the poor, but they make a reservoir from which all kinds of other groups of poor are replenished.

We see the working poor as most commonly families that are just too large for the husband's wages. These men are not just low-income earners at all. A man with no dependents, if he has a minimum wage, is probably not poor. If he has several dependents, even an average wage is not sufficient. In that case the man is below the poverty line. Poverty in the case of the working poor is a function of the relationship between the amount of a man's wage and the number of people who have to live on it. To put it bluntly, poverty in the working poor is a matter of having children.

We define poverty in our brief using the formula suggested by the Economic Council. We say that any family that is spending more than 60% of its income for minimum adequate food, shelter and housing is poor. We rejected the 70% formula as obviously and grossly inadequate for an urban centre like Toronto. Perhaps most of the working poor spend 10, 15 or 20 percent of their income in direct taxes that the welfare poor do not have to pay. We think poverty is an economic matter and the result of deficiencies in our way of distributing income. With respect to the working poor, perhaps it is mostly the fact that wages relate to the market value of jobs and not to the size of families or the needs of families. With respect to the welfare poor, poverty is simply a poverty of deliberate

neglect, for which we are all responsible. It is institutionalized poverty.

We recognize that there are among the poor a number of people who might be thought to be creating their own poverty. These are people whose condition, with an adequate income, would not have changed much. We do not think that any general approach to poverty can be based on the conditions of these people. Their conditions result from all the unsolved human problems in our society, and poverty is only one of them. We piously hope that we are coming nearer to some sort of resolution.

I think lastly before I turn to the brief I want to call your attention to life cycle poverty in larger families with moderate incomes. These families are going to be seriously poor when they have a number of small children. It is not just because the income needs at that time will probably exceed the father's take-home pay but because mother and children simply cannot get out to work to add to it.

Now, later on these families may be rather well off with the older children out of the home and working or letting the mother work. However, if they do crack up as a family, there will be years in which the children are exposed to all the deprivations and tensions of poverty. That is what the situation will amount to at best.

We think that is the kind of poverty that is least understood. This is poverty of people with ordinary wages, poverty of people who are always poor. It is poverty of larger families. It is the larger families that raise most of our kids. When we think of the number of kids who are poor in those families and we add them the number of children who are in families that we know are poor, that are obviously poor, that are always poor, unfortunately we are forced to think that the period of poverty in childhood is really the birthright of our working-class citizens.

Now I will say a few words about our small survey. It is at page 12. We made a careful scrutiny of the income and expenses of 16 families who had three or four children in which the fathers were earning between \$80 and \$130 a week. These were ordinary working men. And we think that the 16 families are fairly representative of our whole experience with this group of people.

I may add that almost all of these people were made above the poverty line when you take the more realistic figures from the 70% formula of the Economic Council of Canada. It is totally ridiculous for an urban area where the housing is fairly expensive. It may even be ridiculous in other places. That is why we use 60%. These are, however, the well-off among the working poor. There are also large families and small families and the people who have really low incomes are infinitely worse off except that they don't remember families all that long.

Now, I am just going to read a few of the findings that are summarized here beginning at page 12. In all these families the father's wage alone was insufficient to provide for the family. The cost of shelter, food and clothing amounted to considerably more than 50% of the father's gross wages, with normal work hours, amounted to 75% or more in 13 cases. In terms of total family needs, the cost of shelter, food and clothing amounted to more than 60% of income in 14 cases. The addition of compulsory wage reductions brought the proportion of income required for basic costs to a minimum of 78% in all but one case.

The further addition of essential transportation costs at T.T.C. rates, telephone, and the interest costs of consumer credit brought the percentage up to a minimum of 86% or more—often 100%—with only one exception. The balance of income remaining was over \$12 a person in only one case, and ranged from \$6 to a minus quantity in ten cases. And I would repeat that these are pretty ordinary flows.

Fifteen families were using consumer credit. In 11 cases the expected monthly payments (less interest) amounted to more than the balance of income mentioned above. Usually it was a great deal more. Fifteen of the families paid between 9% and 22% of total income in compulsory wage deductions. The average was 16%.

I would add that all of these fathers were dependable working men. Thirteen had been with the same employer for the past three years or more, for an average of eight years.

I will turn now to our recommendations and try to get through them quickly. I think first I should say that the recommendations begin on page 15, but I am going to skip over the material and simply say that we vastly approve of the guaranteed annual income principle and we have vastly approved getting minimum wage standards up. We do not see that happening very fast. We don't hear the experts arguing on how you are going to make a guaranteed annual income program work and we are afraid of the waiting that seems to be involved. So we have made recommendations that we think could be implemented now while we are waiting.

First and most importantly, we recommend that substantial increases be made in family and youth allowances. By substantial we mean 50% of the actual cost of raising children or more.

It does not permit reading through this, but we suggest also that substantial enough family allowances could immediately help with a lot of the hang-ups in the welfare program, particularly the one that results from welfare rates getting higher than the incomes from a great many jobs. We think that, for a large part of the income for large working

families came from family allowances, welfare would not have to be paying more than they can earn.

To go through the other recommendations so that they are not neglected, we recommend that government insurance plans should be extended to protect more adequately working families from the common hazards which may impoverish them. Specifically we recommend the extension of medical insurance to include the costs of drugs and dental care, the extension of hospital insurance to include nursing home care, the improvement of unemployment insurance to provide benefits that will cover essential living costs, and do adjustments in rates according to family size. Again with adequate family allowances we would not have to bother about that.

Pending the implementation of a more fundamental incomes policy, we recommend that families who are already poor should not be subject to direct taxation. Here we are not just thinking of income tax but all the insurance and pension plans that are nothing more or less than direct taxes.

We recommend that federal and provincial governments make every effort to increase our stock of public housing. We made this recommendation with a lot of discomfort because, to a considerable degree, we think that housing problems are just a problem of poverty. People cannot afford to pay a fair, going rate for the housing they need. However, we can see something else happening in urban areas that has made it even impossible to build reasonably cheap housing, to get land for it. The government seems to have to do that.

We recommend that personal bankruptcy be made available to the poor.

The place of consumer credit, as we see it, is indicated in the brief, in the details of our brief. However, I am going to read this because I like it:

Consumer credit is an integral part of our way of life. Our culture teaches its use as an ethic. Almost anyone with a wage can use it, and most persons who have children and are not very well off are using it to the point that interest charges are virtually a universal tax on the working poor. Entrapment in hopeless debt is a hazard as common and indiscriminate as any for which protection might be provided through a government insurance program. A suitable form of bankruptcy, at limited cost, is a necessary step toward providing protection from this hazard, and should have preventive value as well as an incentive to more careful lending.

Senator Cook: If I may interrupt here, Mr. Chairman, in Newfoundland we had a royal commission on indigents nearly 40 years ago at which time I presented a brief recommending this very thing, that

we should be allowed to have personal bankruptcy, because many years ago we threw such people in jail if they could not pay their debts, and bankruptcy is, as we all know, a relieving measure and it is denied now to people who most need it, because one has to have money to get it. I think this is a very excellent recommendation.

Mr. White: I say again, senator, it is a pleasure to preach to the converted.

We recommend that family planning clinics become a regular and recognized part of public health programs. Although family planning has been given legal sanction, general acceptance has been slow. Few clinics have been developed and they are not well known. Family planning services should be developed to give all couples freedom of choice in the number and spacing of their children.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: On page 19 of the brief you deal with consumer credit. Of course I have always had the idea that credit was too easy to obtain. I am fully aware there is a great deal of advertising in the public media. People are trapped into buying by it being said that they cannot do without a particular thing: Buy today and pay tomorrow. However, when the bill comes they often haven't the money. As Senator Cook has said, there is no chance of them going into bankruptcy.

What, in your opinion, do you think could be done about this, to confine the extension of credit? In fact, some firms seem to invite credit, it seems to me.

Mr. White: I can only guess at what we can do about it. It is so much a part of our society I think it would be easier to eliminate poverty than to eliminate consumer credit. We suggest bankruptcy be made easier because we hope that if it were easily obtainable it would be a solution.

The only people who can really do much about it are the geniuses of our society, the businessmen. They can do anything, including limiting credit if it costs them money not to do so. That is only an opinion. It would take perhaps all the experts in Canada to come up with a final solution.

I would add this, that a lot of people are tempted into buying things they don't need but, believe me, among the poor there are things that are desperately needed to be bought by them. Unfortunately, so often the purchase is made this most expensive way.

Senator Inman: You refer to the fact that a proportion of the poor are sufficiently disorganized emotionally and culturally to be said to be contribut-

ing to their own impoverishment. What do you mean by that? Mismanagement of their affairs? Would education be a help to eliminate that?

Mr. White: This is a very broad statement. We know that there are older folks who are mentally ill, folks who are alcoholics, folks who are, forgive me, just not very bright and who find the world is pretty complicated. There are all sorts of people who are unwell in lots of ways. There are a certain number of people who are grossly ignorant as to the spending of the money. A lot of those people make a lot of mistake. They are the people who give rise to all these old ideas about how the poor waste their money.

We know all about this problem. It is just that what has made them a problem is the matter of so many things lying beyond poverty. An IQ of 75 is not a matter of poverty. A mental breakdown or alcoholism, while poverty sometimes relates to it, adds to it, it is still not a matter really of poverty. Nervous breakdowns are in the same category, I suggest. Anybody who is really disturbed, upset or incompetent is liable to drift into poverty because we decree that if they do not earn a good salary they are going to be poor. Therefore the poverty they are forced to drift into simply makes their situations worse.

Senator Inman: Is there anything we can do to help this situation?

Mr. White: I think this committee has heard a lot of briefs about the various kinds of services. I think there are very few we would not heartily endorse and there are certainly some we would rather like to emulate. However, those are the things you have heard about the way of services. I could not pick any one particular.

Senator Inman: Thank you.

The Chairman: Senator Cook.

Senator Cook: I don't seem to see anything in here about old age allowances, any recommendations about that?

Mr. White: I too notice that, and I hoped somebody would shoot us down about it. It was a matter of disciplining ourselves to deal only with the subject of the working poor in this brief. It is only that which has been responsible.

Mrs. E. Pearl, Chairman, Social Action Committee, Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto: I think though that is covered in our statement in the brief where we talk about the institutionalized poor and recommend that government allowances should cover the rising cost of living.

The Chairman: Senator Everett.

Senator Everett: Mr. Chairman, I think I would not like to make comparisons but I would like to say that this is a very excellent brief. I would refer at this point to page 16 of the brief where you state in paragraph 1:

We favour the use of the existing universal program (referring to family allowances) with modifications in the income tax program to recover benefits from families who do not need them.

The reason I mention this is that this keeps recurring. The point is made that the family allowance is tax-free and everybody gets it whether he needs it or not. In fact, when you get family allowances your education is reduced, so that the effect, Mr. Joyce tells me, is that with a gross income of about \$12,000 a year there is a negative effect going the other way. In other words, the imposition of tax on the loss of education more than offsets the income from the family allowance.

Mr. White: You mean taxable income or total income?

Senator Everett: I think you use the term "total income" as a general thing. We could have the figures worked out to see exactly what it is. However, there is an offsetting tax on family allowances. It is one of the programs that is unique in that respect.

Mr. White: Yes. I have to admit I cannot follow how would be at that level. However, 20% of \$200 is not anything like you get in the family allowance.

Senator Everett: Remember though, you must always calculate those on the marginal rate of tax. So you might be talking about 40%.

Mr. White: I agree with you, but as soon as we have family allowances about three times as large, that would not work. There would have to be more done. I leave that sort of thing to the experts. However, I am glad you are aware of it.

Senator Everett: The point of the matter is that there is an imposition on family allowances and it is a classic redistribution of income. It may not be perfect but it is unique in a sense.

Mr. White: Yes.

Senator Everett: You were talking about the guaranteed annual wage. Have you ever calculated in your mind an endeavour what the savings would be in direct payments if there were a proper guaranteed annual wage paid?

Mrs. Pearl: I'm sorry, I did not catch all that?

Senator Everett: Savings to the treasury in one form or another. In other words, presumably if there were a guaranteed annual wage, the welfare payments would no longer be necessary. That would be a saving. That is, there would be a series of savings down the way. I wondered, since you have been surveying, and since you have been dealing with this question of the working poor, if you had any calculations that indicated the offsetting state of affairs.

Mrs. Pearl: We do not have any economists at our agency to do that sort of thing.

Senator Everett: No, I am not being critical. I just wondered if you had those figures.

Mr. White: The sort of figure would be the sort of savings that have been talked about by the Economic Council as to the costs of poverty in general. If you think of the savings in welfare . . .

The Chairman: Offsetting that, yes.

Mr. White: Well, this is far, far beyond our understanding and knowledge. I can only say though that if a guaranteed annual wage happened to end up at the understood poverty line, there is not going to be much saving, as we suggest in our brief. It has to be a very good and extensively worked out program. What I am hoping is that the savings will all be piled into payments.

Senator Everett: You make a recommendation in your brief that family allowances be increased. Of course the whole tenor of your brief is that working poor poverty is exacerbated by the ties of the family. The health and welfare committee of Metro Toronto yesterday suggested that the requirement for a guaranteed annual wage would be satisfied by a proper family allowance program of the right size and under the right conditions. Is that your belief?

Mr. White: We say that this is a natural step that can be taken now towards a more complete guaranteed annual income program. It is where it is needed most, and that is our citizens who are born poor.

Senator Everett: What they say is this that this could be the guaranteed annual wage. Do you agree?

Mr. White: Honestly, I believe that probably . . .

Senator Everett: In other words, what they are saying is that the program already exists. Instead of going through a whole new legislative process, they say, take the program that exists and make it something that is in effect a guaranteed annual wage.

Mr. White: Amen, except that something could be done as to the people who don't need it.

Senator Everett: Let's look at the alternatives. What do you think of the negative income tax? You create two requirements for your guaranteed annual income other than the amount it should be. You say it should reflect family size because family size is the greatest problem in working poor poverty, and, secondly, that there should be no direct taxation levied against that income. Now, negative income tax, by its very nature, would cover those two requirements, because family size is part of your income tax return. Obviously if it is a negative income tax you cannot have a positive income tax at the same time.

Thirdly, there is no degradation involved in the thing unless you say filing a tax form is a degradation. Some of us might say that, but nevertheless we all have to do it. How do you feel about the negative income tax in comparison to your own recommendation?

Mr. White: I just don't know enough about the negative income tax to speak very sensibly. As I say, I just don't know enough about it. I have not heard how they are going to make sure about it. For example, I have the impression it has something to do with getting money back at the end of the year. Maybe I am wrong. That would not work, in my opinion, because I think you need the money through the year.

Senator Everett: I don't think it is necessarily getting it back at the end of the year. It can be in the form of an estimated payment. It is not like the problems, as I understand it, of people under the family benefits act who have to go and buy their drugs and get \$20 a month back whereas the people on welfare get a card. In other words, the payments would be made down the road.

Mr. White: I should say I am really not expert enough in that to answer intelligently. I can only add that we are sort of waiting for all the experts to find something that they can agree on. It looks like we are going to wait quite a while.

Senator Everett: I just have two further points. You mentioned the problem on page 18 of hospital care, the extension of hospital insurance to include nursing home care. Do you have any idea of the costs in Toronto, the cost of hospital care in Toronto on a ward or semi-private basis?

Mr. White: A slight idea. Enough to know that it is high.

Senator Everett: Do you know what the per diem rate would be roughly?

M. White: You better tell us.

Senator Everett: I have no idea. I am asking you.

From the Audience: \$75 a day.

From the Audience: \$69.50 a day.

Senator Everett: We hear \$69.50 a day to \$75 a day. That is ward care, I gather. Does anyone have any idea what nursing home care would be?

From the Audience: It starts at \$12.50 and goes to \$25.

The Chairman: OMSIP I think allows \$9.

From the Audience: Yes, \$9.

Senator Everett: The government subsidizes to the extent of \$9 out of that \$29-odd?

From the Audience: One has first to appreciate that there are very few beds available for nursing home care and also it is subject to possible removal in the case of chronic cases.

Senator Everett: So, in any event, the government in its hospital plan could effect a substantial saving by extending its coverage to include nursing home care?

From the Audience: Well, as it is now, anyone with any assets must put them in.

Senator Everett: In Manitoba we have a limit of \$600. Anything you have over \$600 must go before the provincial government will step in with its contribution.

Senator Cook: This will be in addition to the hospital care?

From the Audience: Yes.

Senator Cook: In other words, when they go from the hospital they are still cared for?

Mr. White: I think it is only fair to say that this is not one of our best-researched recommendations. It arises from experience in finding some people impoverished by having to pay those charges.

Senator Cook: After they are out of hospital are they on their own.

Senator Everett: The fact of the matter is that they don't leave hospital because if they go out of the hospital they are on their own.

Senator Cook: Then they need it.

Senator Everett: It is because of that situation that they stay in the hospital.

The Chairman: Actually, the matter of including the nursing home care was first raised a long time ago and was pretty thoroughly researched before the Senate Committee on Aging in 1966. We made the recommendation at that time that it be included. The provinces of Alberta and British Columbia picked it up. The province of Ontario last year picked it up to some extent. I think Manitoba has also picked it up. However, the cost has become so excessive that politicians are reluctant to go too far.

Senator Everett: My last question. What is the Ontario law on personal bankruptcy now?

The Chairman: Well, there is a provision under the bankruptcy law whereby a province can, by declaring itself under a section—do you remember the famous Manitoba case where it was upset because the regular procedure was not gone through? We had to re-pass the legislation and then the provincial governments had to re-pass legislation providing for personal bankruptcy. So years later we adopted Senator Cook's recommendation. If a province accepts certain provisions of the Dominion bankruptcy act, a person can declare personal bankruptcy.

Senator Everett: Yes, I am aware of that but I wished to know what the law in Ontario was.

Mr. White: I will interpret your question to mean what do I know about it. I know you can have a personal bankruptcy but it costs you, unless you get one of the very rare subsidized jobs, \$500. That is just life for the fellow who is well off anyway. It is lifeless for a fellow who is not.

There are some things in the bankruptcy act at present, some sorts of debts you cannot go bankrupt of, that you cannot get removed. I think the credit counselling service produced a statement at one point suggesting a remodelling of the act. But, as far as we are encountering it, we simply see all sorts of people who just cannot ever get out of debt, who are broken up by the continual economic pressures. These are the people who are dragged up to court once a month, that sort of thing, who just cannot ever get out of the race. We know a great many people are in that spot all only a very, very few can get the benefit of a bankruptcy. There are some efforts being made now to get a few out on that basis.

Senator Cook: It is already here, but it is the price of using it, you mean?

Mr. White: Yes, it is the price tag which is attached to that presents the difficulties, senator.

The Chairman: In talking about the working poor who are in the main drawing minimum or less than minimum wages with fairly decent-sized families...

Mr. White: I disagree, sir. With your wording, and would substitute, "who are in the main earning ordinary wages and very often with their wives working to supplement that."

The Chairman: Let us have that again then.

Mr. White: The people in our brief, most of them had wages which were between \$100 and \$130, the father's basic earnings. They also had other income in many instances. It does not mean too much. It could be about \$120 or \$125 on an average.

The Chairman: Net in the house?

Mr. White: No, that is gross.

The Chairman: What is net? What is coming in net? He has to pay union dues, unemployment insurance, that sort of thing. How much would it be on a net basis?

Mr. White: Perhaps it would be a net of \$100 a week. In this group we studied, he could be making plenty more than that.

Mr. Chairman: If he is making plenty more, it is a comfortable sort of "poor".

Mr. White: It is not a comfortable sort of "poor". If you are in receipt of these amounts of money you are comfortable if you have no kids to support. You are uncomfortable if you have to support three or four kids.

By the way, I want to add at this time that I am not talking or thinking here about the families of one or two. I am talking about the families with four or five kids.

The Chairman: Our average family in this country is less than three.

Mr. White: But that is not the families we are speaking of here. Our kids grow up, most of them, in larger families, and what happens in larger families happens to most of our kids. This is one of the things that D.B.S. statistics do not help much with. I phoned the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and made four or five phone calls in fact, and they were very helpful and tried hard but nobody could tell me now many of our citizens grow up in families with three or more. They gave me ways you could get estimates, ideas, but it is not something that I could get an answer for.

The Chairman: I don't think there is any answer available for it. Those statistics are not kept because they are not important anyway.

Mr. White: That is the problem. The statistics for poverty are blamed important.

The Chairman: No, no. There is no importance in whether you come from a family of three or four or five or six. We are dealing with family units. What difference does that make to the individual?

Mr. White: It makes a difference to the working poor if a child grows up in a family that has had, say, over five or six years four children and is therefore desperately poor. Maybe later on dad and mother are working and they have two cars and they are buying a cottage in Muskoka, but while the kids are being raised it is touch and go whether they break up, whether father cracks up, whether he turns to drink, and certainly it is touch and go as far as the older child getting to high school because he is going out to work in so many cases. He just cannot stay there and sponge off them when they are so damned poor. So that is why I say it does make a difference.

The Chairman: Well, you are talking about an income of \$100 a week for what size family?

Mr. White: Well, we spoke in our brief of families of three or more.

The Chairman: That makes a family of five.

Mr. White: Five and up, yes.

The Chairman: The figures usually worked on are four.

Mr. White: I think there has been a crippling tie-up with this family of four bit which has been so useful to statisticians who tried to find out where the poor were over the years.

The Chairman: Oh, no. These are not figures that the statisticians picked up. That figure we find from our own examination, the examination of welfare, that this is the norm. We start with the norm and build on it. So four is considered a normal family. We start from that.

You are saying \$100 for five in Toronto? Is that what you are saying?

Mr. White: I am saying that is grossly inadequate.

The Chairman: Yes, that is the point you are making, that \$100 for five in Toronto is inadequate. Well, the poverty line is \$4,400, the Economic Council's poverty line.

Mr. White: Yes. We feel it is grossly inadequate. Perhaps that is not so for other places, but certainly it is so in Toronto. If anyone thinks these people are

not poor in Toronto, I would not agree. I repeat that most of our kids grow up in large families.

Senator Everett: Do you make any reference in your brief to the minimum wage?

Mr. White: Yes, we did, only to say all hail to the minimum wage. We think it would be a great answer and that it should be higher.

Senator Everett: That seems to be in conflict with your point, if the minimum wage does not handle the family situation?

Mr. White: That is that the highest possible minimum wage is not likely to be the answer while the average wage is already inadequate for a family of three or more kids.

Senator Everett: The Economic Council uses the figure of \$600 per child, I think, as a figure. I think the welfare in Toronto uses \$10 per week for the child, which would be \$500 annually. Is that right?

The Chairman: Yes, that is my recollection.

Senator Everett: Do you think \$600 per child per annum is a fair differential, or do you find in your studies that it should be in some sort of geometrical progression, in other words, \$600 for the first child and more for the second and still more for the third or should it be the other way around, a lot for the first child and then reducing?

Mr. White: I would have to think a while about that before I answered with any degree of intelligence. However, I would like to throw in something about the Economic Council's \$600 per child. When they started to look to find out where the poor were, as far as I know, they stopped with the family of five. I would suspect that at least a third of our children are in families that are still larger.

The Chairman: No, they didn't stop with a family of five. You see, they took what was considered the average of three children, then they took two beyond that, and went from there. The \$600 doesn't help you any because you have to go beyond the What Senator Everett says is quite right, that it was \$600 roughly until you got to very large families.

Senator Everett: You say the majority are over family of five. Is that the majority of Canadians or the people you are studying?

Mr. White: No, I am talking about the families that raise kids. As far as I have been able to get it from D.B.S., something like two-thirds of children, or even more, grow up in families that happen to raise more kids. If they are spaced five years apart it might not

make too much difference economically, but most of them are spaced closer. It matters quite a bit to the kids when there are the five of them as to what it is like at that time, whether the family breaks up, whether the man cracks up in one way or another because they are under the gun poverty-wise.

The Chairman: Have you then done any study at all about the female head of family and the children? The statistics are that there are about 100,000 of those in Canada. You know who they are and what I am referring to?

Mr. White: Yes.

The Chairman: Perhaps there are half a million children of all ages involved. What are your views on that?

Mr. White: I think that the ones who are working are in the position of being some of the worst off among the working poor. We know the Economic Council said 87% of the poor had a male head of the family. We didn't touch on that group—again because we thought they had been well talked about and we wanted to talk about the general problem. Our views are that they particularly need help in raising their children if they are working, more help. They are worse off than many working poor men.

The Chairman: Only 35% of them are working.

Mr. White: The rest of them are subject to institutionalized poverty.

The Chairman: I thought maybe you had some idea how those children particularly could receive attention, lacking a father, lacking a home and lacking the things that are normal or that are more normal.

Mrs. Pearl: Are we talking about services to the family?

The Chairman: No. How do we keep those children in school? How do we get them an education? What do we have to do? Do we treat them . . .

Mrs. Pearl: When there is more money in the home, these things are more available.

The Chairman: If you tripled family allowances, say, to \$18, would that be the answer?

Mr. White: That would be the beginning of the answer.

Mrs. Pearl: With a single mother on welfare, the family allowance now is sometimes the difference between them eating a half decent meal and not eating

a half decent meal. I think it should be something more.

The Chairman: If there are no more questions, may I, on behalf of the committee, thank Mr. White, Mrs. Pearl and Mr. Watson for presenting a most excellent brief and one that has real content and that is helpful in presenting one particular problem in a very understanding manner.

The committee adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION

Toronto, Wednesday, March 11, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Sub-committee "A") met this day at 2.00 o'clock p.m. at St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto, Ontario.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I call the meeting to order. We have first to apologize to the gentlemen here for our lateness, but I indicated to them that we had a meeting with our other committee elsewhere and they kept us a little longer than normal.

On my right is Mr. Ian McDougall and sitting next to him is Larry Taman. Both of them are law students at the present time. I am sure you have all read the brief. It is an excellent brief. It will appeal particularly to the four lawyers sitting over there on my left and myself. I have asked Mr. McDougall to make a preliminary statement, and perhaps Mr. Taman will also have something to say. Then they will subject themselves to questioning.

Mr. Ian Alexander McDougall, Community and Legal Aid Services Program, Osgoode Hall Law School: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, the precept of legal equality has been given so much lip service it has become an obscure platitude accepted by all, but in reality it remains an infinite objective forbidding the common propensity in social and economic spheres. Rural and urban poverty do much to impair equal resources for all citizens. Perhaps nowhere is this assertion better illustrated than in recent criticisms of legal aid programs in the United States, Great Britain and Canada.

One such report, the working papers for the 1965 Conference on Law and Poverty enumerated four factors impeding efforts to provide legal assistance to the poor. Those were as follows:

1. The failure of the indigent to characterize a program as legal in context.

2. The low visibility of existing legal aid services.
3. The remoteness of the lawyer and his services.
4. Fear of reprisal.

On the basis of these factors it is apparent that one of the pre-conditions to a viable legal aid scheme aimed at promoting legal equality to a reality status must be to accurately convince indigents that remedies are often available. The United Kingdom report suggested five areas where the law can be of use in alleviating poverty. These were:

1. Criminal representation.
2. Family legal counselling and representation.
3. Landlord and tenant relations, personal injury and damage actions in tort, and consumer protection.
4. Property law including estate planning.

Within each category it is apparent that existing legal aid measures are of varying degrees of efficiency. For example, in the criminal area the refusal to grant bail to anything but financial security obviously disadvantages the indigent defendant. It may also take a toll upon his dependents. It may force them on the welfare reliance as a result. Further, the Ontario report of the Joint Committee on Legal Aid implies that such confinement may only serve to encourage uninformed pleas of guilty and that may undermine the effectiveness of the criminal process.

Regarding family assistance, some commentators have been tempted to assert that the preponderant need problems facing the poor are matrimonial and otherwise the ills facing the poor are psychological and economic and quite beyond the scope of the law. Such a conclusion is naive. It takes no account of here the legal ramifications of the problem are hard to avoid, the most unknown, and the law has a corner on most viable solutions. The indigent is therefore forced into legal confrontation despite possible distrust of the law.

This is hardly the case in areas such as consumer law, landlord and tenant and welfare administration. The legal recourse in such areas is a rare alternative to enduring the apparent power of the vendor, creditor, or landlord, or welfare bureaucrat.

As respects to some of those areas the availability of legal expertise is unknown to most indigents. The existing legal aid is biased in favour of the litigant. In this area the service in a jurisdiction such as Ontario is impressive. The legal equality raises more than mere representation at the remedial level. Higher income groups seek out consultation on a preventive basis perhaps more often than the welfare recipient.

We suggest on the basis of the foregoing that the mere fact of a legal aid system such as Ontario is being demonstratively, statistically successful, is no

proof of it having satisfied the legal needs of the indigent.

It is suggested that the jurisdiction of legal aid must be considerably extended if it is to service the objective of legal equality. Basically, it must take on a more active characterization or, to put it another way, generate jurisdiction. In this regard perhaps six recommendations might be made for an improved scheme.

1. The creation of community legal aid centres.
2. Active efforts to probe the legal fields of the poor, employing such devices as educational advertising campaigns as to the legal rights in those areas discussed above.
3. A broad range of service offerings.
4. Integration with existing community services where possible.
5. Evening services.
6. Eventual adaptation of statutory provisions extending the duties of a legal aid program.

While there are hosts of social and professional difficulties associated with the above suggestions, not the least of which concerns professional reaction, buying of labour, funding and wage prices, it would be absurd to delay acting upon an expanded scheme simply for the difficulties involved. Legal equality implies democratization of justice which is probably fundamental to the survival of the system of law in the long run.

In this context costs are perhaps no criteria for procrastination.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Larry Taman, Chairman of Community and Legal Aid Services Program, Osgoode Hall Law School: I would just like to say a few words about what we have been doing in the community in the Legal Aid Services Program at Osgoode Hall, mostly for the purpose of relating to you that the remarks that Ian has made in his brief remarks have come from convictions which have been forced upon us in our practice, in our legal aid work. We have now eight different student legal aid projects involving something like 150 of the 600 law students at Osgoode Hall. Last year we handled about 500 cases as Ian mentions in the full brief. Next year, this coming year, this concluding year, we will probably have handled about half again that many, and the problems that Ian has alluded to are the problems that we have seen all the time in our work, the problems of people who haven't realized they have had a legal problem until it was too late, who have been unable to get help and had to rely on students, which is perhaps not that great a compliment to the profession of legal services in the province. And for every five or seven hundred cases we have, one can only wonder how many have gone

unhandled, and the real difficulty in my view, and I think in Ian's view in the brief, is that historically the legal aid plan has never really been concerned to adopt an active stand towards the solution of the legal problems of the poor. There has always been the sort of motto of legal aid which would say, "We try to put the poor person in the same position as the middle class person who could afford services." And yet the realities that a goal like that would force upon you if you were really sincerely, or if you were really actively pursuing it, never really seem to have put themselves upon the organized legal aid program.

If you were trying to make, for example, lawyers equally as available to the poor, especially in civil matters, as to the better-off people, then it would be obvious that you might have to compensate for certain kinds of inhibitions that the poor have. You might have to make it easier for them to get there in terms of simple transportation. You might have to overcome the psychological factors that Ian has alluded to, the distrust people have of lawyers and so forth. And, more than that, I think what you would have to do ultimately is to look at what it is that lawyers do for a community.

Those of you who are lawyers and those of us who are students look at the Canadian Income Tax Act and you see thousands and thousands of cases where points in dispute in that Act have been clarified by the courts and the Tax Appeal Board. If you look at the General Welfare and Assistance Act, there is not a single case that has ever been litigated under that Act. If you look at the Family Benefits Act and all its predecessor Acts which have been in existence since before the second war, you will see that until a few months ago there was not a single case litigated under that Act. And, surely, we are not to conclude from that that there were no problems in interpretation. Surely what we are to conclude is that for the poor whose lives are substantially ruled by people who have control over the funds, whose lives are ruled much more by litigations of various sorts than any of ours, those people have never had an opportunity to have their rights interpreted and have their rights litigated, and it seems to us that it would be a worthwhile objective for a legal aid man to take a more active stand, to move into communities, to seek out problems and to seek out people with the problems, and to attempt to clarify the legal position of the poor vis-a-vis all the laws and agencies and institutions that affect their lives in exactly the same way that the commercial lawyer has done for the middle class community with the laws that affect his life.

Thank you.

The Chariman: Senator Everett, you have a very keen interest in this subject.

Senator Everett: Can you tell us just in a few words what the program of Ontario Legal Aid is in Ontario now?

Mr. Taman: The Legal Aid Act of 1966 divided the province into 46 areas and districts, provided for provincial area director of legal aid who is to appoint an area director for each of the 46 areas. The area director in turn has the responsibility of gathering together two panels, criminal panel and a civil panel, and these are the people who are willing to take legal aid cases and, of course, some people are on both panels in an area. I believe there are about 3,000-odd lawyers on the York County panel.

The way the system works is that you have to distinguish rather carefully between the two sides, the criminal and the civil. On the criminal side they have what are known as duty counsel. The duty counsel work in the jails in the morning, and in the afternoons they work in the courtroom. So that in a county like York County where the system is working well, it would be normal for every person who is in jail to be advised before he makes his initial court appearance, his remand appearance, to be advised that he is entitled to legal aid, so that normally what would happen would be that the duty counsel would tell them this. If the case was a complex one, the duty counsel would ask for a remand and then a certificate would be issued, assuming the person could get the financial, what amounts to a means test. And he could seek the lawyer of his choice.

In many cases the duty counsel would simply plead for the accused man right in the courtroom and, as you can imagine, that does create certain problems in the Magistrates' Courts in City Hall where they are prosecuting many, many cases a day. The duty counsel will tend to be rather harried.

On the civil side it is required that the person recognize that his problem is one that might admit of a legal solution. If he does he goes to the office and he is interviewed by an interviewing lawyer. The interviewing lawyer makes a determination based on Sections 12, 13 and 14 of the Act as to whether or not the problem is one for which a legal aid certificate ought to be issued. If it is, the person is then interviewed by a member of the Family Benefits Department, Social and Family Welfare Department of Ontario, who makes what amounts to a means test. And, assuming that a person has qualified both of those tests, then he is issued a certificate and is entitled to go out and take the lawyer of his choice, any lawyer that will take his case that is on the panel, and that lawyer is paid at a rate which amounts to approximately 75 per cent of tariff.

Senator Everett: You say a form of means test. Would you give us more detail on that?

Mr. Taman: I wish I could. Unfortunately, the Act is not specific on the point. The regulations to the Act are even less specific. Let me see if I can just find the section. I am afraid I can't find it at the moment, senator.

Senator Everett: Have you any idea of the sort of test that is supplied?

Mr. Taman: Well, it appears that certainly the value, the amount of assets which would permit a person to be granted a certificate will fluctuate according to the cost of the proposed action. So that people with quite large means, relatively, that is to say five or six thousand dollars, might well get certificates, for example, for a long criminal trial. On the other hand, very poor people frequently can't get certificates for more minor things which are, in fact, more serious to them. I really can't put a figure on that. As I say, it is interesting to look at the Act and to compare Sections 12 and 13 of the Act. Section 12 is the section which is mandatory, in the sense that assuming a person qualifies financially, the area director has no choice but to issue a certificate. Section 13 is a discretionary certificate which are legal matters for which the area director may, in his discretion, issue a certificate, assuming the client qualifies.

Senator Everett: What sort of matter are they?

Mr. Taman: Well, it is interesting in my judgment anyway, the discretionary ones are mainly on the civil side which would be the common problems of the poor.

Senator Everett: Do you have to have a cause of action before you can operate under the Act?

Mr. Taman: No, there is also provision for advice under the Act, but that is discretionary.

Senator Everett: Yes.

Mr. Taman: Any summary conviction is discretionary, any proceeding in a Juvenile or Family Court, in a Division Court, which is a small civil claims court, under \$400 in Ontario, is discretionary, before a quasi or judicial board such as the Ontario Housing Board, that is discretionary. A bankruptcy is discretionary. A contempt of court is discretionary. The drawing of legal documents, negotiating settlement or giving of legal advice is all discretionary.

Senator Everett: Why, in your judgment, are those discretionary?

Mr. Taman: Well, my judgment is that the people who have been responsible for the formulation of the Act, while they have been sincere in their desires, have not fully understood the nature of the legal problems that the poor face. Indeed, again, to go back to

another point, the Act has not adopted an active stance towards those sort of problems. When we have a client, for example, who comes into our office claiming to have been done out of six weeks' wages by a company in the city, wages amount to \$360 for six weeks, the area director has chosen not to grant certificate because it is a division court matter. Well, that is a rather serious matter. It would appear to me. When we do work for a tenants' association that wants, for example, to prepare to submit to the Ontario Housing Corporation a counter-lease, the Ontario Housing Corporation had been coming out with a new lease pursuant to the new Landlord and Tenant Act. Well, when this tenants' association wants to be able to criticize that lease, to analyze its provisions and to make determinations as to whether it is a good lease, it is not possible for them to get a legal aid certificate to get a lawyer to assist them with that work.

Senator Everett: That is excluded?

Mr. Taman: It is provided for, I suppose, under discretionary item on drawing documents.

Senator Everett: What items are excluded from the operation?

Mr. Taman: There is very little that is actually excluded.

Senator Everett: Is divorce excluded?

Mr. Taman: No, divorce is not excluded. Divorce is also discretionary. A certificate shall not be issued to a person in proceedings wholly or partly in respect of defamation, breach of promise of marriage, etc., in realtor actions or in proceedings relating to any election. So that when the mandatory and discretionary sections are taken together they cover most of the conceivable legal actions, the difficult problem being that the ones that concern the poor or largely especially on the civil side, are all discretionary to the area director.

Senator Fergusson: What do you mean by discretionary?

Mr. Taman: Well, it would mean that he is not required by law to issue a certificate.

Senator Fergusson: Yes. That is what I thought it meant, but he can make his own decision?

Mr. Taman: Right.

Senator Everett: Is there any appeal from his decision?

Mr. Taman: Yes, there is an appeal to what is called the Area Committee, and there are statistics in the

percent report of the number of those appealed. I believe the appeal may be to the Provincial Director, Andrew Lawson. And there are statistics in the recent report as to the success ratio of those.

Senator Everett: Who then takes those appeals?

Mr. Taman: Well, you can't get counsel to take them. You take them yourself. If you have been refused the office will give you a form which you can use.

Senator Everett: But you are not represented by counsel during the appeal?

Mr. Taman: No, not as far as I know.

The Chairman: What is the percentage of success?

Mr. Taman: Well, I just read the report the other day and I am afraid I can't remember; about fifty per cent, I would think.

Senator Everett: Now, let's deal for a moment with the Goodie Hall students and their legal aid program. Could you enlarge on that for a moment?

Mr. Taman: Well, there are a number of separate projects which are more or less federated in a body called the Community and Legal Aid Services Program. The largest in terms of clientele and in terms of student involvement is called the Student Defenders, and that organization takes referrals from the York County Legal Aid Office. So if an applicant qualifies financially but the matter is one in which the Area Director has chosen not to exercise his discretion and as the matter is one in which a student could act, then he would refer that case to our office, either to our office or to the office of the U. of T. which has a separate program.

Senator Everett: What matters can students act in? Are we talking about criminal here?

Mr. Taman: Yes, summary convictions on the criminal side, division court matters on the civil side. A large part of work being negotiation in particular projects.

Senator Everett: What do you feel about situations under which the present Law Society decides the students cannot act?

Mr. Taman: Can or cannot?

Senator Everett: Cannot.

Mr. Taman: Well, my frank feeling is that it would certainly be preferable if there were lawyers available to act. In situations where there are not lawyers available to act, then it is my personal opinion, but

one that the profession at large might not share, that it might be preferable to have students act than to have no one act. For example, we are involved in a slight problem right now. Under the new Landlord and Tenant Act which requires a County Court motion in certain proceedings under the new Act, there is a question as to whether or not students are permitted to make such a motion.

Senator Cook: How senior are the students who are permitted to act?

Mr. Taman: Under this particular program they are all third year students, senator. In some of the other programs, however, we have students all the way through law school. We have a project called the Hostel Project which works at a home for temporary shelter for homeless women and children; working in legal problems there and taking referrals from the Welfare Board. We have something called the Y.M.C.A. Project which works with juveniles. We have a program called Project Ossington, which works with youngsters with drug problems. We have a project in the school in the Christie Pits which is working with the immigrant community that lives in that area. We have a project at Lawrence Heights, and I believe some of the senators were there last evening, which is a public housing development. We are acting in some capacity for a number of different tenants' associations about the city, tenants' associations in public housing developments.

Senator Everett: In these community legal aid services, almost what you are talking about is a community development project. How would you fund them? How would you operate if you were making the laws?

Mr. Taman: If I were making the laws I think I would fund them in much the same ways as the Office of Economic Opportunity has funded analogous offices in the United States. I would fund them with federal money which I would channel in through a provincial director who would run the program in the various cities in the province. The rejoinder that is made in the profession frequently is to say, well, you know, if you do that then what you have done is you have destroyed the independence of the lawyer, the advocate who is supposed to be working against the government is now an employee of the government. How can he possibly maintain his independence? Well, in my opinion, that is a fundamentally specious argument. I have never heard one say the same thing about judges, for example. I would imagine if one did he would be in contempt of some sort. No one seems to feel there is a problem existing there. And I am uncertain as to why the notion of hiring full-time lawyers to work with people in the community is such an obnoxious one. It has certainly worked extra-

ordinarily well in much of the neighbourhood law office program under the Office of Economic Opportunity. The cases they have taken and fundamental changes they have made in the legal structure have been phenomenal all across the United States. Our legal aid plan doesn't have anything comparable to speak for its success in terms of changing the legal position of the poor.

Senator Everett: Do you think you could get lawyers to work in that type of an operation in Canada?

Mr. Taman: Yes, I think you could. There may have been a time when it would have been more difficult. Certainly now though, especially among the younger members of the profession, but not exclusively, there are people who would willingly do that sort of work and who would do it well, and I think it is a question, you know, obviously if you are looking for men who are, say, not completely junior but maybe men with five or six years of practice. If you are going to offer them \$5,500 to do the job, well, you may well sort of get the dregs of the profession, which is what the profession would frequently respond to a suggestion like this. But if you are willing to pay people and to recruit people and to look honestly for the best possible people in the same way you would in any other recruitment program, I think there are definitely people around who would do that sort of work.

Senator Everett: Of the 800 students at Osgoode, you say 150 are involved in the legal aid program. Why are the 650 not involved?

Mr. Taman: Well, it is about 150 out of 600.

Senator Everett: I am sorry. I got your figures wrong.

Mr. Taman: The others are uninvolved for a variety of reasons. First of all, there is a long waiting list of people who want to get into the project and our difficulty now is that there are so many projects and so many students that the problem of supervision is getting to the point where it is nearly insurmountable as an entirely student-run organization. In other words, it is getting to the point where it requires full-time administration. So one of the big reasons is that we couldn't handle the program sufficiently expanded to handle everyone who would be interested in it, but I would venture that half of the people in the law school would be interested if the programs were available. As to the other half, there would be a large number who just wouldn't be interested, who aren't interested in doing that kind of work. There are many who do other kinds of work outside, community centres and things of that sort, and have their own work.

Senator Cook: You say the problem of supervision. Who does the supervision?

Mr. Taman: The way our program works is that from all we have an extensive orientation at the very beginning of the program so students are aware as to what kind of cases they are required to send to legal aid, what kind they have jurisdiction to handle, et cetera. And then every student is required to submit a file of the case as soon as he has initially interviewed the clients, and those clients, those files all come across my desk. If there is a problem with the case, if the case is complex or difficult in some way, or if the student doesn't appear to be handling it properly, then we have a panel of faculty advisers to whom the student would be sent to clarify the difficulty.

Senator Everett: I understand in the O.E.O. experiment that a lot of offices tended to get into the don't quite know how to describe it, but into that area of law that makes new law. In other words, that stake out legal rights of the disadvantaged citizen. It is pretty exciting stuff, and in many cases they have created decisions that really affect the position of the poor. However, that is so exciting that it tends to pull them away from the original concept which was to service the poor. Now, I am not making a comparison here. One is as important as the other and the form may be more important than the other, to create the body of law within which the poor can survive and improve themselves. But have you given any thought as to how you answer that dichotomy because I understand that it really is tending to in a sense wreck, or you want to look at it the other way, tending to make the O.E.O. program successful, depending on how you want to look at it.

Mr. McDougall: I shouldn't really think there would be any conflict in that, necessarily. Law reform is short-cut for legal aid. I think that was basically what was advocated in this brief, that by changing the law you might make assistance of the poor a lot more efficient. So I think perhaps it is natural for anyone who gets exposed to ponds of poverty to move into the area of law reform as opposed to helping directly with the problems as they exist.

Senator Everett: I think that is right. The trouble with it is that for the available manpower and the time that is taken in law reform, that there isn't the time available or the manpower available to deal with the initial problem.

Mr. McDougall: Well, senator, I think as matters stand now there isn't a manpower—you referred to earlier. I think even with a sign of support lawyers that we never have enough to fill the actual demand of legal services. So I think then the question of law reform is again trying to perhaps reduce the demand.

Mr. Taman: Take, for example, senator, the so-called example of the man in the house rule that Ian alludes to in the back of the brief and which is something that you probably heard of elsewhere. But which seems to be a general practice on the part of welfare agencies, to cut off welfare any woman who is receiving welfare as a single woman and is discovered to have a man living in the house. And, you know, the basis, the length of duration is a subject of some dispute. Certainly many of the women will tell you that the man was there for a short stay and the welfare people will say they don't step in unless the man appears to be a permanent resident. Well, there is no basis in the act for an exclusion of that sort. It is an interpretation which has been made by the welfare people. They are saying the Act says a single woman. If there is a man in the house, regardless of whether or not they know that he is contributing to her support, she is no longer single. Well, the result of that interpretation has probably been 75 cases that have come in to our office in the two years I have been in the program. Well, you know, you can act on those cases sort of individually and the temptation becomes very large in the problem you are alluding to. It also at some point becomes very intractable to say, well, why don't we see what we can do by appealing a decision of this court and see if the courts are willing to uphold this interpretation, and in that way cut off that whole body of work which otherwise you would have to deal with on a case by case basis. So that it is a difficult balancing problem.

Senator Everett: In that case, why haven't you appealed?

Mr. Taman: Because we don't have the legal resources to do it and we are not entitled as students to do it. But there has been a lot of agitation in the student legal aid community across the province and it was just done last month by Professor Christie who teaches at Queen's and at Osgoode, and my recollection was that he lost.

The Chairman: Of course, it is a natural question, but I think at the defence, the normal position that the Department takes is that there is undeclared income. They do it on that basis rather than on a normal basis. That is the basis for their doing it.

Mr. Taman: In response to that, though, Senator Gill, the same problem has been litigated in the Supreme Court.

The Chairman: In the United States?

Mr. Taman: In the United States in a case called *The United States v. King*, and the difficulty there is that if the welfare people were to make a determination as to whether or not such contributory earnings actually existed, that would be one thing, and in that instance

might be supportable. Also, certainly what the Supreme Court said in the *King* case—they said, look, the family, the comparable Act, the Aid to Dependent Children Act, was designed to protect children and regardless of whether or not this woman is entitled either (a) to receive contributory earnings, or (b) to a private life of her own, that has little to do with the dependents, and it seems to me quite likely that this same sort of argument has a great deal of moral sway here.

The Chairman: What were the grounds for refusal here? I haven't seen the judgment.

Mr. Taman: The judgment isn't published yet so I haven't seen it either.

Senator Everett: What year are you both in?

Mr. Taman: Second. We are both in second.

Senator Everett: It is now a four-year course?

Mr. Taman: Three, with a year of articling and six months bar admission.

Senator Everett: Six months bar admission. Do either of you intend to carry on in the line that is outlined in this brief?

Mr. McDougall: I might, sir.

Mr. Taman: I do. The problem is whether or not the opportunities will exist. Assuming that I were so unfortunate as to have to support myself and assuming my wife becomes reluctant to support me after the five or six years and I had to work for a living, there would be no place where I could get a job doing this kind of work, and there would be no place in Ontario where I could get funds to do this sort of work. So it would be extremely difficult. I suppose at one time you might have fallen back on something like the Company of Young Canadians, but that doesn't seem to be a viable alternative at this point in time.

Senator Everett: If such a program is available do you intend to become part of it?

Mr. Taman: Certainly. And there are many, many people who graduated from law school all over this province who have been very, very upset at the fact that no opportunity has existed to do this kind of work. Certainly in the United States there has been, you know, the statistics are really astonishing and the change in trends at the best law schools, where initially there was a tremendous exodus to Wall Street, and now there is a comparable exodus to the community law offices of Economic Opportunity and other offices dealing with these problems. The best students, not the worst students who can't get

employment elsewhere, but the best students of the law schools in the United States are doing this kind of work, and I would submit that if the same opportunities were available here that the same sort of exodus would take place.

Senator Everett: At what sort of salary?

Mr. Taman: Well, I would expect it would make sense to make the salary competitive, to make it a comparable salary. There may well be a large number of people who, given enough money to support themselves, would do the work. I am not sure, however, if I would be satisfied with that kind of support to the program. If you accept the position that legal representation is a correlative right of citizenship, a right that one is entitled to as a citizen of the country, then it doesn't seem to make a good deal of sense to me to say a group of junior barristers should be expected to subsidize the financing of that right.

Senator Everett: No, but it does tend to expose the amount of sacrifice that a man is prepared to make to help his fellowman, doesn't it?

Mr. Taman: I would argue, Senator Everett, that the notion of sacrifice is something that has been inherent in legal aid, at least in this province, since the very beginning. It has been said that the legal profession must sacrifice to care for the problems of the indigent, and that when the first Act was passed in 1951 and there was no remuneration, there was a great deal of enthusiasm about this sacrifice. As time passed, the enthusiasm waned and so did the involvement of the profession in the voluntary plan. It seems to me that, you know, I am not sure what the smallest amount of money a man is willing to work for is any indication of his conviction, about the quality and about the importance of his work. I think that in any other case if the government recognizes the need to provide for a service, I mean, certainly Piggot Construction doesn't feel any great need to sacrifice in order to build roads for the government of Ontario, and I don't see why the legal profession shouldn't feel the same way. I mean, there are very large numbers of people who, given any opportunity, would do the work. There are certainly people who have independent means who would do it for nothing.

Senator Cook: Medicare doesn't employ any sacrifice.

Mr. Taman: I beg your pardon?

Senator Cook: Medicare doesn't provide any sacrifice, so why should the legal aid?

Mr. Taman: Agreed. I think the really great problem when salaries become non-competitive is that

many times the best people are people who, not because of greed, but for other kinds of reasons, are people who simply cannot afford to do the work.

Senator Cook: They have a bent that way sometimes.

Mr. Taman: Yes. A law student may well have been in university nine and a half years by the time he's through law school. Well, a fellow can build up a big student loan in nine and a half years and many students in law school are older fellows with wives and three or four children, and the problem is not that you pay people competitively the problem is not that you will get people who aren't concerned with the work, but rather you will lose all the people who would be the best people for the work because of other kinds of commitments that they have.

Senator Everett: I think your point is well made. I don't agree that if that commitment is there that the necessarily tends to follow.

Mr. Taman: Right. And I say in many cases that won't.

Senator Everett: In fact, the legal aid system can provide legal aid on a basis of paying the full way, the sort of thing you are talking about, the sort of community legal aid centre, will only get off the ground if, indeed, intelligent self-sacrificing lawyers are prepared to make it get off the ground. To be pragmatic, I don't think it is going to happen any other way.

Mr. Taman: Well, I agree.

Senator Everett: If those sort of lawyers exist, then suggest to you you have got to hope that that may happen.

Mr. Taman: Right.

Senator Everett: If they don't, then I think it will be a failure of the profession to provide that service more than the failure of the government to insist on it, although, indeed, the government should insist on it.

Mr. Taman: Well, although, when you start talking about lawyers and government, you are not—the seems to be a great deal of personal overlap between the two.

Senator Everett: You may come to it yourself.

Mr. Taman: Who knows what horrible things befall a man?

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson?

Senator Fergusson: I find this very interesting, but on page 5 and 6 you refer to the summary of the general areas of public interest that can directly be serviced by such a legal system including, among some other things, family law. I presume this would include divorce. And Senator Everett mentioned divorce, but I would like to know a little more about it. Now, divorce actions are not interesting for anybody to do, I well know, having sat for 15 years on the Divorce Committee of the Senate. And I am sure no one would want to take it on because it was an interesting project. And apparently from what you said to Senator Everett it is discretionary whether such a case would be accepted. Is this right?

The Chairman: Yes, it is.

Senator Fergusson: Well, then, I would like to know in Ontario, people who are on welfare or amongst the working poor, apply, are they generally accepted applicants for legal aid? Are there many divorce cases in which legal aid provides the assistance that these people need?

Mr. McDougall: I am afraid I don't know, I don't think that statistic is broken down, but it is in the legal aid report.

Senator Fergusson: The reason I ask is that in some provinces, at least one province we were in, some people said they couldn't get legal aid. Some people said it wasn't possible for people on welfare to secure legal aid for a divorce, and I would like to know. Apparently you can get it. It is discretionary, but I wonder if the discretion is exercised against such cases.

Mr. Taman: The statistics say in the province 60 per cent of the civil matters that were handled were divorces, so that is a very large number of cases, and it appears that a very large percentage of the applicants are accepted, although, you know, many times I have heard people on welfare, especially women on welfare in Ontario, complain about the difficulties in getting a certificate for a divorce.

Senator Fergusson: I think Mr. McDougall has found what I have been trying to find, because I read that on the reference you had, but I couldn't find it just now when I was looking for it.

Mr. McDougall: For the year ending 1969 there were 1,43 divorces.

Senator Fergusson: What page is it on?

The Chairman: This is separate.

Senator Fergusson: Oh, I thought you read some reference to that in your brief.

Mr. McDougall: I don't think so.

Senator Fergusson: I have been looking through it trying to find it.

Mr. Taman: Senator, there is a report, the 1969 report of the Law Society to the Attorney General, which we probably should have included in the appendix, but such a report exists and I am sure you could easily get copies.

The Chairman: I don't know whether they indicated the number of divorce cases that were handled by legal aid. It just seems to me that they didn't break it down.

Mr. Taman: It was perhaps so. I don't recall specifically.

Senator Fergusson: If you say 60 per cent of the civil cases, that is quite a large percentage. Apparently they are accepted.

The Chairman: Oh, he just said 60 per cent of the civil cases were divorce.

Mr. McDougall: No, I didn't.

Senator Fergusson: What did he say?

Mr. McDougall: I think the confusion lies, I mentioned in the report that in the United Kingdom they had experienced that it was 60 per cent, and the argument was that this was unrepresentative. Surely all their problems can't be divorce. They must have others, and perhaps the high incidence of divorce applications lies in the fact that this is one area where they could easily characterize the problem as a legal one and there are perhaps many others that they can't characterize as legal.

Senator Fergusson: There was just one other question I would like to ask. Are there other student legal aid organizations throughout Canada at other law schools?

Mr. McDougall: There are quite a number of them, yes.

Senator Everett: Have you discussed this brief with the Law Society of Upper Canada?

Mr. McDougall: No, I have not.

Senator Everett: Why don't you?

Mr. McDougall: Well, I understand they have just recently formed a legal aid committee to study it, and I think there may be some opportunity then, when they start acting.

Senator Everett: If there is no opportunity do you propose to bring it to their attention and go and discuss it with the Benchers?

Mr. McDougall: I think it may have been brought to their attention already.

The Chairman: These people are acting as the Company of Young Canadians as far as the Bar Association is concerned, activists. It has come to their attention.

Senator Everett: I tried to give them a little hand on the way.

The Chairman: That is one of the reasons we brought them here, to try.

Senator Everett: They won't be afraid to get in touch with the Society and demand a hearing on this.

Mr. Taman: I think the legal aid people are beginning to become aware of some of the problems. I mean, for example in York County, which is very large, I don't know how large it would be in square miles but I guess 40 miles in any direction. There is only one office and the office is on Richmond Street near the corner of Richmond and Yonge Streets. So that if you live in Sutton and you have just been cut off welfare you might have a hard time getting down to the corner of Richmond and Yonge Streets.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: I just have one question. I didn't think Senator Fergusson was quite true. Are you through?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Senator Inman: Well, on page 5 at the top you say, the low visibility of legal aid services as noted in a U.S. survey which indicated that the preponderate number of indigents were unaware of legal aid, and that fewer still aware of how to obtain it. And it goes on from there. I would like to ask the witnesses how do you think the poor could be made aware of this aid in the provinces? Now, Ontario does make them aware, but the other provinces, by what means could they become aware of this aid?

Mr. McDougall: Well, I think even in Ontario there are terrific deficiencies. I think one of the best ways of making it more visible would be through a community legal aid office, regionally oriented offices. I think the staff of this office would then have an opportunity to interact with the community. One of the common experiences from most of our projects has been an appalling sort of lack of knowledge about existing legal aid matters and I am sure this is true in other

provinces. Mass advertising might be another technique. Holding community seminars might be another. Just anything that makes an indigent think about law and think how the law might help him.

Mr. Taman: Senator, there was a study that was done in New Haven, Connecticut, an attitude study which asked people to pick words to describe the view of lawyers and the words sort of went from saint at one end to shyster at the other, and sad for those of us in the profession, but the shyster one by quite a long shot.

I heard on the news last night that a similar study was done in Quebec and some 65 or 70 per cent of the senator, had very low opinions of lawyers. So, when you have that kind of a gap to overcome it is pretty obvious that you can't just sit in your Richmond Street office and expect people to start coming down to you with their problems. You have got a lot of work to do to overcome, you know, mistrust that has been built up over many, many years.

The Chairman: What legal aid provisions are there in the other provinces outside of Ontario?

Mr. Taman: I really wouldn't like to answer that question, senator. I am not familiar with the statutes.

The Chairman: You wouldn't like to answer because you don't know the answer or because it is embarrassing?

Mr. Taman: No, it is because I don't know.

The Chairman: I would be embarrassing for the other Provinces.

Senator Fergusson: One other thing I would like to ask, I am wondering if people who go into the business are going to change their office hours because so many people that need their help can't come during regular office hours?

Mr. Taman: I mean, just think of the problems of poor person. I am sure you have heard many, many times in your trip the problems that people from severely disadvantaged backgrounds have, which to me might seem as simple as going to the downtown court and going to an office. Imagine what it must be like for a man in that position to have to go down to Richmond Street between the hours of 9.30 to 4.00 between Monday and Friday.

Senator Cook: We might have to invent a system of house calls.

Mr. Taman: That is not entirely out of the question. Certainly it seems to me if you are going to say that poor people should have the same kind of legal aid that rich people have, you have to have lawyers who

are willing to do preventative law in exactly the same way a doctor would do it. And a doctor, you know, nobody in the Ontario Department of Health would think if putting a clinic down on Richmond Street and saying all the people who can't afford doctors are free to go down there between 9.00 and 4.30 on Monday or Friday. It makes just about as much sense.

I was going to say about that, senator, that that was one of the things that the Toronto committee is looking at, the possibility of opening up branch offices in Scarborough. So that is a problem that they are aware of and I believe plan to deal with.

Senator Inman: Could it be done through the police, for instance? When they make an arrest or if they have to come in contact with anybody who is up against the law, would it be feasible for a policeman to say, "Now, you can get legal aid or you should get legal aid before you commit yourself in any way"?"

Mr. Taman: In my opinion, senator, the Ontario system works quite well on that side. If an individual is picked up by the police overnight he would be contacted by the duty counsel before the Court convenes the next morning, would be advised of this right to counsel and would be defended by duty counsel in some cases, or in other cases duty counsel would make a request for a lawyer for him so that he could obtain the lawyer of his choice. So that on that side in the kind of matters that concern the police and the criminal justice system, I think it is difficult to argue with the way the system runs. In theory it runs well.

The Chairman: There are about 7,000 lawyers in York County here, 3,000 of whom are on the list, who participate. They didn't have the exact figure, but I remembered the figure. The problem of transportation which is sometimes, as he pointed out, an insurmountable one, doesn't exist in the smaller places. It is very serious here because the county is a very large county.

Mr. Taman: Another problem, and I guess here I am really going out on a limb because if anybody would put me to my proof I would be hard-pressed, but I think it is probably true that the best lawyers in Toronto are not doing a great deal of legal aid work. When you speak to them they will all certainly say, "Yes, yes, I will take a case if it is an interesting one, or if it might take a legal aid case if it is the son of a client who suddenly come upon financial hard times", but you certainly couldn't say in the bulk, at least, and I am going out on a limb, but I think that people in the profession would agree that the bulk of legal aid work is not done now by the best people in the profession. At least, in terms of the most experienced people. It tends to be done by young men who I am sure do the work well and conscientiously but who, nonetheless, are not the most senior people. I

think one of the advantages of the kind of community office that Ian has proposed in his brief is that there are senior people in the profession, I am convinced, who would be interested to do this kind of work and who could be persuaded to do it. There are senior people in the profession right now who are coming back to teaching, for example, all across the country, and I am sure that men at our own law school who have probably cuts of \$20,000 to \$25,000 in salary to come back to teach. And I think there are people like those people, senior people, experienced people, who would be willing to get into this kind of work and that would certainly do a good deal to clean up some of the problems that exist.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I think this is a very thought-provoking brief and I think the two young gentlemen should be congratulated on producing it. And I was wondering if perhaps the next step might be to suggest to them they try and get the Canadian Bar Association to have a conference from all the provincial legal aid associations, because the problems are different in urban centres than they are in rural areas, but to get together and have a conference on legal aid because I agree that eventually the next development has to come just as Medicare, because society gets more and more complex. There are more and more rules and regulations. Acts are published and there are regulations under the Acts and half the lawyers themselves don't know what they are about, let alone the people. So I think there is a good need for them and I think that you should suggest to the Canadian Bar they hold a conference on this whole subject to pursue it further. In the meantime I congratulate you.

The Chairman: Well, you have heard Senator Cook's congratulations.

Senator Everett: Mr. Chairman, have you wound up?

The Chairman: No, go ahead.

Senator Everett: I think that what interested me most about this brief is the concept of community legal aid centres. Could you tell me, in your legal aid program what laws that affect the poor do you think or have you found should be of priority as laws which should be changed?

Mr. Taman: That is a good question. Well, I would say a top priority, without distinguishing too much between them, I would change all the laws that have to do with consumer credit and with debt financing, chattel mortgages, conditional sales, finance companies and institutions of that sort. I would say there is a tremendous need for clarification and to attempt to solve some of the problems in that area.

Senator Everett: Well, now, we have had a spate of consumer protection Acts in Canada. I don't know what the situation is in Ontario, but one is just coming into force in Manitoba. It has just been proclaimed. Have you found fault with those Acts?

Mr. Taman: That is not an area in which I have a great deal of personal expertise. I do know that the people in our organization who work with those kinds of cases have been very dissatisfied and have been especially dissatisfied with the problems of finance as they relate to the over-committed debtor and to the way in which there appears to be no statutory protection for the person who is going deeper and deeper into debt. There appears to be no statutory cut-off line. I am sure that when you are in Montreal next week you will hear from an organization. They are called ASAF, if you haven't already, who have very strong and well-thought-out views on this subject, much more expert than my own. Secondly, I would refer to all the welfare legislation, the Family Benefits Act and all the Acts which were subsumed under that Act when the Family Benefits Act was passed. I am not sure of the exact year, but sometime in the mid '60's and supersided all the previous Acts for new people coming on to welfare, provincial welfare. But the old Acts like the Mothers' Allowance Act all still apply for people who were on that kind of relief before, and certainly in all that legislation there is a tremendous need to clarify rights.

Equally, under public housing, the statute in the administration of public housing. As more and more people come to live in public housing the problems become more and more difficult. And there is a great need there for legal assistance.

I think as well there is a great need in the Juvenile and Family Courts and the interplay between those and the welfare. The classic example that Ian alludes is the situation in which disadvantaged people are sort of, I think, frankly abused. It is the custom in Toronto to require a woman, a deserted wife seeking welfare, to swear out a support suit against her husband and they appear to insist and to have actually refused a number of women assistance because those women have refused to swear out a writ for support against their husbands. Well, it may well be that at some point in time that is a sensible course of action, but at the same time there is many a woman whose husband has left and she anticipates he will come back or she would like him to come back and she doesn't want to sue him. She doesn't want to drag him into court.

Senator Cook: Many more never want to see them again.

Mr. Taman: Well, there are those, too, and that has been a big problem. The case crossed my desk yesterday morning of a woman who was very upset because she had been compelled to sue her husband and her

husband was coming back and she was perfectly happy if she would have never seen him again.

Senator Fergusson: I think it is cruel to get a wife start an action against her husband.

Mr. Taman: I agree. That is another example something that is not provided for in the legislation and given the proper resources one could litigate.

Senator Everett: Do you see the role as community legal aid officer as being one of clarifying the existing law? Does he create equity by clarification, by bringing actions, and by having these actions tested the court, or is he more a catalyst to create a pressure within that society to have legislation changes in the law be made?

Mr. McDougall: I think he can properly do both. I think if he doesn't do both he is probably not doing the job. I think the experience of the community legal aid offices will supply some pretty severe problems and pretty severe failings.

Mr. Taman: To sort of answer in advance the comment of the people in the profession which may well come about, I don't think what we are advocating is the activist lawyer. Although there may well be a room for that. John Sewell testified this morning, I am told. I am not saying that the people who work in these offices have to do the kind of work that John did. What I am saying, though, is that it seems fitting that a portion of the legal profession should devote its time to the legal problems of the poor the same way that the tax lawyer devotes his time to the tax problems of betteroff people or businessmen.

Senator Cook: And get paid for it?

Mr. Taman: That is right. And I am suggesting at this point that these lawyers conduct themselves in precisely the same way as a tax lawyer. Obviously there would have to be changes in mode of operation and in sorts of things, but basically conduct himself as a lawyer who has clients and who has problems to solve.

The Chairman: Are you finished?

Senator Everett: I think they have made an excellent case, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: The committee is quite anxious to you know that they appreciate the work that both of you have done. Four of them are lawyers, so you have passed the witness test very well and I may say to you that the brief will be very helpful to us because this is one of the subjects upon which we intend to report and we have made some inquiries and we are knowledgeable about what is going on in other provinces. For your information the Ontario Act is far ahead

anything else, but that is the way it is at the present time. So, forgive us for being late. Thank you very much for coming.

Mr. Taman: Thanks for having us.

Mr. McDougall: Thanks very much.

The Chairman: We have next a brief from the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section. On my immediate right is Mrs. Morris Vigoda. She is the President and she will introduce her legislation and then speak to the brief.

Mrs. Morris Vigoda, President, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section: To my right is Mrs. Benjamin Gross, and behind me Mrs. Jack Oden and Mrs. Gerald Wiener.

Honourable senators, just as in today's society team efforts are required for the success of projects, so it is become a recognized procedure to develop within social institutions teams of professionals and volunteers who work with, rather than for, the people being served. The National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, an organization in existence since 1897, is committed to the principle of volunteerism, not in a term known as busy work or as ladies bountiful, but volunteers functioning in an engaging environment, provided by the structure and co-operation of the professional staff of the agency or organization.

Volunteers are unable to do a valuable job under certain conditions. If they feel that their duties are vital and important, if high standards exist and a career attitude is encouraged, if they see results and are faced with on-going challenge, and if their individual task is related to the broad community and its needs. We have experienced acceptance by recipients of services who find the warmth, sincerity and empathy a welcome change from the impersonal, often disdainful attitude of officialdom. Volunteers, of necessity, must work within an institutional structure, but we are saying that where some of these agencies and organizations, whether private or governmental, have become inflexible, insular and unapproachable in this rapidly changing society in which we live, our institutions and their leaders must be committed to constant examination of methods of operation and must be willing to learn and to change.

In our democratic way of life each citizen has a responsibility. We see the citizen volunteer's role as a catalyst for influencing change and for bringing about growth and development. Although the actual areas of service by the National Council of Jewish Women may have changed over the past 73 years, we have throughout these years attempted to help people to become full participants in our society. For the past six years Toronto Section has been closely involved

with residents of Lawrence Heights. We are necessarily proud to point to the more than 20 pre-school programs within the North York Board of Education, schools which resulted from our pilot project beginning in September, 1964, at our own council house. The concept of community school and its acceptance by the community and the therapeutic day care centre are the other areas of our involvement in Lawrence Heights. As a result of our experience, and recognizing that other groups have been making similar presentations, we respectfully supply the following recommendations:

The federal government expand its program for day care centres; the federal government subsidize voluntary non-profit pre-school programs. By this we mean the day care programs as distinguished from junior kindergartens. That priority be given to the establishment of therapeutic day care centres in these areas.

Two, the use of volunteers be encouraged, especially those volunteers indigenous to the community. That facilities and physical and human resources within the community be explored and utilized.

No. 3, recognizing that the Senate Committee on Poverty has been federally initiated and aware that education is under provincial jurisdiction, the federal government encourage provincial departments of education to institute pre-school programs for disadvantaged children within the school system and (b) that community schools be an integral part of all communities, but particularly in areas of great need.

These are our actual recommendations. I would like to comment for a moment on pre-school programming because this appears to be a subject of question and certainly in the United States, Head start is a subject of great debate. Lest we be criticized as being chauvenistic, we still feel that we have overcome much of the criticism of operation head start. Because we, across Canada in some nine sections of the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada have such programs as pre-school programs which have family involvement so that not only is the child helped, but the whole family is helped and helped to understand why the child is helped.

Are there any questions?

The Chairman: We will get to the questions. Do you have anything else to say?

Mrs. Benjamin Gross, Research Volunteer, Service Department, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section: Just a few words about the day care centres and why we feel we need day care centres, not only in low income communities but in most communities across Canada.

In many families, especially in the lower income families of course, many of the families are one parent. These one parent families of course have many problems and the children do not receive the same enrichment or the same wordly knowledge that children, say, in middle-class or wealthy families do receive, and their potential cannot possibly be reached by attending junior kindergarten schools without some background or extra enrichment that the day care centre offers.

The therapeutic day care centre which the National Council of Jewish Women, Toronto Section, has been involved in in Lawrence Heights Community is a very unique type of day care centre. It was really meant just to help out mothers who were ill and had to be away from home and children that were not cared for properly.

The need for making use of all physical facilities and human resources within the community. For those who aren't aware, in the Lawrence Heights community almost every facility that was available was used and is being used. To elaborate on that, the community centre, which is operated by the North York Parks and Recreation, offered its building free of charge for community activities and for a day care centre. A church basement was used as another nursery school and interest programs for mothers. As to physical human resources, of course, the volunteers were used both from the community and outside the community and I just have to mention something very wonderful that is going on in the Lawrence Heights community.

There are resident volunteers from the central committee of the Mennonite Church. There is one couple who have given their services to the community and are resident volunteers in the day care centre in the hot lunch program, and in the interests group and in the recreational program within the community.

So, therefore, this program, that could be a very costly one, is able to run with no cost for rent, no cost for staff. Families are charged 50 cents a day which includes 45 cents for the hot lunch which is provided by the students at Yorkdale Vocational School. I don't know what actual course it is called, but the ones who do the cooking have actual subjects for whom to cook. The other nickel goes to cookies and juice, so the only expenses of that program, which truly is a unique one, are for the telephone and the supplies. Other than that everything is paid for or donated. And, certainly, this is a unique situation. I don't think that as a result of our own pre-school program where we have operated in our first three years entirely with volunteers, when we proposed it to the Ontario Department of Education, we recognized that staffing by teachers is necessary, and the same would be true of day care centres, that there certainly would have to be professional staff, but I think that we must not overlook the tremendous value of the volunteers. Certainly financially it makes a tremendous

difference, but also in terms of the human element that is brought into it.

I think that is all we wish to say to you.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: In regard to that, I notice on page 2 you are discussing the day care centres. Does this mean the children of working mothers?

Mrs. Vigoda: No, there are no children of working mothers. The Day Care Centre Act limits the number to 10, because of the staffing and the size of the facilities. Their usual number is 7. There is someone who is on a kidney machine several times a week. When I was there to-day, and I went in to take another look, there happened to be a young boy about four who had just been brought in. His sister had been choking and his mother took her daughter down to the hospital, and apparently it would be a several hour episode at the emergency, and consequently this young boy was able to have a place to go. There are two mothers who are back at school. They have many more children who do take part in the hot lunch program. The number fluctuates from 4 to 7, usually because there may be some children who go to school in the morning in kindergarten but will be there in the afternoon. Or, earlier in the year, there will be a large number in the morning, but this is not set up for working parents at all.

Senator Inman: But I just thought that if working mothers could go, I thought the hours would be longer.

Mrs. Vigoda: Yes, this would not be at all. If there are several children who are being taken down for doctors' appointments or for clinic appointments or for shots, and there are a number of families with many children, then several can be left while these appointments are being kept.

Senator Inman: Yes. And then, if I may ask another question on this supplement that you have put in Committee on Aims and Objectives. On page 3 you are speaking about the family involvement.

Indirectly, the father's interest is aroused (when there is a family living with the family) and opportunities are offered for the fathers to become familiar with the program and its goals.

Have you had a very good response to this program?

Mrs. Vigoda: Yes, excellent, extremely fine. If you will recall in our brief, some 30 per cent of the families are single parent families, so that decreases immediately the number of fathers to come out. We found the mothers, with their children, and we have sitting services for younger children because otherwise they would not be able to get out. At the present time

we are operating on a two-day-a-week program, perhaps four or five times during the year, depending upon what the mothers plan, what they would like to see. No more than four or five times during the year would there be a total family involvement. It might be an open house type of thing. It might be a picnic. But certainly not a year round program as some of the mothers would be having at the present time.

There are English classes for some of the mothers who do not speak English. There would be good rooming. There would be cooking, cooking on a budget, how to manage your finances, the new maths, how to understand. The principal comes over to explain what is going on in the school, not only in the re-school program but for their older children. They are taken to many community resources, the Science Centre, the Art Gallery, many things they would not otherwise be exposed to and understand.

Senator Inman: I find this very interesting, because I find points I haven't noticed before in some of the other briefs to date. So to me it is very interesting.

Mrs. Vigoda: Thank you.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would certainly like to commend the witnesses because I think it is a very excellent brief and there are a lot of points that are different to the ones we have had, and I think the dedicated work that this group does certainly deserves tremendous commendation. I only wish many, many organizations were doing the same.

On the brief to the Department of Education which you have attached, you refer on page 3 to qualified volunteers. What do you consider qualified volunteers and do they have to be qualified to take them on, or do you do sort of in-service training?

Mrs. Vigoda: I am going to ask Mrs. Wiener, who is our vice-president of the service, who certainly can speak most qualifiedly.

Mrs. Gerald Wiener, Vice-President (Service), National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section: The volunteers who are involved in the part of the program you are referring to, I believe in the student aid portion, in the pre-school and in the student aid, are either retired, semi-retired teachers or very well-trained laymen. They have a special interest in the program to begin with, and we have volunteer programs for them under the direction of the teacher. It is in the classroom they have a special training program from the school, but in our nursery school we use the resources of the qualified teacher that we have working.

Senator Fergusson: But you wouldn't just take anyone in to work there unless they had very good qualifications?

Mrs. Wiener: No.

Mrs. Vigoda: And also there are certain demands that are made on them in terms of consistency and responsibility. In any program this is vital. And I am very grateful that I am connected with an organization whose volunteers are as committed as they are.

Senator Fergusson: There is difficulty in having volunteers carrying on an organization and you find that you can't be sure that they are going to turn up, and you have no control over them because you are not paying them anything.

Mrs. Vigoda: We have found that when, providing good health, I think this is the one thing that does sometimes create a problem, but assuming good health within the family, that when there is a feeling of accomplishment, when a person does feel and does see that their role is a valid one, that our volunteers are above and beyond the call of duty, and I think that this perhaps is the crux of it, that the volunteer must feel that her job is important and she must get satisfaction, and I think that this is a very different thing from the prior history of volunteerism. If we accept this, that we are doing a non-paying professional job, that the quality of volunteers and the satisfaction that the volunteers get, does prevent the problem of the unreliable volunteer.

Senator Fergusson: There is just one thing. I would like to refer to the first recommendation in your brief to us on page 6 in which you recommend that the federal government expand its program for day care centres. Could you comment on that and could you tell me, do you think these could be extended to rural areas or would they be limited to urban areas?

Mrs. Vigoda: I have given it thought and I must admit being very much an urbanite, that I am not too familiar with many of the problems. And we spoke for a short time, could we recommend it, and we felt that we were not qualified to make these recommendations. Because does one speak of rural as small urban? We really felt that we were not qualified.

Senator Fergusson: I was just wondering if the distances would make it practically impossible to set up similar centres.

Mrs. Wiener: I think if we can acquaint it with the problems of getting the older children to their schools, we could include the pre-schooler as well under the same circumstances. There would have to be transportation.

Mrs. Vigoda: And certainly I think in terms of therapeutic day care centres, it is true there is a problem of transportation, but the need would be the same. Who looks after the three that are left at home if you are rushing someone to a hospital or if you have a weekly appointment because of some kind of physical condition that requires treatment?

Senator Fergusson: Thank you.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: With regard to what you were just speaking about, would there be a system of home-makers that could fill in there, what we call home-makers?

Mrs. Vigoda: Certainly, if there were enough home-makers and if one were able to provide the funds. I know that when many of us try to get a nurse for someone because of an illness it is difficult to get a nurse. I think at the same time the situation would be comparable, but it might be difficult to get someone in that emergency.

Senator Inman: Well, I just know in my own home town which is Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, there are a group of women. They are not especially trained, but they have been mothers and grandmothers and they do that just with no special training. Speaking of the recommendations again, the recommendation to the use of volunteers being encouraged, especially those volunteers indigenous to the community. That would be a good idea, don't you think?

Mrs. Vigoda: We feel very strongly about it.

Senator Inman: I would like to give a little instance with regard to, again, I am speaking of my own province. A few retarded children and partially retarded children had a teacher who didn't do very much at all. Then one of the girls, a sister of one of these retarded children, went away and took a course and she came back and they all knew her, you see, and they just went along beautifully with it. So I was just thinking of this, where you have it there, the use of volunteers in the neighbourhood.

Mrs. Vigoda: Actually, this is why I made the comment. In the day care centre, where women in the community are acting as volunteers, to use another example, I get tremendous pride on seeing this. Lawrence Heights does not have a ratepayers' association because of the nature of its community, but when we see the leadership of this neighbourhood association, which is similar in function to a ratepayer's association, when we see the mothers who have been graduates from our mothers' program acting as leadership within the neighbourhood association, then we

see the tremendous value of those people who are familiar with the problems of the area, and I think too, that once people are re-assured, in terms of their own potential and their own capabilities, that they can make a very valid contribution. I think that this is the horrible mistake that volunteers made for many years of wanting to do for people, and I think that we have come to realize that we must let them. And I think the resident volunteer, in any program, has a tremendous validity. If we can help to bring her skills out, to train her, and then to be a volunteer within his or her community, I think that we, too, have made a valid contribution.

Senator Inman: Thank you.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I join with my other colleagues in thanking the ladies for this very thoughtful and warm-hearted brief. I notice it is dated February, 1970, and attached to it is another brief dated October, 1965, which is somewhat in the same terms, addressed to the Ontario Department of Education. Would it be a fair question to ask you, have you had any results?

Mrs. Vigoda: Yes, very definitely. In the contents of our brief we have made reference to two special recommendations that have come from the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education. That is their recommendation. I think there was some 156 recommendations, if I am not mistaken, but I am not quite sure, somewhere in that neighbourhood. But there was an entire section devoted to pre-school education, where their original term of reference did not include pre-school education, and we asked because of our experience with pre-school education could we make a submission, which we did. So we were delighted when these recommendations included an area on pre-school education.

There were two recommendations which we thought were particularly in response to our experience, that is permitting a school board to establish pre-school programs in accordance with the needs of the jurisdiction. That is on page 3 of the February, 1970, brief.

Senator Cook: Yes.

Mrs. Vigoda: At the bottom of the page, Recommendation 112. Require that all high density housing projects, pre-school and playground accommodation be provided by developers, the cost of such accommodation to be borne by them. I don't know what the experience has been in some of the smaller communities. In Toronto there are more than 20 pre-school programs. We worked initially with North York. Well, we still are working with them.

Senator Cook: With whom?

Mrs. Vigoda: With North York Board of Education. For three years we had it as our pilot project in consultation with them, but we did the entire financing. At the end of the third year we were delighted that North York took over the entire budget. That is, the transportation of the students, providing of the teacher, and providing of material. In the fifth year they started introducing pre-school programs to those areas in North York which they felt would benefit and at this time there are some 20 pre-school programs which we feel are a direct result of our program. There are, I think, four other sections of the National Council of Jewish Women in Ontario that have similar pre-school programs and in each instance they, of necessity, are working with the boards of education of those cities demonstrating the validity and the importance of this type of program to those children who, because of financial or cultural conditions, need the help of such a program to become integrated within the total school curriculum.

One criticism that was levelled at operation head start, which we feel we have overcome, is the family involvement. And right across Canada this is an integral part of our program, the involvement of the family.

The Chairman: Well, just while you are talking about that, we met an ethnic group this afternoon and their main complaint was that there was no involvement of the family with the teaching of the children.

Mrs. Vigoda: May I ask, is that the Portuguese Canadians?

The Chairman: Was it? No. But they were a very, very important ethnic group here, and who made it as their point to us, indicated there wasn't this involvement. When you said that you had improved on head start, or made some improvement by involvement of the family. We hadn't heard about it before.

Senator Cook: Excuse me. They are talking about different groups, age groups.

Mrs. Vigoda: Well, head start would be the same thing. Head start would be pre-school, four years old.

Senator Cook: But they weren't talking about pre-school. They were talking about school. These ladies are talking about pre-school.

The Chairman: Yes, these were children of the immigrants.

Senator Cook: But these ladies are talking about pre-start, the ones they are talking about are pre-school.

The Chairman: Well, there isn't any involvement. You are quite right in saying that. This is already in

school, but if there had been involvement before they went in, there would be involvement beyond that. They haven't got either involvement at the present time. That is the point. Now, they may have it in a very local area, but generally that is one of the great faults. We have heard it for years. So when we talk about head start being a success, there is great doubt in our minds about the success of head start from everything we learned from the experiment in the United States.

Mrs. Vigoda: I think that the point is well taken and I think that this is one reason why the community school, about which we really said very little in our main question, I think that this is an area that does bring family involvement in where it is not only in the pre-school but the total family involvement, as long as children are at school. Of course, it serves those who do not have school-age children too, but this perhaps is a way of involving the total family in the community school situation, beginning perhaps at pre-school, but continuing on into the community school principally.

Senator Cook: We were out to the school last night and the headmaster told us that it was a community school. Well now, was that why you chose Lawrence Heights, because it was a community school, or just by choice?

Mrs. Vigoda: No, the community school is only about three years old. We have been connected with Lawrence Heights now for six years, but we were meeting with them for a year before that. There were some obvious needs within the community. We had approached North York about the time that head start was just beginning and of course it is still accepted that the early days of school education do affect one's whole attitude and success in school. We were fortunate that the director of special services in North York Board of Education suggested to us, and the principal was most receptive and most anxious that these students be helped and this is how we began. But actually, it was as a result of our successes and our success with the mothers and the mothers' awareness that they have more to benefit, and the whole family has more to benefit.

The community school was an offshoot of our pre-school program and of all its possible ramifications.

Senator Cook: And were you sort of the originators of the group mentioned on page 5? You refer to a planning committee. Were your ladies the ones who initiated the plan?

Mrs. Vigoda: This is on page 5 of the Committee on Aims and Objectives?

Senator Cook: You say, "A planning committee was formed of representatives of all interested groups and agencies." Did you bring that about?

Mrs. Gross: Yes. Do you want me to elaborate on that?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Gross: We were called in to assist in the establishing of the day care centre. And the social service consultant and I called in all the representatives from all the agencies who would be involved in the neighbourhood centre and the ones listed here are all the ones that were involved.

Senator Cook: And you feel now you have gone beyond the experimental stage? You feel that you have?

Mrs. Gross: Yes.

The Chairman: One of the things that is concerning us very much is the single female head of family and your first recommendation is that the federal government expand its program for day care centres. If you didn't know before you will know now that the federal government contributes 50 per cent of the cost of day care centres, without limit. This is how it is. If there is any need, and we think there is great need for day care centres, the pressure should be on the provincial government who can originate the scheme and continue with it. There is no problem as far as the federal Government is concerned.

Senator Cook: That is why I asked, ladies, on page 5 of this brief to the Ontario Department of Education.

The Chairman: Oh, yes, the second one?

Senator Cook: No. "Serious consideration be given to the establishment of pre-school nursery programs for disadvantaged children within the public school system." I was wondering what success you had with that particular recommendation.

Mrs. Vigoda: Actually, great success. For instance, North York has selected those areas which they feel have been of benefit. They have not done it across the board in production of pre-school programs. In some instances it may be because of English being the second language, and they may feel that the children would benefit from this type of program. But certainly, in Toronto and in North York, and I cannot speak for the other burroughs, but Toronto also has some 20 junior kindergarten centres in the areas of need, where there is either cultural disadvantage or a language problem, or whatever it is. I do not know about the other burroughs. I made reference to the other cities in which we have sections. We know that it has been well received. The Minister of Education keeps saying that it is up to each local school board to adopt those recommendations from the Hall-Dennis report. Not many of the recommendations need provincial legislation, but merely implementation. So

it is up to either the local citizens to put pressure on the local school board or, where there is an organization like the National Council of Jewish Women or Junior League, which is also interested in similar types of programs, perhaps the individual voluntary organizations have a responsibility to put pressure on the local school boards where there is need.

I would like to just say as an aside, at the time that we presented this brief which is now five years ago, we were the first section in Canada to start the program and when, as a result of our success, the other sections went to other school boards and municipal councils: several of the cities said, "We have no poor in our city." And they were somewhat shocked when they suddenly realized that they do have poor in their city. And they now have thriving pre-school programs, but certainly community, citizen pressure is necessary for it to be broadened, even in Ontario.

Senator Cook: Let us hope you have as much success in your brief of 1970 as you did in your brief of 1965.

Mrs. Vigoda: We would be most grateful.

Senator Everett: I wonder if I might just ask one question of you. The chairman was referring to the fact that the head start operation does not, for one reason, have the best reputation as a successful program. Would you be able to comment on that at all and give us any enlightenment?

Mrs. Vigoda: From our limited experience it seems to be that it starts off well, but I think that any of these things have to be reinforced. You can't just teach a child at four and then sort of forget about them when they are five and six. So their horizons are expanded and they come into the public school system with teachers, many of whom are not well equipped, because of the training that they have had. They are primarily middle-class teachers with the same sets of values they came to the school with. And I think that this is where the weakness lies, that they merely that one year and the need for these students continues for many years. This was why we were concerned with follow-up, and this is why we are grateful at Lawrence Heights, that there are student aids within the school system, many of our volunteers and there are some volunteers within the parents who are there acting as student aids, but they need the reinforcement. One year is almost a teaser and I think this is where the criticism lies.

Mrs. Gross: Psychologists and child specialists tell us that children start to learn at the ripe age of one and a half to two years. Perhaps these children aren't being taken into these pre-school programs at an early enough age, which is a problem for day care centres because we keep children for two years.

Senator Everett: One of the submissions yesterday was to the effect that the head start type of program might not work because it is not integrated with the parents and that the child is getting some good out of it during the day which is being destroyed in the conflict with the parents at night. Have you found that?

Mrs. Vigoda: Very definitely. I remember one incident where we had to spend almost a whole session with a group of mothers explaining how important it was to stick up on the wall the works of art that their youngsters come home with, because the youngsters could come home with it and they would promptly throw it out. We spent some time about why it is important to encourage the youngster, who certainly isn't an artist, but just the fact of seeing his or her work up on the wall with that parent's acceptance. And I feel very strongly, I think we all feel very strongly about the importance of the parental involvement.

Senator Everett: Thank you.

The Chairman: Mrs. Vigoda, thank you very much, and the other ladies with you, for presenting a very useful and very imaginative concept of how things could be. You made a real contribution on two aspects of which we will take note. We thank you for coming.

Mrs. Vigoda: Thank you. It was our pleasure.

The Chairman: Senators, Mr. Walter Pitman, a former member of the House of Commons and a member of the Provincial House, a man with an excellent background in education for many, many years, has asked to be heard on a special aspect which I thought we ought to hear.

Mr. Walter Pitman, M.P.P.: Honourable Chairman, senators and ladies and gentlemen, thank you for this opportunity to say just a few words. I can assure you, senators, I won't be too long, but I just wanted to isolate one problem that bothers me about the way we treat the poor in our schools. I am convinced that schooling in isolation as we look upon it will simply not solve the problem of the poor, because, in essence, what we are doing, I think, is isolating the education experience, whereas I think what we must do is to bring the educational experience into the community as a continuous force. The thing that we are realizing now is that even in the pocket-strap program, head start programs that are taking place in the United States and other parts of the world, there is a great deal of feeling, I think, that we are not solving the problems, that these alone won't solve the problem.

I think the nursery school experience that goes along with charitable organizations. . .

The Chairman: He was not in the room when we were discussing it, so he does not know what was said earlier.

Mr. Pitman: I think we are realizing now that we must have some kind of co-ordinated approach and I am trying to find a role for the school in this whole area of poverty. I think we are realizing that just more and more education does not do it.

There has been a tremendous escalation in the amount of education that has been given to the poor people in the last 10 years, and yet they still tend to be drop-outs. Even when they stay in school they still tend to go into vocational areas and still tend to take courses that produce obsolete skills. It doesn't really break the poverty syndrome, and I think one of the probable problems is that the fact that the schools still purvey the values and attitudes, it still uses materials and teaching methods which are not conducive to education so far as the average poor student is concerned.

I think that our faith in education has to be rationalized at this point in time. I think we have tended to think that education will solve poverty just like education will solve world peace, education will solve unemployment. I think what we probably most need to do is to recognize that the school represents a threat to the home rather than a hope for the child so far as the poor are concerned.

I was very much taken by that woman. I was here yesterday morning listening for two or three hours, and there was a woman who I thought put a very poignant story of her child going, after they moved into another area, and her child going to school, and she suddenly found that her child didn't want to go to school any longer because she couldn't pay for the little extras, you know, the \$4 for the activity fee, and so much for the running shoes, and all of these things. And, as a father of four children, I just simply am staggered by the amount of pressures put on parents of the poor in the educational system of any province. And I am sure there is scarcely a day, a week, that one of my children doesn't come asking for a dollar for school for something, and I think with compulsory education we are also giving compulsory amelioration for the poor. I think there should be something in the legislation of all our provinces that states that once a child goes into a school there can be no further requests for money from parents for any activity. What one child gets all of the children get. And the children should not be asked for pay \$5 for a trip to Ottawa or something like that. It does represent a humiliation for many parents of the poor.

The other thing that bothers me at the present time is that we have a feeling at this point in time that the educational system is exacerbating the generation gap. At no time have parents been less able to understand what is going on in the school. We have the changes of

courses, changes in curriculum. The kids bring home a curriculum that looks like a gas bill. He brings home a curriculum you can't understand. He is dealing with a mathematics they can no longer help the child with. This is true in all the subject areas, but I don't think it is true of any proof as it is for the poor, and I think that the poor are the least likely to go to the school, because for them in most cases the school is a place of humiliation, defeat and failure. So the ordinary programs of home and school and meetings of teachers and parents just don't work for the poor.

What I am suggesting in this brief is some kind of a program has to be initiated which will admit the school to the community, to the homes of the poor, and I am suggesting a program which will allow the school to provide short-term training programs for mothers of poor children so that they could come into the school and work in the cafeterias and classrooms and low-skill jobs, but ones that have some relevance to the school, and where the parents can see their children in school and perhaps end this gulf, this shadow, that gets between the poor parent and the school.

I think this is something which would also be relevant to providing some degree of money. I think the mother could well be paid two or three dollars to spend the morning in the school. I have seen a project like this for ordinary parents at work and the difference it makes in the way in which parents can look at the school and the way in which their kids look at their parents in the school. I think this is really exciting and I think it is perhaps one way we could break down this wide gulf.

I think we have to do something very specific in teacher education. I don't think the teachers yet understand the problems of poverty. I don't think a kind of amateurish search to discover where most of the teachers came from, and particularly principals, in our schools, and, you know, a young person who is in the teaching profession and who is a principal, certainly in the 1960s and 1970s, undoubtedly was from the middle class. In the '40s and '50s and early '60s, undoubtedly. It has only been in the last while that we have really been, if we have at all, able to get down below a certain level. At the university it is still pretty high. I think essentially there are middle class oriented people who are teaching. They don't understand the poor. They don't understand the problems of poverty, and I think this is a major problem, the attitudes, that we deal with it in a so sophisticated way that we end up with slow-learner classes or opportunity classes. We find all kinds of jargons to put on kids who are poor. I think this is a major problem.

In Ontario we are starting to teach education, that we will be able to find courses in psychology, economics, in these areas where we can have a clear understanding for teachers of what the problems of the poor are.

The other area which I am interested in really, and I hope it is to be the final area, is the area of the use of the school. To a large extent I think the poor look upon the school as the outpost of the establishment. I don't think they really look upon it as their school. I think getting the parents in the school is the first aim, but I am sure the committee, and I tried to follow your proceedings over the last several months, I think you have realized the great deal of dispersal that there is in all the activities in social agencies, the fact that poor people get passed from one agency to another. One deals with housing, one deals with the children's problems, one family counselling services. They get passed around and around and around and I think most social workers are beginning to realize the importance of a co-ordinated family oriented approach. I think this, more than anything else, is a role the school can supply, some role in co-ordinating. The school is the only building which represents the public interest which can be found in nearly every community. It is the only building. I think it is time we looked upon schools as public buildings. I think it is time we look upon the school as a place where we can co-ordinate social and family service organizations. They could be placed where we could begin to identify with people who are poor in every community, and we could begin to activate a program of action at the local level where I think it really has to happen.

I realize that every poor person doesn't have children, although I think the fact the rich have money, the poor have children, must be taken in sight. But, nevertheless, I think the school could be most effective local agencies for co-ordinating the services all kinds of services in helping the poor.

I would hope this committee will turn to a guaranteed income of some kind, but I think more than that will be necessary if we are going to get something exciting going about the problem of poverty.

In my personal view, I hope that what the '70's will be all about will be getting some distribution of our natural resources. I mean, after a decade of concentration on economic growth.

The Chairman: Well, I am not going to let you go for a while. Let's just talk about schools for a little while. When you hear a person talk about community schools, other witnesses have told us about something new that has cropped up within the last four or five years. Now, what do they mean exactly? What are they getting at?

Mr. Pitman: I think they are getting at the idea that the schools should be regarded as a public resource. Now, unfortunately, I think in many cases what the community school tends to become is simply an opening of the building. One of the most ludicrous aspects of our whole system of education in many cases in Ontario, I am sure across Canada, the school

cept closed from 4.00 o'clock in the afternoon until 6.00 o'clock the next morning. You have billions of dollars worth of buildings sitting there doing nothing, and often recreational services are building other facilities to try to accommodate it, but it has to be more than the opening of the school. We have to find ways of getting the poor into the schools on their terms, not in terms of being organized by the home and school associations or some other group. It should be a place where tenants' associations and social groups are at home and are invited and encouraged to come and develop their own activities where they can be brought into theatre groups, art classes. I think we are going towards a leisure society and, strangely enough, many of the poor have a leisure which many of us would like to have, but they are not being able to effectively use it, either to improve themselves as human beings or to improve their skills as an effective part of the community.

The Chairman: Go ahead, senator.

Senator Everett: Just dealing with the first two recommendations you have made. It seems to me that in your first recommendation, and I put this in the interrogative sense, I wonder, in saying that there should be no programs in school that have any cost to the family if you are not, in doing that, replacing the right of the family or if you are not proscribing the right of the family to decide for its child and if you wouldn't be better, and replacing that indeed with a purely administrative decision, because I could see if you said that, then there would have to be some sort of curb on it. Otherwise schools would go ahead and have all sorts of programs. They would be all over the place on skiing junkets and everything else. So then the school board would have to be involved and eventually the province would have to be involved and they would say you have to have one skiing weekend a year and you can go to Ottawa once between grade 1 and grade 12. I wonder if you wouldn't give consideration to retaining the right of the family to decide and give emphasis on the ability to pay. Do you see what I'm hitting at?

Mr. Pitman: I see what you are hitting at.

Senator Everett: Do you want to deal with that before I deal with your other point?

Mr. Pitman: Perhaps I might, senator. I think you have got a very valid point, that we don't want to throw everything down to a very low minimum, but I really isn't it time that we began to realize that education is not something that goes on in a classroom, that out of classroom education should be a part of the curriculum and should be the responsibility of the school board through grants from the Department of Education. I see no reason why the kids living in a wealthy neighbourhood where there isn't any

pressure in terms of family income, to have trips to Ottawa and trips to the zoo and ski weekends, if that is part of the educational program, whereas the kids who are living in the poorer areas should be deprived of those kinds of opportunities. I don't think if we are going to get any kind of exciting educational system it should be dependent upon family income. I am realistic enough to feel that I just don't believe that any committee, not even this committee, could suggest a level could become high enough that the children of the poor or going to have enough money to contribute to all of these various kinds of junkets.

Senator Everett: If you are talking about the educational program, let's call it the educational junket, that is available to all schools. That can be an administrative matter. There is no problem. The school administration provides the funds. I say, there is no problem, and I can agree on that.

Mr. Pitman: I see.

Senator Everett: It seems to me the problem you raised was the one raised by the woman yesterday, by the woman who had moved to the neighbourhood in which the difference in income was so great that the school program, this is over and above the educational program, it was very natural to the parents living in that neighbourhood, but was an insurmountable obstacle to her. Now, a ski weekend is not educational.

Mr. Pitman: I agree.

Senator Everett: But it exists in the school. Two of my children last week were on a ski weekend.

Mr. Pitman: Well, this is an extra-curricular activity.

Senator Everett: Yes, but like so many of these extra-curricular activities, they are sponsored by the school because the school is the centre of activity in a lot of these things.

Mr. Pitman: But some of these are part of the school program. They take place during the day.

Senator Everett: If they do that, that is another matter.

Mr. Pitman: But I think that woman gave an interesting insight into the problem. If we are going to have some cohesion in ordinary society, if we are going to get away from a ghetto, surely we can't have schools where poor people can't send their children. What happened to that woman? She went back to the part of the city where her child, she hoped, would at least be able to stay in school and not become embarrassed and humiliated.

Senator Everett: Well, I think where you and I differ is that what she brings out is the fact that if you are going to de-ghettoize public housing, then you had better provide enough income so that they can live in that new neighbourhood.

Mr. Pitman: We are both agreed on that.

Senator Everett: Just moving them to a new neighbourhood isn't going to be the answer.

Mr. Pitman: Exactly.

Senator Everett: I come on my second point and that is that it seems to me that part of the conflict between home and school that you refer to is that school tends to assault the dignity of the parent. I just wonder if whether putting the mother in, I think you used the term menial?

Mr. Pitman: No, I didn't. I said low skill. They are two very different terms.

Senator Everett: I don't know where I got that word, menial.

The Chairman: But just even having her there, working behind the counter with the other children.

Senator Everett: That is really the point. Does this not contribute to this lack of dignity, because that child doesn't see the other children's parents doing the same thing. I wonder if there isn't a danger. I am not trying to throw cold water on your very worthy suggestions.

Senator Cook: If some of the other mothers would volunteer.

Mr. Pitman: I think this is quite possible. I see situations where you have, in essence, the whole spectrum of parents. But the ones that I felt seemed to get the greatest degree of help and understanding from the school and what their children are doing in the school and also the greatest help from the students and feeling at one with the school were the poor parents. I don't see this as menial work. They could be teachers' assistants. There are lots of things they could do that would not require a great deal of skill. Certainly it would require teaching, training and education. I am not suggesting they could be sweeping floors, doing that kind of thing. I mean a part of the educational program and I think there are a great many things that could be done which would cut down the cost of teachers, if we could have some of these things done by people with lesser skills.

Senator Cook: Bearing in mind they only spend so much time in the schoolroom itself, what are your ideas or impressions of further organized sports, the

cadet corps and the WRENS, girl guides and boy scouts and so on?

Mr. Pitman: Well, senator, I rather find it hard to deal with a missed bag because I don't place the cadet corps in the same areas as the girl guides and boy scouts. Quite frankly, I don't see much point in a school system which is being liberalized and we are talking about world peace and we are trying to develop an international concern, I don't really see much place for the cadet corps. I do see places for boy scouts and girl guides and I think that comes back to the community school. I thought occasions where the Home and School, because it would cost \$7 to keep a caretaker there for a few hours, this is restriction of the use of these places. I hope this is starting to disappear.

Senator Cook: Well, the point of the question, doesn't matter if you call it the cadet corps. Anything you like, boy groups or girl groups, I just use that as a familiar term.

Mr. Pitman: I think they are very valuable. At the same time I think the poor are the least likely to use in the school. You have to make a substantial effort to get them to take part. For one thing, the whole competitive bit shows a difference in values. In many cases the poor child quite often does not have the same kind of competitive zeal which is demanded in playing a football game, and some of these forms of activities.

The Chairman: You know, from listening to you to-day I felt that you were saying good-bye to the Home and School Clubs and Associations and that sort of thing.

Mr. Pitman: No, I am one of the most earnest supporters that the Home and School has. I am trying to get them to become more active and to play an important effective part, but there again you see the Home and School is organized essentially, I think, to deal with the periphery. In many cases the Home and School doesn't really get into the nuts and bolts of the educational system. This is why people leave the Home and School Association, because they are doing things which are not really basic. They are not understanding the educational system any better, belonging to the Home and School. What I would like to see happen is have school counsellings where you would have parents as well as students and teachers and the principal talking about the administration of the curriculum of the school and making decisions which would advise the principal in the direction he should be going. I think this would be a tremendous input from the whole community, if you had school advisory committees of parents. I think the Home and School sort of gather to talk about gardening. Even to bring the parents together to have a one-to-one

discussion with a teacher is not as valuable as giving the parents an opportunity to really find out what is happening to their kids and in this age I think that has become more and more important.

Senator Cook: It doesn't matter what you call it, I mean a good Home and School Association is much better than a poor indifferent one, where people are taking part.

Mr. Pitman: I agree. But I think that the school council which was actually taking part in what is going on at school would be far more likely to encourage an active Home and School, because there would be some feeling of input. I have a little feeling about this whole system of education and democracy. We are reaching a point now that our educational system is going in a very different direction to society. For example, in Ontario you have heard about the Hall-Dennis Report, which talks about a society which is non-competitive, the fact that we have got to get rid of this obsession of work, but society is still not aware of this. In some ways your schools become an almost subversive movement, completely changing the attitude of the children and the parents are away out in left field. They don't know what is going on. And I think we've got to educate the parents as to what the school system is trying to do or we have got to try to allow the parent to have some degree of input so they have some part in society.

Senator Cook: I want to make one comment. I don't know who is out in left field, parents or children.

The Chairman: Mr. Pitman, thank you for an interesting and stimulating half hour.

Mr. Pitman: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: The committee thanks you for your part. That concludes our meeting until tonight.

The committee adjourned.

EVENING SESSION

Toronto, Wednesday, March 11, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty (Sub-committee "A") met this day at 8.00 p.m. at St. Stephen House, Toronto.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Ladies and gentlemen, I think I really need be introduced in my old riding, one that I represented for so many years. One man walked over to me just now and said, "Dave, I haven't seen you for

25 years, not since I canvassed for you." I guess I haven't been getting back often enough.

In any event, you did not come to just look at me. I am here in my capacity as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Poverty. Sitting on my right is Senator Inman of Prince Edward Island. The senator sitting next to her is Senator Fergusson of New Brunswick. On my left is Senator Cook of Newfoundland and beside him is Senator Everett of Manitoba.

You may wonder why there are only five of us here tonight. We have another committee sitting out on O'Connor Drive doing much the same as we are, all in an endeavour to cover as much territory as possible. That is the reason why there are only the five of us here with you.

Let me just say a few words to you at this time. As I have said, we are the Senate Committee on Poverty. We have been authorized to study poverty in all its aspects. When we go around the country — and I will tell you something about our trip — many people say to us, "Well, this has been studied a thousand times. You ought to know everything there is to know about poverty." It may surprise most of you, and I think I should tell you this, that never before in the history of Canada has there been a total study of poverty. There have been studies of welfare, studies of housing, studies of incomes, many small segments have been studied, but never has poverty in its totality been studied. For that reason we are devoting much dedication, and hard work. The members of the Senate Committee who are doing it are doing it almost to the exclusion of everything else. They are devoting themselves in a most dedicated fashion to the problem of poverty.

We have had hearings for four or five months now. Many national organizations have come before us. We have been out visiting in the various provinces. This is our first visit to Toronto. A week from now we go to Montreal for a week in an effort to hear and see and assess the feeling of the people there.

We are not novices. We are not new at this process. We have all lived in Canada. We know what it is all about. We have heard many, many stories, some pitiful, some hard; in any event, they were all about people who are in need, people who are poor.

We cannot just jump to conclusions about poverty. People say to us, "When are you going to get this ready?" Well, you know poverty did not come to us in a day. We have to do some thinking about it. We have to make sure that we have heard from as many people as we possibly can. That is why we have come here. I said to my fellow senators, if there are problems, this place has them, has all of them, a little bit of everything.

We hear this from time to time, that one of the things that the people complain about is the lack of

information as to what is available or where they can go to find out things. That will be seen in one of the briefs to be presented here tonight. A man went to the Manpower office and was not told that he could go to the welfare office and obtain whatever he required as a matter of right. When that official was faced with this he said, "That is another department; it is not my business." Well, it is his business. We have to make it his business. Those are the sort of things where it is important for people to know what is available and where it is available, and we have to see what we can do to co-ordinate these services under one roof so that people who need them can go there and get them.

I know that there are many immigrant problems in this community particularly. I realize that immigrants are having the same trouble that we had as immigrants 50 years ago. However, don't forget that the one thing this country most needs is people, the best kind of people we can obtain, the best trained people we can welcome.

Now, we may make a mistake in not explaining to people at the far end that there are some difficulties in this country, that it is very hard to find gold on the streets of Toronto or any other place. That is not going to dissuade an immigrant from coming here. He has made up his mind and he wants to come. This is the greatest decision he makes in his life, leaving what is behind and going some place new. In the main, no matter how things are in this country, it is better than what he had where he was.

So he comes, and we have to make sure that we make things as easy as possible for him, arrange things in such a way as to place him in the community as quickly as possible, to reduce the hardships he has, such as the family learning the language and so on. These are not new problems; they have always been here. You faced them. They are problems that have to be overcome.

I cannot tell you what we will recommend. At this time we could not tell you because we have not heard the last of it yet, but you can rest assured that we know what people need, we know what they need in the way of income, we know what they need in the way of services, we know what they need in the way of decent wages, we know the things that they need and they require. We will make up our minds and make such recommendations as we think are fit and acceptable.

If we did not think this was all worth while, that we could be of some service, we would not be doing it. We could sit in Ottawa. It is comfortable there. Instead of that we are out listening to the people. We sat on Tuesday from 9 in the morning until 10.30 at night. I am not as young as I used to be. That is sort of tiring. It is tiring on all of these people. We are doing the same thing tonight, and we will be doing the same thing for part of tomorrow. We do it because we think

someone should do it. Because we are older citizens we think the responsibility is ours and that we can do it better than anyone else can. That is why we are here. You can rest assured that you are in good hands.

I will now start the program by calling on David Maben to give us an outline of his brief. Let me just say this first, I am going to have half a dozen people who will come up and speak to you. When we are finished with the speeches, then we will have questions. The first questions will be those of the senators and then you will come in with your questions. If you have any trouble about interpretation of a language, just speak to Mr. Mira.

Mr. David Maben, Executive Director, St. Christopher House: Thank you very much, Senator Croxall. We are very pleased on behalf of St. Christopher House to have the Senate Committee here tonight. I am also very pleased to see so many of the people from the area who have responded to our invitation to come and participate along with us and speak out their own way about the things that they feel are the problems of priority.

We have a brief from St. Christopher House that we just finished today. We have not enough copies for everyone, but if people would like copies later on, they would give me their names, I will make sure they get copies. We have prepared a copy of our recommendations, which appear in this brief, and give them to each and every one of you, I hope, as you came in the door.

I would like, knowing that I only have a few minutes, to summarize the remarks that we have made in conjunction with the recommendations that you have before you. So, very quickly, I will go through some of the main points that we have raised.

First of all, St. Christopher House draws its membership from a broader geographic area than the two urban renewal areas that are closest to us here. We are in the midst of the Kensington urban renewal area, and just south of Dundas Street we have another comparable geographic area which was developed and whose development is not yet finished, known as the Alexandra Park urban renewal area.

In the Alexandra Park urban renewal area there was quite a number of Ukrainian, Polish and other European people who were landowners down there. Since the public housing units have gone in there, there has been some change in the ethnic structure of that area, so that there are fewer Portuguese in particular, I would say, than there were before, and a variety of other factors; I think there are a few more single-parent families than we had before.

In the Kensington urban renewal area we still have a great many ethnic groups represented, the largest being the Portuguese people, most of whom are from the Azores Islands. In addition to that there are

creasing numbers of Chinese people who are starting to move across Spadina Avenue to our area.

Moving along to page 2 of the brief, in both of those areas there has been a noticeable number of Negro families. Within the last few years I would expect that there are a few more West Indian families than there have been in the past.

St. Christopher House has made a great effort, through the community development program that we've worked on in this area, to encourage people to organize and speak up on their own behalf about their own problems. Later on we are going to have representations from the two community groups of Alexandra Park and Kensington giving their points of view as to what the problems are in this area.

Our agency's brief, then, will focus upon the problems of poverty that have been brought by some of the neighbourhoods to the staff of St. Christopher House. I would like to point out that these problems do not necessarily express the concerns of the total, or even the majority, of the residents of this area as we do not pretend to have had direct contact with all the residents living in the area.

Generally, most of our younger children who come to programs come from these two urban renewal areas, but when you look at the teen activities and the adult and older adult activities, people come from a much wider area and some from very great distances abroad.

The brief deals with the problems under four headings: immigrants, youth, families and the aged. The problems encountered by immigrants are pretty general to immigrants anywhere, but I think those problems encountered by immigrants in low-income areas are perhaps more upsetting because many of them come with fewer financial resources and they have fewer language resources as well. Quite often they come with large families to support. One of the greatest needs for immigrants is the improvement of information services of the Canadian government in the lands of origin before they come to Canada.

Another problem that we raise on page 3, about halfway down that page, is the problem of the immigrant who is reluctant in many cases to seek help from government offices for a variety of reasons. Perhaps some of the people here who are immigrants themselves will speak on that particular matter.

The interpretation services available in most public libraries are, and I put this very strongly, disgracefully inadequate. The churches and social agencies in areas like ours are doing their best, I would say, to try to provide these interpreting services. "Best" may be too good a word because I think even we are very neglectful of this particular type of need.

I have put in, as Appendix A, which appears at the bottom of page 12, a story of a man who came to this

country with his family. He happened to be an immigrant, but the problems of this man might apply to anyone.

The fact that he came across and learned English and learned the welder's trade, first of all, was quite an important accomplishment for him. He then brought his family across to Canada. He had about five children, as I recall. At one point he became unemployed and was receiving \$38 a week. He then was evicted because he did not have enough money for his family to live on, naturally. The Ontario Housing Corporation found him an apartment, but this was in a very extreme west end suburb.

This man went to the Manpower office for supplementary assistance, but the Manpower officer did not inform him of the availability from the municipal welfare office of further assistance which he could get. When I spoke to the officer he also related to me that it was too bad that the provincial training centres had trained too many welders as there were hundreds of them out of work at that time.

This immigrant then hitch-hiked out west. He found a job out there and he came back for his family. I asked the Manpower officer if he would then provide the transportation costs of the family going west to where this immigrant had found a job. The officer said, "No, because there are welders' jobs in this area", and he mentioned where they were. However, they were in the very extreme east end of the city and the immigrant was not able to pay the transportation costs involved in getting there and back. So Mr. X went without any assistance other than the little help we gave him from St. Christopher House. He had in the meantime, unfortunately, incurred several hundred dollars worth of debts.

The recommendations that we would make then, briefly, are:

1. That the Department of Immigration take steps to improve the information services at their offices in foreign countries to ensure that prospective immigrants are informed of the difficulties they will encounter as well as the wealth they may anticipate in Canada; that the Department gather the appropriate information from existing organizations that represent immigrants:

2. That the Federal Government take steps to co-ordinate related government, social and educational services at least at the municipal and perhaps, at the community level; the recommendations of the Winnipeg Social Service Audit regarding public 'Community Health and Welfare Centres' have some merit;

3. That the various governments increase tuition and living grants to immigrants to allow them to 'survive' while they complete up-grading skills and

training to enable them to obtain employment in the area of their competence;

4. That all levels of government improve their interpreting and translation services immediately using the many trained and competent immigrants now employed at much lower levels; that consideration be given to providing funds to churches and social agencies who now provide these services.

The next area is families. We found there were a variety of government regulations in this field. We have included in our brief at this point only a comment about the Ontario Housing Corporation and their restrictions on the occupants of public housing which limit the incentives of families who wish to increase their incomes to meet rising costs. I point out that if a mother wants to go out and work to supplement the income that the father is already bring in, first of all, if she is in public housing, she has to pay income tax, which is paid to the federal government, and then her rent will go up, as a result of which some money will be going to the provincial government, and then, if she has to put children in day care, that means she has to make additional payments to the municipal government. So you have three levels of government that are taking money away from her if she plans to go out and work and is living in public housing.

We also point out on page 5 that that type of situation arises with teen-agers who also wish to have increases in their incomes to not only help the family but help themselves. The same type of problems occur through these regulations. Sometimes we have had situations where the teens who have dropped out of school have found it cheaper to go out and live outside the home than stay in, and therefore the regulations in that respect contribute to breaking up the family.

We also point out that it is quite true that the poor pay more—for a great variety of reasons, among which are lack of money-saving devices such as sewing machines and freezers and other things like that, things that people with greater incomes have and which they can use to help in these times of higher prices of food, clothing, etc.

We also point out the need for day care services. There has been a lot of talk about day care for working mothers, but we point out that the non-working mother might also benefit from day care that is given on a day-a-week basis or something of that nature because in today's society there are a lot of tensions and pressures on the family and to have these kinds of services would be very helpful to a lot of mothers in present-day living, and particularly in crowded areas.

So the recommendations in respect of the family are:

That the regulations of government authority relating to working mothers and teens be coordinated and revised in such a way that those who wish to work can perceive the advantage in so doing;

That day care programs for nonworking mothers and working mothers be set up in densely populated areas of low income families to relieve some of the increasing tensions of the family.

The next area is that of youth. One of the points to make right off the bat is that at the present time in local elementary schools are very crowded. I think one of the schools, Ryerson Public School, has close to 100 portables on its playground. We show the effect of this has in our area. There are, I think, 60 pupils in Ryerson School at the present time in junior kindergartens, and there are over 1,500 pupils altogether at that one elementary school. What we point out here is that there must be greater room for many more people in the junior kindergartens.

We at St. Christopher House provide a nursery school for children a little younger than junior kindergarten and going right up to school age. However, back in 1967 the Canada Assistance Board regulations, as they were picked up by the Province of Ontario, made us impose a needs test on the parents of these families. We thought for some time that this would completely stifle our nursery school but fortunately, there was enough feeling between the staff of our nursery school and the parents in our area and sufficient depth of concern for the nursery school and the youngsters involved that we have been able to maintain that at 100 children. We are subsidizing with United Appeal funds at the present time, what we didn't have to do before. We still have a waiting list of 10 or 15 at least. And if there were more places perhaps we would have many more children.

The need for many more guidance counsellors in the area for people who are leaving elementary school at grade 8 is extremely important because the parents of these young people perhaps do not realize the type of jobs there are going to be in the future and that they should be getting training for. In some cases we know these parents do not speak the language or have limited reading skills, and so they don't quite know what is going on in that area. There are cases also of children with average abilities who have not developed appropriate reading skills themselves, or have not alone having learned a marketable trade. These types of youngsters have little hope of being gainfully employed in our society.

The youthful immigrant who is streamed into technical trades in vocational courses where there is limited opportunity for switching into academic courses later on is in very serious difficulty.

Another point we make is the development of studies which should take into consideration

differences in cultures and interests in different ethnic areas. One point that someone made was that it is perhaps more important for students in this area to learn about the development of Italian leadership in Toronto's unions, for instance, than to study the rise and fall of the Roman empire.

The worship of affluence is reflected in the anti-social experiences of some, and I underline some, of the youths with whom St. Christopher House has contact. Every day our youngsters are deluged with mass media advertising which says:

"To succeed you must dress sharp; wear the latest styles."

"To be a man you must drive the fastest car."

"To live you must experience the latest and the newest night spot."

"You must because everyone else does; don't wait till you have the money; get it now!"

Nothing, of course, is ever mentioned in these advertisements about the penalty for car theft being, I think it is, 10 days or \$30, or that a conviction for that offence will prevent you from being bonded for bail. There are many instances of young people from areas such as this who have undertaken these things just for the purpose of excitement without realizing they were going to limit themselves later on in their lives.

Our next point is in connection with students taking post-high school education. We have quite a number in this area. There is one student who was on government assistance, or at least the family was, whose living allowance was terminated after reaching the 21st birthday. That person now has to take out a \$100-a-year loan. You can imagine what that is going to do upon graduation when that loan for several years—or those loans—are accumulated and have to be paid back. It would seem more appropriate in this case to extend the government's living allowance in such a case at least until graduation.

Our recommendations are:

That there be a better co-ordination of government plans in instances where the expansion of family housing units necessitates an equivalent expansion of local school buildings; such co-ordination should get particular attention in areas where 'special needs' have been designated as such by existing legislation (in this case the 'Inner City Schools');

That attention be given immediately to the improvement of guidance counselling and upgrading programs in areas of 'special needs';

That regulations governing public assistance and government grants to students of low incomes be examined and improved to ensure that all students

who have the ability to undertake courses in higher education not only be enabled but in fact be encouraged to do so;

That the system whereby students are assessed and placed in secondary school technical courses from which they have limited opportunity to switch to academic course be studied thoroughly; it would seem that revisions are needed both at grade 8 termination stage and at various stages of the secondary school levels.

Now, the last but not the least important. There are many old age pensioners living in this area in single rooms. In an appendix to the brief there is a little story of a man who is attempting to live on this low income, on his old age assistance plus his supplement, who is paying a rent of around \$60 a month, has debts each month of around \$20, and has to pay a taxi fare of some \$12 a month for getting to and from the hospital. In connection with this latter item, again it is one that can be picked up by another supplement, but in many cases people are not informed of this or just do not know about it. This man also pays \$10.50 for some food on the weekends. This gentleman is a person who gets a meal a day from St. Christopher House, for which we do not charge him because how could we saddle him with additional cost when he has only about \$5 to provide everything else in life?

Many of these people are living on the third floors of rooming houses with heart problems and other illnesses. They live up there because the rent is cheaper.

I ask then: what happens to an old person who becomes ill for short periods of time? There is no room for them in hospitals or nursing homes. Very seldom is there a close relative who can help them and drop in on them. The home-makers services are lacking in facilities for emergency cases like those. Most often what happens is that, because of this lack of care from any source, their minor illnesses lead to cases of chronic illness.

St. Christopher House has helped such people for the last four or five years with the "Meals on Wheels" program, but we have not been able to find a source of any federal, provincial or municipal government grants for this yet. The province, with its home care program, does not consider that meals are treatment in the same way physical therapy is. So that so far we have not received any money from those sources.

Our recommendations are:

That the old age assistance benefits be increased to more realistic levels.

Mr. Chairman, the comments that appear to have been made by you and which appeared in the newspaper this morning will be much appreciated by this type of person.

We further recommend:

That the governmental housing, health and welfare services to the aged be expanded as rapidly as possible in large urban areas as these are the most needful persons in the community;

That the governments undertake funding of experimental and operative 'meals' projects for the aged and handicapped that are now being developed by various churches and social agencies.

Finally, I have done quite a summary of what St. Christopher House has tried to do to get a new building in the last five years. Many of the neighbours around know about this so I will not repeat the facts except that I should say that we all realize now how people feel when they get a run-around from one level of government from another. In this neighbourhood you have to go to Jarvis Street for your Manpower services. If you want to get your supplement from the welfare office, that means a trip away over to Dovercourt. If you have to then go the immigration office, you have to go north up to around Davenport. So you do have these great distances to cover in order to get to these needed services. If you haven't any streetcar tickets, it can be pretty rough.

We of St. Christopher House have been trying to solve some of these problems by getting a new building right across the road in an urban renewal area of Alexandra Park in a nice big triangle of property. We too, instead of being able to set up a building where perhaps offices from these various departments could put branches, have been getting a run-around. We have gone from one level of government to another to another and to another.

The experience of being passed off by one level of government to another and back again without a sound commitment for major funds has been extremely discouraging, particularly when everyone has agreed that the need is great and the project a valuable one. And so our recommendation here would be a better system of providing funds from all levels of government be devised for community centres in a way similar to assistance for funding construction of housing. This goes to areas right across this city. And I know in places like Vancouver the same types of problems exist too, sir.

I am sorry to have taken so much time, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Maben. I will now call on Mr. Paul Lane of the Alexandra Park Residents Association.

Mr. Paul Lane, President, Alexandra Park Residents Association: Alexandra Park is a low-rental housing project. We here are a group of many races with many problems. The main problem is trying to upgrade ourselves. This is very difficult. For example, if we

earn a couple of dollars as a raise or working part-time our rent automatically goes up.

Secondly, there is a need for recreation and social buildings where we can go to relieve any tensions we may have.

We would like homes of our own, but, due to low wages and high cost of living, with lack of food, this cannot be as long as the big businessman keeps raising prices and the government permits him to do so.

It is a well known fact that the working class gets hit the hardest. For example, last week when you were shopping, a pound of meat cost you 59¢. This week cost you 79¢. Where is this extra 20¢ going? Certainly not to the working man. Everything goes up but the wages.

As a second example, let us take the car manufacturers. Every year the price goes up approximately \$200. The worker gets out of this approximately 10¢ to 15¢ an hour after he goes out on strike.

Now, too, the other businessmen want to get in on some of these price rises. The landlord complains the maintenance costs have risen, and so up must go the rents. The other guy says, "Don't forget us." So it goes the price of your milk, your shoes and your clothes. There is also the next guy who seems to think it is a must that every year your car insurance must go up also. Then there is also the government who gets in their hands first.

Getting back to the difficulty of bettering oneself, is an expensive endeavour to send a child to university not to mention the average Joe who gets a job and then, due to automation, is laid off. The company should not just lay off a man because of automation; it should be made to retrain the man at their own expense. It should not be the government's job to retrain people whose former employers have reaped profit and will do so for years—while this man is turning to welfare and becomes everyone else's burden.

In summary, it must be put to a stop as follows: freeze on rising prices. Wages must be brought up in par with the prices that are now being charged when the freeze goes on. Retraining should take place at companies' expense instead of a lay-off. Welfare recipients should be sent back to school to become mechanics, bookkeepers, secretaries, etc.

That about concludes it.

The Chairman: I was waiting for the punch line. You had 15 minutes. Very well. It will give us more time for discussion.

I have an old friend here from the Kensington and Dan Martyniuk.

Mr. Dan Martyniuk, President, Kensington and Dan Martyniuk: Mr. Chairman and honours

enators, ladies and gentlemen, I have read a great deal about the activities of this task force. One thing is very much overlooked and that is the roots of where poverty starts. We are still a master-slave-oriented society. Poverty has always been at the level of the slave and then following along in order were the subordinates who enforced the slavery and the masters who reaped everything. We are still at the same stage today but are a little more modernized about it. A slave was whipped with a whip and now we are whipped with a tax.

If we want to really look into this problem, we must re-orient ourselves in a way that it would be more acceptable to the general public, more just to the general public. We are still destructive in our orientation to society. They did not have to have a task force to build the Arrow airplane that cost \$400 million and which went to scrap. They did not have to have a task force to revamp the Bonaventure which also has gone to scrap. They did not have to have a task force to spend \$5 million to develop a tank that went to scrap.

If you put all those millions together and consider what might have been done, we could have had something with all its problems and even poverty taken care of, including urban renewal and so forth.

You cannot blame the government only because we as a society are very destructive. If we orient ourselves rationally as to what we can afford and not afford, and if we want to take care of poverty and re-orient from a master-slave society to an equal society, we will have to put limitations on our expenditures on military hardware, most of which goes to scrap anyway.

If we were to put the money and effort into building houses, improving the lot of people, give a chance to those who have been neglected for so long, then we could easily solve these problems that have been around for so long in a term of something like ten years. There is no reason why we could not solve them in ten years if we put more limitation on expenditures of military hardware that is frequently garbage almost before they begin to build it.

Then what are we paranoid about? We think we are paranoid about to be attacked. Yet we do build obsolete weapons. They just spent \$50 million on buying five airplanes so perhaps our honourable Prime Minister, Pierre Elliott Trudeau, can take trips here and there, or maybe it is for the use of somebody else. However, that \$50 million could build a heck of a lot of houses.

As to urban renewal, our hopes were raised that something was going to be done here just as in other areas but, lo and behold, the government says, "Oh, this is \$4 million; be happy with it."

Why couldn't they figure it out for themselves, that is all, maybe we have had the fiasco of the Bonaventure and these other things, but let us not have a

fiasco with this thing. We have raised the hopes of the people. Why not carry it out? Why let them down?"

What is the problem? The government is not lacking the money. The money is there. It is the idea that we are still oriented towards destructive purposes. How can anyone, any task force or any individual, do anything about it if we do not change the ways we have been dealing with things from the time of the early Egyptians, the Macedonians, the Corinthians, the Romans and so forth? This has been persisting century after century after century. The religious people have said that there must be a master and there must be a slave. If you read the Bible it is right there. The master has one privilege and the slave has another. That was condoned by God, according to the Bible.

Now, that has been perpetuated. I am not questioning whether it is right or wrong. I am simply saying that we as a society, whether it be in Europe, here, or anywhere else, are destructive, are master-slave-oriented, and we can never overcome poverty by tokenism, paternalism, or anything of that nature. We must all completely change.

Mr. Chairman, I know that what I have said is radical beyond the most radical of radicals anywhere else, but even those radical radicals are still destructive-oriented. Any fool can take a glass and throw it down and break it, but how many people would it take to put that glass back together again? Any fool can light a match and burn down a building. However, how much money and effort do you need to build it again?

We cannot go on in this destruction-oriented manner because we will never solve our problems. I know perhaps more than anybody else what poverty is all about. I lived on grass for three months. I come from Europe. Constantly people were coming and saying, "well, we will free you from the torture you have had before." So they came and they took everything away. They freed us from everything we had. We were left hungry.

Then the next one comes along and takes the blood out of you. Then there is another one comes along. They just keep coming and coming. It is the same thing as in a war but it is done in a peaceful manner. The Liberal party will come and say, "We will give to you what you need." Okay. So they came. They increased the taxes, they were thrown out. And so the Conservatives come in and they give it to you, they increase the taxes and they are thrown out. And so everybody keeps on freeing us from what we have.

What would be wrong if the poor person who found himself in a situation where he cannot help needing a boost in his life and where perhaps that little bit of a lift would put him on his way, what would happen if he were to get that help? If he needs help in housing, why not give him that housing? Give him the needed

money and then say to him, "Here, we have given you an opportunity which will last five years. We will support you during those five years. Go out and find whatever you can. Earn as much money as you can. Don't pay tax on it. In five years we will double the money you have saved." This would be an incentive to get out of the poverty cycle.

On the other hand, if you tell that same man, "You cannot earn that extra dollar and, if you do, we will cut you off", then where is the incentive? There is just no way that one can get out of that poverty cycle unless there is a way provided, and the only way, as I see it, is through an incentive program.

Anybody knows, if you find yourself in a hopeless situation, that your energy is at its lowest level, and you just have no will to go on. Why do people commit suicide? Because they find themselves at the level where their instinct is overpowered by the hopelessness of their situation and they think that there is no reason to live. It is the same thing with poverty. The only thing that keeps them alive is the instinct to survive. They don't know why they have to go on living and being subjected to all this but there is the instinct of survival that keeps them going, the hope for their children, and so on. But how long can anyone go on without hope?

I know that as I am saying this a lot of people are thinking, "You are full of a lot of hot air." May be so. However, we have been thinking this for a long time and we have not achieved anything better so far. Sure, there have been achievements, but why is it that when a man tries to upgrade himself somebody has to come along with a regulation and take it away from him?

I am still not beyond poverty. Perhaps it depends on the way you define it. I have to pay taxes on what I am earning, I am self-employed. I have five children and a father to take care of and also I have a wife. Now, I made out my tax papers. According to the law, you have to make a submission of what you made and how much you owe. However, you don't have to pay right away. I didn't have any money at the time, so I didn't pay.

Now, they phoned me and said, "You have to pay now." I said, "Are you short one tank or an airplane?" I have five children and I have my father to look after. I am darn sure that I will be looking after them first. If you don't like that you can take me away and you will have to feed them yourself."

Anyone tells me that this is against the law and that one should subordinate oneself to the master because the master says so, I would say he is full of hot air. And any time I have to pay tax and my children have to go hungry, that will be the day they will get me. Until this society re-orient itself and says to the government, "Now, look, enough is enough, and this is the time to change our total attitude, not our part-time attitude, not any piecemeal attitude, but the

total attitude", until we do that, we will have no solution to these problems.

Of course there will always be the odd problem arising since we are human beings. There will always be additional problems arising. That is something that is part of life. However, basically, we keep creating the same problems. We take from Paul and give to Adam and vice versa, but we never make sure that Paul and Adam have enough at the same time.

I feel that this is one thing that the government should re-orient itself on. Sweden has done something about it. There are other countries that have done something about it. There seems to be still all about this destructive attitude which is so prevalent as compared to any constructive attitude. I was talking to this senator earlier. If I came to the government almost any government, and I said, "I have one weapon that will kill millions of people but I also have another one that will bring them up to the level of well-being we all seem to want", which one do you think they will ask for first? The destructive one? Why? Because destructive power is visible. They get a lot of excitement out of it. The papers will pick it up and so on. However, the thing that does good who cares? It is a big yawn.

I would also like to point out that this is a ridiculous system we have whereby we send a representative forward from the city of Toronto—or it could be from anywhere else—and we feel that representative shares our feelings and that he is going to speak for us in Ottawa. What does he do in Ottawa? They tell him sit down and shut up because he is not ready to go into the melting pot up there.

You all know the gentleman I am about to mention Mr. Givens. He is a very good example of what I am talking about. We thought he was an experienced man from the city who knew what was ailing it, and he would be going down there and telling them about the problems of the city. How many chances did he get to speak or how much was he listened to? He was reprimanded apparently, from what I read in the papers anyhow, because he spoke up against the mighty Trudeau. Who is Trudeau or anybody else to tell that person that he should not speak?

I believe that every M.P. or M.P.P. that is sent to represent us in government has equal rights from the time he or she is elected until the time he or she is thrown out. There should be no clique, no melting pot that you cannot fit into until you are conditioned to fit into it, conditioned to thinking the way they think. That is a fallacy, and I think that should be changed. Thank you.

The Chairman: Toronto has been the magnet for immigrants, and one of the most recent groups that has reached this city has been the Portugese. I am now going to call on their representative to address us.

Mr. Antonio Prates, Portuguese Canadian Congress: Mr. Chairman, members of the committee, ladies and gentlemen, my name is Antonio Prates and I am with the Portuguese Canadian Congress.

My major function in speaking now is to bring to record a letter that the Congress has sent to the rector of the committee in Ottawa, Mr. Fred Joyce.

After reading this letter I would like to introduce the president of the Congress, Mr. Manuel Mira, who would like to make a brief comment.

Dear Mr. Joyce: The directive body of the Portuguese Canadian Congress thanks you very much for your letter of the 25th February.

Due to the fact that the P.C.C. is a body formed by the mandate representatives of the major Ontario and some Montreal Portuguese groups, our internal regulations make it physically impossible to prepare, with such a short notice, a suitable brief, which could deserve your committee's scope and aims. With a more generous time lapse we would willingly present our opinions on the subject. However, we can, as directors of the Portuguese Canadian Congress, be present and discuss, as observers, the problem of poverty as the conference goes along.

We are aware that you have at your disposal literally thousands of scientific papers and journals on poverty. Duplication of such studies is a waste of time. Factual data, to be reliable, are to be collected carefully, and we do not have the physical possibility to do just that. This is why we are reticent in submitting any form of brief, and even hesitate to make verbal statements on facts that do not have relevant generalizations.

Respectfully yours, Antonio V. B. Prates, B.A.,
Vice President.

will now introduce Mr. Mira.

Mr. Manuel Mira, President, Portuguese Canadian Congress: Thank you, Mr. Prates. Mr. Chairman, senators, ladies and gentlemen, the Portuguese Canadian Congress patronizes the brief presented by the St. Christopher House officer.

It is well prepared and touches on the major problems of this geographical area. However, its scope is geared to a narrower area, namely the one served by St. Christopher House, than this committee is investigating. The recommendations of this brief follow logically from the premises developed.

The Portuguese Canadian Congress would like to add one or two facets of a more general scope. There may be a specific region, between the immigrant and the older officers, or figures of authority, that causes some sizeable unpleasantness and hard feelings

between both. The lower echelons of authority in direct contact with the immigrants have become conditioned to react with abruptness when they are interacting with the immigrants who do not speak intelligibly the host country's language. This, together with the uneasy state of mind of the immigrant, who can not make his difficulties understood, make for the rest of what appears to be a guilt feeling—something is wrong with this man.

An apparently simple situation in the present may become a big problem in the future fraught with mistrust and misconstrued ideas of what the people in authority do and expect the immigrants to do.

When this by-product of a simple situation comes to the knowledge of the higher echelons it is so distorted that they have to spend much time and effort to grasp a clear picture of what has happened.

We therefore recommend that a much larger number of officers who speak the language of the immigrant be incorporated in the agencies of contact. These bilingual officers should be used to overcome the language barrier of the newcomers and guide them into their best productive roles in society. The immigrant should be helped not only upon his arrival but also for such period of time as is required for him to take the first acculturation steps and start faring for himself.

The bearing of the above on poverty does not require much elaboration. It leads to the several types of poverty, be it economic, sociologic, or psychologic.

Poverty is a relative concept. There are 'poor' with more than ten thousand dollars a year, and 'rich people' on only eight. The expected riches, as compared to the possessions of the moment, is the measuring rod of individual poverty. Therefore, when the immigrant is made feel so poor that he cannot even communicate his survival needs, something or someone should do something about it.

We praise this committee for the difficult goal that you have set for yourselves. May you attain a feasible solution without increasing too much our taxes. Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you. I will next call on Mr. Ed Clarke, the Toronto Negro Veteran's Association.

Mr. Edward J. Clarke, Secretary, Toronto Negro Veterans' Association: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. One of the problems we are talking about is the poor, the people we commonly consider to have lack of desire and lack of motivation, all of which is usually due to a lack of opportunity, schooling, housing, etc. They are comprised of the following groups, the welfare, the disabled, the pensioners, the unemployed, the working poor, the immigrants, and the minorities. It also should be

pointed out that a great majority of those same groups are functionally illiterate in our society today.

These problems have been paramount in this country and increasingly so for the last 300 years due to discrimination, bigotry, prejudice fostered by churches, governments, institutions, business, labour and our civil service. Another problem we have with the youth and teens is that we need an enlarged youth bureau to concentrate on the youth and teens and to promote counselling of the youth by themselves. Any research should be conducted by the people directly concerned, not by governments, not by institutions and not by social agencies.

Progress is not telling people how to live. It is letting people decide for themselves. This way we endorse full dignity of human beings instead of the apathetic, fear-guided persons that make up one in every five Canadians. They have no desire or will to take a stand or to tilt at windmills. If Ontario, if Toronto, if Canada wants to continue to advertise itself as being a place where a person can take a stand, then those in the majority, the businessmen, the industrial leaders, the bankers, the merchants, the government leaders, the bureaucrats, the institutions including unions, both professional and labour, must move over and let this 20% of the people share what is rightfully theirs.

The poor, the disabled, the pensioners, the old aged and the welfare recipients should also be entitled to better grants-in-aid. In fact, exemptions for churches should be removed. Schools are now state-supported whereas the churches used to support them.

The working poor and the poverty-living families should have a basic exemption of \$5,000 per family in income before they are taxed, and that should include welfare or any earnings they might make, while everybody else that is more or less considered in the middle class or the upper middle class pays their regular taxes. Loopholes that are becoming more and more apparent every day in our tax structure, so that companies and individuals are not paying their right taxes, should be closed up. Everyone else on the tax rolls should continue to pay their regular tax load.

Churches, governments, corporations should provide money for the minorities in order to enable them to draw up their own programs to enable them to become first-class citizens.

The black man has lived, worked, fought and died for this country for 300 years. He has helped build this country. Yet our history books, the same as with many other minorities, like the Portugese, the Spaniards, the Italians and the native Indians, do not give them their due in our school curricula. As a consequence, the children grow up hating themselves because of their nationalities.

The bigotry, prejudice and discrimination that is applied in government and institutions to our people

has continually denied them progress as a cultural group and withered the community's bonds of association.

Canadian immigration department inspectors and clerks have openly broken the laws when it comes to admitting immigrants to this country. The department should have its personnel trained continually as to what the law is so that when immigrants apply for immigration to this country they can get a straight answer and not be denied admission because of race, colour or creed.

Medical and hospital insurance should be available from the time an immigrant arrives here. The mental and sanitarium people should be covered under OHSP and other plans by the government.

The majority must be re-educated to enable them to accept all peoples on their abilities and not their colour or race.

The information services of government should be updated to include the multi-racial cultures that make up Canada.

Radio, press and TV, as well as periodicals, must update their staffs as to the society we are building and make it possible for more ethnic peoples to become part of their management and decision-making regarding what is news. This will help to restore the communication dialogue within the major and minority minorities of this country.

To handle this job we cannot wait until the discontent in Quebec and other isolated cities heats up and divides Canada into Balkan states. We need a department of civil rights and equal opportunities.

With the experience gained by Sweden, the United States, Japan and Britain in this sort of thing, our programs should benefit because we must be prepared to spend a billion dollars over the next three years on this problem.

More native cultural and ethnic groups should be handling these programs and the money, not the churches, and not the institutions, because they are not interested in making people equal; they are merely offering a benign attitude to the effect that, "There is this life for others and we will tell you how to do it."

We should be spending more of our subsidies providing aid to overseas countries, undeveloped countries, so that when those immigrants come here they can think of what the Canadian fabric is made of.

The lands of the Indian nation should be developed by themselves for themselves and they should have full citizenship on and off their reserves.

The following should be considered if we are going to help our people:

1. A city community council on teens and young adults' opportunities formed and funded to help

administration and designate locations for summer projects.

2. Year-round projects be funded in addition to summer programs.

3. Large corporations, companies and institutions provide trained teaching aid for adults and youth in the city core, and provide regular permanent jobs with a future after such courses.

4. Schools be open during summer and other hours so that labs, shops and machines can be used in this training.

5. That all economic requirements and restrictions be lifted, including the local stipulations that parents on welfare benefits and/or their children who work in training or re-training and receive benefits in wages, take a cut in welfare cheques or are dropped from welfare rolls.

6. That where possible these training programs begin ere summer closes the schools or wherein cases like universities, high schools, trade schools, they are continuing, before, during and after regular hours, hat they be used.

7. Funds that are available should be on a continuing basis and not returned to their original sources but be used in putting more people into these programs.

8. Community communications be put on a permanent basis for use.

9. Recreational and social facilities be made available and run by each area's residents with the help f supervisory personnel.

astly, I have one other item here that I think is important. Because our country is in deep trouble wh racism, and as this has been a way of life for the minority against the minority for the past 300 years, w therefore ask that the government should have a fu and impartial inquiry into all of the problems of tl majority and their latent hostility towards the minorities in this country, and we suggest that the vious public and private agencies and the civil sants should be included in this inquiry.

e recommend that the enquiry study and detail the orin and probable solutions of the problems relating tche fields of economic, social, political and race ises that are past, present and possible in the future, an specifically to study the following in detail: authority, both bureaucratic and police; education; chesing; discrimination, cause or effect; fear; culture, an the social attitudes of people.

at committee or inquiry should be representative of the broad spectrum of our society including the olks, the Indians, the immigrants from Europe, Afca and other countries. Their findings should be oerned with the lack of participation by the minorities in the management and use of public-ured agencies and institutions such as the univer- sity and welfare. Their findings should also be

concerned with the denial of suitable jobs and promotions in such jobs and the denial of a chance of starting or operating businesses for private gain by the minority and how this then denies the minority peoples their lawfully given right to become fully integrated as equal people with the same rights and privileges as the majority enjoy.

The inquiry should also be concerned with the accepted and unwritten laws which deny the minority peoples their rights in acquiring better educations.

The Chairman: Well, it is nice to hear it like it is. We hear a great deal of discussion about the poor participating. If this is any example of the kind of participation we are going to get, we welcome it.

I think at this time I will throw the meeting open for any questions that are to be asked. Would you make it short and give us your names in order that the reporter may make a note of them? We will be glad to answer as best we can, or obtain answers from some of the people that have spoken.

Mrs. Pauline Shapiro: I would like to express the opinion that the establishment is making people too dependent on the government. I was born in a small town in 1911 and I never heard the word "poverty" in that town or even in that county. People there planted their own potatoes, they looked after their gardens and orchards and they seemed to provide for themselves. Why now are people not providing for themselves and doing things for themselves rather than appealing to the government constantly for aid and help? Isn't this actually what is wrong with the approach?

I feel that a country is only as rich as the attitudes of its people. I feel the people are not being trained to have the right approach.

The Chairman: Is there anybody else who would like to say anything? Dan, would you like to answer that? Or is there anybody else who would like to answer?

Mrs. I. Smolsky: Mr. Chairman, I live in Ontario Housing and we are not allowed to plant tomatoes much less potatoes.

Mrs. Shapiro: May I add something to what I have already said? When a family is on welfare and a woman goes out to work she wants to buy something extra for her children at Christmastime but she has to give that money back to the welfare department, the money she has earned, the extra \$60 or \$70. Is that encouraging people to be self-reliant and to try to rise above the atmosphere they are in?

The Chairman: Well, madam, one of the purposes of the exercise that the Senate Committee has undertaken is to look into the welfare system. We have repeatedly said, as have many groups coming before

us, that it is unsatisfactory and is not doing its job and needs to be changed in this day and age. There has been no voice raised in favour of the system in the respect in which you speak. I think it is generally felt that some very radical changes have to be made in the system.

Mrs. Shapiro: I object to the work "poor". I feel everybody in Canada is poor. We are breathing dirty air, we are drinking dirty water. I don't feel there are any people who are really well off. I don't like people being classified as poor just because they have no money.

In the little town of which I spoke we had very few people who had money but yet we were all rich in many respects. We had everything that money can buy today. We were healthy and we had clean water to drink and pure air to breathe. We had eggs from the chickens and we had lots of fowl to eat and everything was provided that we required. But, as I say, there was very little money floating around.

I feel that you are concentrating too much on handing out money and you are not concentrating enough on educating people how to make life interesting and how to solve their own problems and think for themselves. I don't like the approach at all. I think it is wicked. I think it is terrible. I think you are wrecking the country. I sincerely and honestly think that. I despise public housing.

The Chairman: Take it easy.

Mrs. L. Wood: I want to reply to that lady. She is talking about people who she says are constantly saying they should be given more. I don't think you realize that in Ontario, and in Toronto more specifically, today you cannot do too much to help yourself. You say that people should get out and do more. I am associated with a group of mothers on welfare. We each have three or more children and we are at the university. I am sure if you read the Star you would understand how much begging one has to do to the Ontario government to be allowed a chance—and I would like to underline this—to use our own brains and help ourselves. We are still in school. We are slowly starving to death on our welfare cheques while we are trying to keep ourselves going. I mean, we could break under the pressure. We are studying day and night subjects that are designed for young teen-agers just out of grade XIII. However, we are trying.

The Ontario government was extremely generous to me this year. It allowed me to borrow \$600 to go to school. When I finish school and try to get back into the work force, still trying to support my three children, it is going to demand repayment of that loan.

When I tried to get into university I was ready to tell them almost anything. I am in there now. Hopefully I

can keep my marks up. I would like to stay in there until I have a PhD. At that time I will owe the Ontario government a lot of money, and I will have to pay a lot of interest on it.

But is this the best way the government can let us help ourselves? Is this the best way that they can let us do our own thinking, use our own resources? No doubt a few can say, "I worked my way through university". There is no doubt that we should all be encouraged to help ourselves. You, for instance, are saying that. Everybody is saying that. But you have no idea how hard it is to stand on your own two feet and rear back and say, "Oh, I cannot live on this welfare want a chance, I am intelligent, I have a brain and want to use it."

If we are successfully graduated from the university the effect will be to turn out a group of people who have raised their social status by getting a diploma degree. Unfortunately, it will also turn out intellectuals who have to get down and take anything that comes along in order to immediately start paying back the Ontario government. I won't have a dime upon graduation when I am ready to go out and take on a job of work which I feel I am capable of handling and have to get out and work and support those children and pay back the Ontario government. However, I am very grateful to the Ontario government.

The Chairman: Yes. Thank you.

Mrs. Shapiro: This lady claims she has three children and she is going through university to get a PhD. The average taxpayer in Toronto, she feels, should keep her in university. Now, I agree if she is an intelligent woman she should go to university. I know lots of people with PhDs that cannot get a job and therefore cannot support one child, let alone three. When she is through school there is no guarantee she will have the money to pay back the government. The PhD too does not carry as much weight as the ability of a bricklayer when he goes out to get employment. It gets it faster.

The main thing that a mother should think of is her children, in my opinion. I want to know if she will be a better mother or if her children will get a better break in this world of ours if she has a PhD?

The Chairman: Madam, she thinks that she can improve her life and the opportunities for her children. The vast majority of Canadian people share the same view that she does and feel that people who do what she is doing are entitled to every possible support. I think we all encourage them to do that. That is the way it is now. That is the way it will be tomorrow. That is the Canadian life of tomorrow.

Mrs. Shapiro: Mr. Chairman, I know people who are going to university and getting one degree and another only because they are afraid to face

society and our world today. I know people who are leaving this country after they get all their degrees because they cannot get established here.

The Chairman: Let us get on.

Mrs. Wood: Mr. Chairman, I would just like to say that I am sick and tired, for instance, of soup. I just cannot eat any more.

The Chairman: Mrs. Wood, you were delightful. Leave it at that.

Mrs. B. Adams: Mr. Chairman, could I say something on this subject?

The Chairman: Mrs. Adams, we don't want anything like a cross-fire here. If you have anything to say that advances the discussion, please say it.

Mrs. Adams: Talking about people on welfare trying to improve themselves, it is not a case of asking the government for a handout, it is a case of whether they will just remain idle. Nobody is asking for a guarantee. It is just a matter of being able to say to oneself, "I tried my best. If I cannot succeed, at least I have tried."

With the people in the welfare office here today, if you go and ask for help for a job, they say, "Where is your guarantee? We want a written statement that you can prove you are going to have a job; then we will help you." Who is going to guarantee it?

My husband had a chance to go for a course. He has been on welfare for ten years because he is not allowed to work. The doctors have told him not to work. So he went to a different hospital and he said to them, "Look, I'm fine, I can work." The doctor wrote him out a slip. Then the welfare said, "Where is your proof you can get a job?" He almost had to get down on his knees to beg for a chance. They said, "Where is your proof? Where is your guarantee you are going to get a job?" There is no such guarantee. However, if he had the course and couldn't get a job, he could at least say, "I tried".

The Chairman: There is somebody back there who wishes to say something. Go ahead. Stand up, please.

Mr. Sam Snyder: Sam Snyder is the name. First of all, I would like to say something by way of an opening. I can remember some years back when there were a couple of people in politics. One person was named Croll and the other was Roebuck. I kept fighting them both mixed up. One of those gentlemen said a very interesting thing at that time that has stayed with me for about 40 years. One of them said, "I would sooner walk with the strikers than ride with (M)." "

The thing I want to say is this, it was very nice to hear about these welfare agencies, and all the various social services. However, the underlying basic thing is lack of funds to provide the necessities of life. As far as basics are concerned, the basic trouble seems to be money and also our attitudes, our personal attitudes to one another with regards to ethnic feelings. I think we are all foreigners of one kind or another.

If the government would invest in our greatest resource, people, and see to it that nobody got less than a little bit above the cost of living, no matter whether they were employed, unemployable or whatever, this would create a world sensation. It would not just become a new kind of Toronto in which we live; we would have all the people of the world wanting to come to this city or country which had no poverty. It would be a great thing. It would be more important than going to the moon. So there, ladies and gentlemen, you have a great undertaking. It is really worthy of you.

There is one more thing I would like to say and this is perhaps a little off the mark, that when we fill out our income tax forms they say, "Male, female, married, single, widower" and so forth. I think it should say, "Adult male, adult female, with or without dependents." Never mind whether you are married, single or otherwise. That happens to be somebody's own personal business.

Mrs. W. Eisen: As to youth allowances, as you know, when a child goes on in school there is no way they will extend the youth allowances to cover them during the whole period they are at school. Why don't they continue to extend the youth allowances until they have gone as far as they can go in school?

The Chairman: Well, of course, the theory is that at 18 he is out working. If he is at school we have available for him a student loan. Those things are available at the university level. Now, we have had briefs before us . . .

Mrs. Eisen: I have my own daughter in that situation.

The Chairman: Just a moment. We have had briefs before us suggesting that we have loans at the high school level.

Mrs. Eisen: There is another question I would like to ask. A man of, say, 59 or 60 who is unemployed for, say, a year, cannot get retrained. What is he to do?

The Chairman: Well, of course, this retraining matter is an item that comes before us constantly. We are disturbed about this, madam. We think that is one of the important matters that have had brought to our attention most. It is usually advanced on two bases, age and education. We think, of course, as Mr. Clarke

says, the functioning man is more important than any other sort of man. I think all people understand that. So the problem is not new. It is a problem that needs remedying.

Mrs. Eisen: Why don't they hurry up with the remedy? It is affecting me and my family. This has been going on for over a year, Senator Croll.

The Chairman: Well, we have it from you now, madam. We have had this problem presented to us frequently. That is all I can tell you at the moment. It is not within our ability to solve it tonight.

Senator Everett has something to say.

Senator Everett: Just so you don't go away angry, madam, we are here to accept your recommendations and use them as input in our eventual decision as to recommendations to the government. It is therefore pretty difficult for the chairman to answer your question. What I would like to hear is what your recommendations are, what you feel should be done.

Mrs. Eisen: I feel they should give the man I was talking about re-training or send him to school. I mean, he still has a few years to live. They should do something for that sort of person if they cannot get jobs.

As to the youth allowance, I feel that it should be continued on while they are in school.

Senator Everett: As long as they are in high school, you mean?

Mrs. Eisen: Well, I hope my daughter could get a grant from the government.

Senator Everett: Do you say the loan should continue as long as they are in high school?

Mrs. Eisen: Yes.

Senator Everett: All right.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. Antonio Vaz: I came to this country as an immigrant unable to speak English on May 16, 1955. I started my first job on May 18th. I changed to a couple of jobs of my own choosing. I was never unemployed one day.

From The Audience: You were lucky.

Mr. Vaz: May be it was luck. It required faith sometimes. It was sometimes very hard. Sometimes when you go to a grocery store, when you want to eat something, sometimes you cannot buy it. You have to learn to say "water" in order to say "water". I

couldn't even say "please" or anything. I learned as came along.-Anyway, I think I have made it.

By the way, there is one thing I would like to recommend to any Canadian immigrant, that when they hear the propaganda overseas asking to have us come over, in spite of all the social agencies that make recommendations, there was one thing that had to pass through that I think you would like to hear about. I was sent to Halifax because the man first spoke to, the Canadian immigration officer, who couldn't understand my language, looked at one of my letters which had in it the word "valve" which is normally used on ships, and so he said, "Halifax". It is too bad he did not send me to another industrial city like Toronto. I had to come here on my own.

Anyway, we have poverty not only in money but many other ways. But let us deal with money, which brings us all here. I believe you are all looking for answers, not for questions. I believe that there are a lot of millions of dollars spent to aid people, and all we see is a lot of social agencies asking for more. One of the answers the government is going to ask about is "Where does the money come from?" Well, I have ideas of my own. I think there is plenty of money if it is used all in the right direction and is not wasted.

We have a welfare system which costs us millions and millions of dollars, and nobody is taking advantage of it, not the welfare recipients, not the government, not the taxpayers, not the country. We have unemployment insurance which pays able-bodied people who cannot work a fair amount of money, but that money is going to waste. You have incentives for this and that. You have compensation. All of the money, if it was all channelled into one pot and that pot was run by a proper social service, there it would be, paying the disabled a fair wage, but the able-bodied could work. They could be working and producing something. There are a lot of things that need to be built in this country. Why not pay a little more and make that money of some use? If we keep having everybody on welfare, there will be nobody to pay the taxes. Where are you going to get the money?

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mrs. M. Lachapelle: My husband works at the Salvation Army workshop. He has been asking, as have a few others here, why can they not get a regular job somewhere? They don't want to live on welfare. I have four children. One is a teen-ager and another will be a teen-ager next month. Why don't the welfare raise the welfare a bit so we can get them some clothes because they don't want to go to churches and get their clothes there?

The Chairman: One of the problems we have, of course, is the one you have just mentioned; it is so unique. We realize the kind of problems you present are the hard case ones that have to be dealt with.

Mr. Donald Dolson: I would like to suggest something that seems to have been overlooked at the present time and that is that there are a lot of people who cannot take advantage of retraining due to their personal abilities. They may not be able to retain the training that the schools are offering. They may be just that. They may have too many things on their minds. These same people have had a lot of human experience, however, and there are lots of people, women in particular, who may not have been able to go to school who have had all kinds of experience with children. These same people are much more qualified than run children, look after them in day-care centres, than a woman who has spent 20 or 30 years learning social work in university. The women in university are admirable, they have the technical training, but they do not have what you might call the apprenticeship as human beings. These women who have spent so much time with children can look after children in these day-care centres, whether they have had only grade 10 or 11, they could be used there. They do not need to be unemployed. And the same thing with a great many of the trades. I have taken several courses. I was trained a couple of times but I was not physically able to utilize the training I got.

The training was good. I appreciated it. However, I ended up by taking what I could get, a job which I was not physically capable of doing. I think there must be many people in the same situation.

So, therefore, it is not a matter of the technical training, it is putting the people with the abilities in the places where they can use those abilities. I think we are wasting a great deal of our potential in this way. Thank you.

The Chairman: We have been told on many occasions that in the day centres it is the custom that they will have one trained worker and call on volunteers, untrained workers.

Young lady, I believe you are at the day nursery here?

Miss Barbara Neat: Yes.

The Chairman: How many children do you have in the day nursery?

Miss Neat: A hundred children. We have five trained staff.

The Chairman: You are under the provincial government scheme?

Miss Neat: Yes.

The Chairman: There is another day-centre in this area, isn't there?

Miss Neat: Yes. The city provides day-care centres.

The Chairman: Are the people there all trained too?

Miss Neat: Yes, they have to be trained.

The Chairman: As a social worker, or trained in what?

Miss Neat: No, nursery school, pre-school.

The Chairman: Otherwise they are not taken on?

Miss Neat: Yes. While you are speaking to me, maybe I could make a point. I came from England ten years ago. I have a pre-school teaching certificate, and this does not only happen with me, I think it happens with a lot of people who come from other countries. English is my native tongue, and I think I speak English better than a good many Canadians do. However, I was told that I must go to university and take another course. This happens with people no matter what country they come from.

I think, Mr. Chairman, that Canada is losing a lot of people who have the necessary training and who have a great deal of experience, are highly qualified people, because Canada does not bother to find out what their training is. I was told I must go to university, but the people who told me did not know what my training consisted of.

Now I have worked here long enough, I have worked with enough Canadian people, Canadian-trained, and I know that my training was adequate. I have trained a good many students myself in my time. And there are other people from other countries who are equally well-qualified to do a job, lawyers, doctors, nurses, engineers. However, they must go back to school again. As a result, they have to take some job which is not well-paying. They are not using their knowledge or experience or the qualifications they have.

Canada should find out before it makes these stupid statements to immigrants. And they are stupid statements, telling people they must go back to school when they don't know themselves why they must go back to school.

The Chairman: They are attempting to upgrade you.

Miss Neat: No. They told me my training was not adequate. I said, "In what area is my training not adequate?" They didn't know because they didn't know what my training consisted of. This happens, as I say, with all professions, no matter where they come from.

If a person does not speak the country's language, this is understandable, because they need the language. However, if you speak the language, and your training

is adequate, I think it is unnecessary to have further training. However, as I say, I had to take another course, and I went through a great deal of hardship as a result. In fact, there were times when I didn't eat. Here I was trying to train myself for something I was already trained to do.

The Chairman: Well, Mr. Maben, I don't know what day-care centre you may have been referring to. I think there have been some day-care centres where they have used some assistants on a voluntary basis in other areas. I don't know if those people are supplementing the staff that are in those agencies or not. I think most of the municipal day-care centres, from what Miss Neat has been saying, have people who are trained people rather than have just one person who is trained. One person has to be trained as a supervisor, I suppose, but the other people have to have training in order to run the day-care centre.

Miss Neat: There are some private ones.

Mr. Dolson: There is more than just one specific example. There are so many people who are actually trained but, like you say, one fully trained person should supervise somebody else who has the functional ability. I find this every place I go. I myself have had training in television. I have been trained as an ordinary serviceman. However, I have a back problem. And once you are away from it the technical part goes ahead so fast you simply cannot keep up with it. There are many other people in that same position. They are mismatched with their abilities. You had the suggestion here about a PhD who cannot get a job. This is true everywhere you go.

You meet people unexpectedly, whether it is in a garage or in a factory, who have experience in a trade but since they have not a specific diploma which is recognized in Canada they cannot get a job unless somebody says that they are qualified. But they won't give them a chance first to see if they are able to do it. They have to have the piece of paper first.

The same thing happens when one seeks training. You cannot get the job unless you have the union certificate. You cannot get the union certificate unless you have had an apprenticeship. You cannot get a job unless you have had experience. How are you going to get the experience? There is just no way. I had to take anything I could get.

I learned auto body work, spray painting, in 1946, and worked at \$20 a week. That was the salary I started at, coming right from the farm. Then I went through the television course, an oil burner course and then refrigeration. I had to go back to spray painting because then I was unemployed. I could not get a job I could handle because I did not have previous experience. So there you are.

Mr. Americo Desousa: I would like to make a remark on something that Senator Croll said in his opening speech. He said that in the case of many people who come to Canada the world was bad when they came from and that it is better here. I'm sorry, do not agree with you because many of these people not for a few weeks or a few months, but for a few years, experience hell here compared with what they have left back home.

In the case of many professionals such as electricians and plumbers, for instance, we are told about the ridiculous outlook that they have on our papers. The people are told they must go through a refreshment course in order to obtain the papers to work in Canada. I do not think they would be so eager to leave to come to Canada if they knew what the situation was really going to be.

The thing is that the government officials over Europe use English to pass the tests which is ridiculous compared to the English that is needed in Canada. Many of those people come here with the hope that they will just be able to change their papers or somehow and go to work and the language will not be that much of a barrier. However, if they knew the true state of affairs they would not leave what they have back home and come to Canada.

The Chairman: Thank you. There is somebody back there, a young lady.

Miss Darlene Morray: I am not sure that there is anybody here who can answer my question. I am talking mostly about the school system. I am a volunteer working with emotionally disturbed school kids. These are kids that could not cope with the school system but they are still in the system. We have approximately 120 kids between the ages of 4 and 18 and it is run strictly by high school volunteers.

Just by looking at the kids you can pick out which ones are going to make it in life and which ones are going to be down there all their lives. I was brought up in Regent Park and I know what it is like.

I have heard of one school, Beverley School, and toured it once. It is a school where these kids cannot read. However, are there any more of these schools? I was with one of the kids I had under my care to go to school, to a public school, and she was in grade 6, she couldn't read, she couldn't even spell her name properly. She was still in grade 6. I asked the teacher why and she said, "Well, you know, she is 13 and has been failing every year." After failing twice they just put her forward because there was no place else for her. They just kept pushing her up. She is never going to make it. She is never going to be able to get a chance. She cannot speak properly even. She is really though a mentally competent person; she could go to work if she were only given a chance some place. I think she has to be given a chance.

Why are there not more special schools, more trained people, more people who could deal with such people? She cannot cope with life as it is. There are hundreds of these kids, not just one.

The Chairman: What school are you at?

Miss Morray: I am not at school.

The Chairman: Where are you helping?

Miss Morray: In the inner city.

Mr. Clarke: That is why I raised the point in my remarks about the disturbed people, the kids. This is the problem that arises because we have in our classrooms, as somebody else mentioned earlier, I believe, as many as 30 to 40 children. The teacher does not have the time to deal closely with the children, so they gradually promote the children and they may be making even in basic reading and comprehension skills. The teacher says, "Well, I will have to pass you on."

When we take this subject up with the school board, they say, "We don't have the teachers to spend the time teaching those kids those skills." There are a couple of schools now, where during the summer holidays, they take children in for these special classes. At those classes cost \$300 to \$400. They are classes where they teach them these basic skills in order to bring them up to the capacity where they can understand and read.

Unless we put more money into our school system and reduce the number of children in these classes so that the child is not dropped into the opportunity or put into the emotionally disturbed schools, all we deal with these specific problems that the children have, just so that they can understand enough to read, write and to speak properly, all the rest of the school's academic program is wasted.

The Chairman: Well, that was in the report of the commission of government quite some time ago. There was quite a hullabaloo about it in the province.

es, Mr. Martyniuk.

Mr. Martyniuk: Mr. Chairman, there was one point raised here I would like to go into. The government spends approximately somewhere between \$150 million to \$175 million, and it may be more now, in revenues by way of taxes on alcohol. From what I have read in the papers, they spend about \$180,000 a year on research into alcoholism. Alcohol has created perhaps more poverty than any other one item. However, taking in so much money, it hasn't put back a relatively equal sum into research as a guarantee that if you consume alcohol you have a certain type of assurance you will get help if you are unable to handle it?

You can say, of course, that you don't have to drink. That is true. However, not everybody can regulate themselves or is aware of what is happening to him until it happens. I believe you could have sort of an insurance included in the consumption of alcohol, part of it being money the government would relinquish, the tax part, and part of it the company would pay, so that if this person becomes alcoholic, and many do, as we know, he has a chance of getting free care until he either gets well or is cared for so that the taxpayers as a whole do not have to pay for it.

That, in my opinion, is a very logical program which could be extended to many other areas, into research in the fields of alcoholism or any of these potentially dangerous drugs of whatever nature they may be. In my opinion they should have that insurance so that if something happens to a person because of what they have consumed they can be taken care of by those that have made fortunes out of it.

The Chairman: Well, Dan, you have a unique idea there. Let me just say that there is constant research. However, I have no answer on that problem for you tonight. I can only say that the government does embark on research into this field. It is a very personal problem and it is one that belongs to the provincial government. It should not be within our purview of poverty in this Senate hearing.

Mr. Delfim Viana: I have a question. As you know, over the years, there have been many immigrants, not all, but say 80%, who have had retraining, ones that come from Portugal, Italy and Spain, say. Do you know how many, say, ten years ago were on welfare and how many of such immigrants are on welfare, say, three years ago? There might be a solution there. The solution might be to call back those immigrants who have had no re-training from ten years up to three years ago and start retraining more of them.

The Chairman: Mr. Joyce reminds me that Mr. Anderson, the welfare commissioner, told us something about that, that there were 1700 immigrants on welfare, I think it was.

Miss Brown, do you have the correct figures?

Miss K. Brown: I am quoting from memory, Mr. Chairman, too, but I think what he said was of the 1700 families who had gone on welfare, I believe within the first year of their residence in Metro, 1400 were Canadian migrants and 300 families were immigrants.

The Chairman: That's it.

Mr. Viana: So the schooling is not helping them at all.

The Chairman: Well, it must be helping them.

Mr. Viana: Why don't you retrain the people who don't have any schooling at all?

The Chairman: That is one of the problems.

Mr. Viana: Since I came here eight years ago, I listen on the radio and read in the newspapers that you have generations of families on welfare, generation after generation. Why don't you inform them, those who get cheques at the end of every month, why don't you tell them to get a cheque at school? Why don't you retrain them?

The Chairman: We will consider what you have said. I believe there is a young man back there who wishes to say something.

Mr. Brian Nasimok: Mr. Chairman, so far we have been mentioning a lot about money and goods and services. The point I would like to discuss is mentioned in the St. Christopher House brief. That is education for the young. I am talking about the universal accessibility of the young to get at least into high school and even into post-secondary education. As time goes on the education needs are growing more and more. You will find that in your post-secondary institutions you have an unfair majority of the middle and upper classes attending school whereas the lower or the poorer classes do not have the opportunity to get into the higher end of high school, let alone university or community college. I think this is another thing that must be looked into. That is how we can get the students who are forced or seem to be forced out in grade 9, and who have the ability to go on, to get them to go on. I think we should be concentrating on that and giving them the opportunity that others have.

The Chairman: Is there anyone else?

Miss Margo Kleiker: I wanted to mention something about a group that has been around for years and years, the older people. Their problems are hidden behind walls. The people I am working with are not able to get out. I just want to say that in spite of the fact that you don't see their problems you should, please, do something about them.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mr. E. A. Edison: Senator Croll, ladies and gentlemen, I would like to speak about the members of our society. Man is a member of that society, woman is a member, students are members, and, last but not least, the Indian is a member. I think we have to look at all these things. I am going to say something on behalf of students because I am in Seneca College, which is a community college of applied arts and technology, which is in fact a retraining program.

Now, I worked for three years. I didn't know what way I was going to go. I decided I would go back to school, so I went to Seneca College. I worked at the House of Concord for a while, a place for teen-agers who have had various troubles, you know, usually with the law. So naturally I was oriented to social welfare work. So I said, "Fine, I will go to Seneca College." I went there and I am in a two-year course on social services.

Now I find that, after attending there a year, when you get out there isn't too much chance of really gaining a job in this area.

I don't care what anybody says, there really isn't much chance of gaining a job in this work. Since the college first opened three and a half years ago the first graduates have come out and 30% of them went into social welfare work and 40% of them have gone to teachers' college and 20% of them are sitting on the sidelines doing nothing. So the government has this retraining program but what the hell good is it doing?

The Chairman: Did you say social welfare?

Mr. Edison: Yes.

The Chairman: Well, they are as scarce as hen's teeth. Every advertisement in the social welfare council books I get is asking for them, asking for anyone at all who is a social welfare worker.

Mr. Edison: Out of a university, maybe. This is not a university I am speaking of.

The Chairman: When I asked you whether it was a social welfare worker position you were speaking of you said, "Yes." I assumed you were going to college. You say Seneca College doesn't give you a degree the same as a university?

Mr. Edison: No, it gives you a diploma.

The Chairman: A diploma for what?

Mr. Edison: For social welfare.

The Chairman: Without the degree?

Mr. Edison: That's right.

The Chairman: And it is a two-year course as against what? A four-year course?

Mr. Edison: Yes.

Mr. Clarke: The other one gives the M.S.W.

The Chairman: Yes, I understand.

Mr. Edison: Okay, if they want to go further in their education, the first two years at Seneca College are pretty well identical to the first year at the university. If I want to go on I have to go back to first year university. The government started this school, the provincial government started this school. They are putting quite a bit of the shot on this thing. I would just like to say that there are a lot of people in these colleges who are not from the middle class. A lot of the people in these colleges are from the poorer class because it is not an expensive thing to go to. The big problem is that once they get out of the college they still have trouble finding employment. I think the thing here is that the government, before they even accept these people for going through these courses at the college, should give them some sort of guarantee that they will have employment when they complete the course.

There is another point I would like to mention. You see, and I cannot quote your words exactly, but you see, if there is one thing this country needs it is people.

The Chairman: Yes, I said that.

Mr. Edison: With the number of people we have here and the amount of unemployment, the amount of welfare, I cannot see why you want more people here until we clear up the problems of the people we have here now. That is all. Thank you.

Mr. Ken Acton: Mr. Chairman, senators, I am very happy to have been at this meeting to hear the different speakers. There has been quite a lot of discussion from the floor tonight. I hope that there has been a note made of all these brilliant suggestions and if possible, you can put them into practice.

Now, with regard to the recommendation from St. Christopher House, I looked through it and I feel that it is quite feasible, and I would like to suggest that the senators take this matter under advisement and work out to the best of their ability and help to improve the community as much as possible.

I think the director of St. Christopher House did mention something about a new building to condense the activities of St. Christopher House. I think that is a very fine thought. This building has been here many years. Of course the community is much larger with all the people coming in and we need more space. Therefore I think this recommendation from St. Christopher House should be fully considered, Mr. Chairman.

I would like to hear from you or from any department of government about this. The time is getting late. It is after ten. Of course, we have been talking a long, long time, but we must come to the point. Thank you.

From The Audience: I would like to make a suggestion concerning education, and that is that there

is only one person that I know of who can handle our problem and that would be Joey Smallwood of Newfoundland. He is the only one who has done such a good job, and that is in his advancement of education in the province of Newfoundland. If more people would accomplish things like that we would have advances in education.

Mr. Mira: There is one point I would like to bring to your attention again, and it has been mentioned by a few immigrants here, and that is the lack of information centres at the landing points of immigrants. It is the lack of co-ordination between the provincial authorities and federal authorities at the landing points. A lot of the problems with some of the immigrants lies in the fact that right at the landing point they do not know where to go outside. I know a number of cases where, if they did not get help fast enough, they would have wound up on welfare. Fortunately, they did receive help.

The airlines, when they land immigrants, try to get rid of them as fast as possible. The immigration authorities go through your health certificates and passports and say, "Everything is fine, you are in good health, go on." When he goes to look for his luggage, he cannot speak the language, he is alone, and if he does not have a friend to tell him something he is entirely on his own. Some problems, as I say, start right there like that, right at the landing point.

My suggestion or recommendation, and this is not very difficult, is that, after all the federal government spends in the way of money in overseas offices, they should do something about the situation at the landing points. There is a lot of money spent there already because a lot of immigrants or prospective immigrants receive a lot of interviews. I am not asking for very much, just that the immigration officer, when he receives the immigrant, be prepared with, say, a package, perhaps a questionnaire in the immigrant's own language, to be filled out and the information could be given back to the immigrant, enough information to carry on in his own language and get him started. That would not be very expensive. It might even be done in co-ordination with some of the social agencies at the landing points.

Mr. Chairman, I am talking about the landing ports where the immigrants make their first contacts with Canada. We should have someone there who speaks their language. This is just a recommendation, something that should be looked into. I have had very many experiences where mothers have landed with their children and their husbands were sometimes not waiting for them at the airport, and these mothers could not speak the language. Sometimes they haven't any money, they have children in their arms, and they have to go somewhere to meet their husbands. Sometimes their husbands live in northern Ontario or other places far away. They don't know where to go. The airlines don't want anything to do with them. They

are finished with them. They collect the fares and that's it.

Fortunately, sometimes there is a helping hand about, a friend or someone who gives them board and room and sends them on their way, but in the case of many of them, mothers and children, they face problems in the way I have mentioned.

Would you please, Mr. Senator, consider that?

Mr. Maben: May I respond to that, Mr. Chairman?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Maben: I started out in my concern with immigrants in 1957 when I was working in an immigrant welcome centre during the summer at an airport. This is the type of thing that I think to a certain extent Mr. Mira is suggesting. Why that type of service broke down I don't know. It used youth volunteers; it was run by the social planning council at that particular time. I would think what is being suggested could be run by volunteers. We used interpreters on the telephone, which presented an opportunity for us to pick up various languages, and I am sure it did assist a great number of people coming in when immigration turned the problems over to us.

Further to that, I think Mr. Mira may be saying that the immigration department might have a closer link to any services like that because it depends on whether or not they were accepting types like us in immigration offices at the time or whether they would kick us out, saying, "You have no authority, get out of here, we don't want you, you have no official status here, don't come inside our door."

Mr. Alf Barclay: The gentleman from the Portuguese Canadian Congress was advised on February 25th, was it, to present a brief to this meeting. Is it the policy of this committee to give organizations such a short time to present briefs, to gather up this sort of information? If so, how is this going to encourage people to come here, such limited time? It is all very well to come forward with a statement of basic interest but I think you gentlemen, in the limited time you have crossing the country, need more than just basic motherhood statements from the various organizations. I would like to know if that is your policy, to give such short notice?

The Chairman: We have had no complaints about short notice. If people asked for more time they could have it.

Mr. Barclay: How could you have given longer time if you were scheduled to be in Toronto on a particular date?

The Chairman: We have had 23 briefs ready for us. We could have had 46 from people who were prepared to come.

Mr. Barclay: We had one brief here that could not be presented.

The Chairman: They cannot all be presented.

Mr. Barclay: Well, do you think two weeks is sufficient time?

The Chairman: You could have prepared a shorter brief.

Mr. Barclay: Well, there is always the intensity of argument that might arise.

The Chairman: Well, here you are. There has been this intensity of argument here tonight.

Mr. Barclay: I am speaking of other groups that might have been affected.

The Chairman: I hadn't seen that letter at all.

Mr. Mira: We would have liked to prepare a lengthier brief with a more complex study.

The Chairman: As I say, I have never seen the letter. When was it mailed?

Mr. Mira: March 9th.

The Chairman: If you wish to send in a further brief you may.

Mr. Mira: We covered ourselves by stating we would be willing to present a further brief. We are not refused that opportunity, are we?

The Chairman: Oh, no. It has just been pointed out to me that if there is any doubt in your mind or if anyone has any form of brief that he wants to present, we will be glad to have it sent to us. Just send it to "O.H.M.S.", which means without a stamp.

We have had an excellent evening with you people and you have listened to us and we have listened to you. We will consider the presentations that have been made. We will make recommendations in due course. Thank you on behalf of myself and the senators of this committee.

The committee adjourned.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Toronto, Wednesday, March 11, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty, (Subcommittee "B"), met this day at 2.00 p.m., at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute, Toronto.

Senator Carter (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: The meeting will come to order. We have three witnesses this afternoon, one at 2.00 p.m., one at 3.00 p.m., and another at 4.00 p.m. The first brief will be presented by the Social Service Course students of Ryerson Polytechnical Institute. With us, spokesman, is Mr. P. A. Hanrahan, Chairman of this assignment.

I would like to compliment him on its excellence and the particular manner in which he selected different approaches and the general presentation of his findings.

Mr. Hanrahan can take it for granted that we have read his report and now if he would like to add to the report or if he would like to stress some of the highlights, I would ask him to take a few minutes for a brief opening statement and also to introduce, to the audience, his assistants who are here with him and then after that we will turn the meeting open for questions.

Mr. P. A. Hanrahan, Second Year Student, Social Service Course, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute: Thank you, very much. What I did want to do was to read out the summary that we have prepared. It is not quite as long as the brief but I hope we have included everything in it.

I will introduce, before I start, those who appear with me at this table. At my far left is Elizabeth Pers, who was secretary of the committee. Sitting on my right is Sue Fitchett, who is in charge of the group conducting inquiries into the attitudes of the middle class.

So, if I may, I will just start reading the statement of the summary of the brief.

The students of the Social Services Course at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute originally set out to present a brief which would illuminate the factors leading Welfare Recipients into the Welfare System. There was a consensus of opinion that not only are welfare recipients living in poverty, but they are in general unable for some reason to become self

supporting. We were soon to learn why they continue to live in poverty. The absolute hopelessness of their situation and the futility of attempting to do anything about it makes them adjust to their impoverished circumstances, to make them somehow more comfortable. They must, because they have no other choice. There is not only the problem of living in poor housing, the problem of having limited education, the problem of poor health, the problem of being unskilled, the problem of being snubbed by society, the problem of poor nourishment, the problem of cheap and shabby clothing, the problem of over crowding, the problem of insufficient recreational facilities, or the problem of social attitudes twisted through deprivation. Any one or two of these problems could possibly be treated successfully, but when families have all these problems to deal with at the same time, is there any wonder that they become bewildered, apathetic and eventually drop out?

Poverty has been studied for hundreds of years, and yet we have as much poverty now as ever. The poverty may not be of the same quality, but has the quantity changed? Certainly no one starves to death these days, but can we say that merely because everyone has daily meals of a sort, we are any further ahead?

Obviously not, otherwise we would not be here today looking for solutions.

Our committee meetings and enquiries produced no new facts. Everything we came up with had been studied and documented long before we got down to it. The areas we selected for deeper investigation were Assets and Income, Housing, Education, Attitudes of Welfare Recipients, Attitudes of others towards Welfare Recipients, Supportive Services, and Vocational Training, re-training and up-grading. Some Welfare Agencies refused us assistance in contacting welfare recipients, and some welfare recipients wanted no part of our survey. This would indicate to us that sufficient probing and questioning has been carried out, and that everyone, welfare recipients included, are weary and skeptical of surveys, studies and discussions.

You gentlemen and your companions have been travelling the length and breadth of the country, learning some of the problems of the poor. Any which you may not have been told about can be found documented from previous surveys. You will attempt to find solutions to these problems, but all that this will accomplish will be to treat a symptom of poverty, not poverty itself. Another band-aid will be placed

over the festering sore, and hopefully that will hold for a while, only to grow worse under the mass of band-aids. A way may be found to give some poor person a mattress, or a suit of clothes, but can this take him out of poverty?

Whatever the causes of poverty might be, poverty is essentially economic. The resources of this bountiful country are not being distributed to all of its residents. If our capitalistic system fails to funnel a fair share of resources to all, another way must be found to induce this artificially. The poor must be enabled to earn sufficient money to sustain themselves at a humane and dignified level. If this can not be achieved, then what they are unable to earn must be given to them as a right. In order to re-distribute anything at all, the "have-nots" must receive from the "haves". This will not occur as a voluntary measure by those who have. Government therefore must enforce it. If we could not see the necessity for this, we would not now have a Welfare System at all, because this is all that Welfare consists of. The reason it does not eliminate poverty is because it is too meagre. The nation as a whole is too miserly. Whilst we eat steaks, we allow those who have no food to lick our plates so that they do not starve, then we pat ourselves on the back for feeding them. The wealthy think nothing of spending an amount for a good night out which would feed, clothe and shelter a poor person for a month.

The poor need money. Money is a basic necessity in a capitalist society. With this in mind, we propose the following economic measures:

- 1) For those unable for any reason to earn a living through employment, there should be a built-in increase in Welfare and other Social Assistance Allowances, to coincide with increases in the cost of living.
- 2) There must be an increase in minimum wages. When we hear of people who are better off on welfare than they would be if they worked, there are two possible reasons:
 - a) Welfare is too high,
 - b) Wages are too low.

Take a look at how the average welfare family lives, and then try to tell me that Welfare is too high. The fat profits being taken by industry can well afford to be diluted, so that the man who works hard five or six days a week may take home a wage on which he may live contentedly. For those small businesses which can show that they would be unable to operate profitably by paying an increased minimum wage, Government subsidies, or tax relief could be given to defray those extra costs. How many people, fit and able to work, would remain home on Welfare then?

- 3) Legislation and enforcement of equal pay for women doing the same job as men, since many poor families are headed by women.

- 4) Work incentives for the able bodied in the form of retention of earnings over and above welfare, the poverty level of income as defined by the Economic Council of Canada, rather than the reduction of welfare allowances by the amount earned as is now practiced. Unless this is permitted, the Welfare recipient is quite obviously destined to remain below the poverty line.

On Housing: Once again it was felt that all that could be said has been said. Talk, enquiries, investigations, etcetera, do not build houses. Surveys and commissions are expensive. Let the cost of such surveys be put towards action.

Government rent control is a must. The ridiculous spiralling of housing costs is nothing short of black market activity. I have seen rooms not fit to keep a dog in, where the rent is \$15.00 per week, more than half of the welfare recipient's total allowance. The recipient has no option but to accept the landlord's terms, because it is a seller's market. \$15.00 per week may seem ridiculously low to those living in \$190 to \$250 per month apartments or houses, but the quality is also ridiculously low.

Education: We know that education is necessary for eventual job opportunity. The very people who need it most, have to choose between their children continuing in school, or bringing home wages, which incidentally causes the parents' welfare allowance to be reduced. When you have been short of money for possibly years, which do you think is seen as the more beneficial by the family? Children in turn are anxious to buy from their own earnings some of the things which their parents have been unable to provide. With a decent standard of living the children would be able to go on to that higher education which our system demands.

Attitudes:

Our research into attitudes of others toward welfare recipients clearly shows that the middle class in general have little real knowledge of the problems of the poor or of the welfare system. The task group on attitudes of the working classes toward welfare recipients arrived at one main conclusion from the survey conducted — the locked-in welfare recipient is kept locked in also by the attitudes of the working class. They have no factual conception of the welfare system, and the individuals who are socially outcast because they do not produce money. Their ill-informed influence legislation, the people who work within the welfare system, and the attitude of the recipient toward himself. For these reasons we call for so far more form of public education about the system of welfare in Canada.

Retraining:

Industry should be required to assist in the retraining process. This could be effected by legislation requiring all large businesses to hire a percentage

undicapped people, and also requiring that they have facilities for retraining people with handicaps. Industry takes, let it also give. Retraining is only useful however if the individual is able to earn enough after training to support himself. This must therefore be coupled with the recommendations on income, i. e. minimum wage increase and/or supplement of earnings through Welfare.

Supportive Services:

It was noted that counselling services were sadly lacking. Approximately 40% of those interviewed who did not receive any counselling, felt that it would help. Who better to train and employ in the Welfare field than Welfare Recipients. Their first hand knowledge would be invaluable, and they would be more likely to gain the acceptance of others in the same unfortunate circumstances.

In conclusion, we must point out that poverty in a capitalist society is inevitable. In order to eliminate it, some must give and others must take. Those who suffer from poverty are expending all of their energy to merely survive. They have no time or energy left to achieve. If lifted out of this vacuum, to where they do not constantly have to strive to keep their heads above water, we may see some more people able to swim. We want capitalism and free enterprise: therefore we must pay for the consequences and inadequacies of that system. Why should those in poverty feel any sense of responsibility towards society? Look what society has done for them. Rapid technological advances result in more skills being learned by better educated people. They also mean less manual work. The unskilled and semi-skilled are rapidly becoming obsolete. Do we cast them aside to suffer deprivation, or do we use those technological advances to permit everyone to live abundantly? Before we can expect the poor to have faith in a system of improvement, we must give them proof that we are willing and able to improve their lot. How long do we expect them to keep faith with no reward for that faith? Do something other than research the problem and we can make believers out of them. Sympathy and understanding have their place, but they do not lessen the suffering.

We have an example very close to home, in the U.S.A. of the results of continuous frustrations suffered by the poor. When there is no legal way out of the situation, violence becomes the only other means. Let us prevent riots and revolution by giving the help that is talked about so much but never forthcoming.

The Chairman: Thank you, Mr. Hanrahan.

Before I open the meeting to questions, I think I should introduce the other senators, my colleagues, who are here with me. On my extreme right is Senator Pearson and on his left is Senator McGrand and on my left is Senator Sparrow.

Now, Senator Pearson, do you have some questions?

Senator Pearson: First I would like to ask a question; you seem, in this brief, to be very much down on the capitalist idea of the way we run things and I am inclined to agree with you that there are a lot of things that could be changed, but are you, in this polytechnical school here, laying more stress on socialism than on the capitalistic system or not?

Mr. Hanrahan: I think we have capitalism and this is what the people want. We have to be able to sort out some of the inadequacies that come with it.

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Miss Elizabeth Peters, First Year Student, Social Service Course, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute: May we join in?

Senator Pearson: Yes, definitely.

Miss Peters: It struck us particularly that people accept capitalism without realizing the consequences. I think this is the thing that struck home to me that the majority of people like the things that capitalism brings, but they don't realize that inevitably it is the people at the bottom who are going to suffer and I think the general public, especially from the attitudes, is not aware of the fact that if you are going to have a capitalistic society, you are going to have people who do not have enough money unless you do something about it. It is this sort of attitude that it will work itself out and everybody will get an adequate standard of living and they do not. I think this realization, somehow, has to come across.

Senator Pearson: One of the problems, as I see it, in the capitalistic system is that technological advances in the present age, especially in the western world — and it could be in the socialist world too — is throwing so many people who were semi-skilled and probably well-skilled in their particular line but now are unskilled, it throws them out of the picture. It throws a tremendous burden on the people on the lower rungs to keep up with this thing.

Miss Peters: Yes, but does the general public really realize this? I don't think they do.

Senator Pearson: This is what the general public does not realize and this is one of the problems that this committee is facing as we go across Canada. We are trying to find out, from the people at each locality, as to what is happening and what we can do, the government can do to rectify this problem.

Senator McGrand: May I ask a question just supplementary?

Did I understand you to say that people accept capitalism regardless of its consequences. Is that what you said?

Miss Peters: I think so, I think most of us do.

Senator McGrand: Now, what is the alternative to capitalism? Is it socialism?

Miss Peters: I think we can have capitalism with adequate social security.

Senator McGrand: Now you have capitalism or socialism and would you accept socialism with its consequences or is it capitalism that is geared to the needs of the people?

Miss Peters: Yes, I would say that.

Senator McGrand: Rather than socialism?

Miss Peters: Yes, we are representing the body of students so obviously we do not like to say whether we are either socialists or capitalists. As individuals, I would imagine if Canada needs a capital . . .

Senator McGrand: That is supplementary to Senator Pearson's question.

Senator Pearson: On your page 3, down half way:

Government rent control is a must. The ridiculous spiralling of housing costs is nothing short of black market activity."

Rent control is a very hard thing to handle in a sense because you have not only to think about the rent control, that is you are controlling a landlord and he cannot increase his rents. His cost of keeping his property in shape and his cost of taxation on that property is going up all the time and the question is where to draw the balance between the two. You said that \$15.00 a week, in a room where you would not put a dog. I went into a house in Halifax where a deserted mother was living with two little children. One child had just come back from the hospital from having a bad case of pneumonia and another one had a bad cold. She was in two rooms. Each room was the same width, just wide enough for a double bed where she and the two children left a little passage between the bed and the wall. Both rooms were the same. They lived in the one and slept in the other. No air in that place whatever. The windows were sealed up to save heat. In that place she paid \$70.00 a month for this obligation to live there.

Mr. Hanrahan: Is that not exactly what we are saying? It is a black market.

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Mr. Hanrahan: It is extortion.

Senator Pearson: It is extortion, yes. Is what you are going to do with the landlord is take over his property or is he going to be allowed to live too? This is quite a problem just to figure out where the balance is between these two.

Mr. Hanrahan: Nobody said it is easy.

Senator McGrand: I don't think anyone would want to take over his property and try to make a profit of what he has with the rundown condition of property. We saw that. We went through it. I would not want to own his property and try to make a profit on it.

From the Floor: Can't hear a word you are saying.

The Chairman: You will have to speak a little louder into the microphone.

Senator Pearson: On page 4 of your Attitudes, page 4, you talked about attitudes:

Our research into attitudes of others toward welfare recipients clearly show that the middle class in general have little real knowledge of the problems of the poor . . .

This is one of the big problems that we have in this committee, to try and make the public aware of the poverty that is in Canada. We go along on our daily task, it is a rush, rush, rush all the time and we go past these people all the time and never see them and this is what we are trying to do in this committee, trying to bring this point to the public.

These meetings, as we are having here in Toronto supply us with a fair amount of publicity and we hope it will stir people up in the City of Toronto and Ontario and of course, right across Canada on the problem of poverty. This is our function at the present time.

At the same time we are asking the people in the communities for their opinions and ideas so that we may eventually come to some solution on behalf of the committee and the government.

The Chairman: Do you have any comment?

Miss Sue Fitchett, First Year Student, Soc Service Course, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute: I can say this, this is what we found from our Questionnaire that we ran, that the public had a conception of what the welfare system was. Most people thought that at least 50% of their tax dollars was going in direct payment to a welfare recipient. They did not realize that the baby bonus, Canada Pension, all comes under Health and Welfare. We find that we cannot make effective changes in welfare

legislation in the attitude of the poor towards themselves. Some form of self respect without changing the attitude of the middle class, the working classes, because they are obviously people who affect legislation.

So what we recommended was some form of public education and this is one way. We would also suggest perhaps that they be more aware of who the poor are. This is a very difficult question but they have the idea that welfare recipients are all able bodied men who sit in front of their television sets and imbibe in beer and cash welfare cheques. This is totally wrong. The percentage of able bodied on welfare is very, very low. They just do not seem to realize this.

Senator Pearson: We also ran across the problem, we had lunch at the Italian Service Centre this afternoon. I was talking to one chap there and he said one of the big problems is the variety of the welfare agencies and people get into these classes of poverty for some reason or other, a man may lose his job or become sick and then he doesn't know where to go to get assistance and this is one of the problems they find among the Italian people to get them on the road to know where they are to go when they get their welfare. There should be one, central fund, so that anybody who is injured or hurt knows this is the place to go and will not have a dozen places. This is one of the problems we found.

Miss Peters: I was going to say that I think this is very true of all the acts. I was up to Elliot Lake recently and came into contact with a paraplegic who had no idea of the Vocational Rehabilitation Act. Especially in the smaller centres people just do not know what is available to them and I think one very good way to advertise what is available is in the newspapers. Quite honestly the recent things they have heard up about unemployment insurance, I think, could be adapted for disbursing information; so much goes to welfare, so much goes to, you know, other things and also the very fact that only 5% of welfare recipients could work. Simple facts like these could be disseminated some way so the general public becomes aware of it.

Senator Pearson: He suggested that one chap injured his back and was out of work but his union took care of his hospitalization, OHSIP and such like all of a sudden his dues there were swallowed up from the union. He had been out of work too long and he did not know where to go. Suddenly he felt he was out in the cold and nobody was paying his health insurance and this is one of the problems of this variety of welfare agencies.

I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

Senator McGrand: Could I follow that up?

You said the percentage of able bodied men is very low. What research have we got? What evidence have we got that this is really so, because I still feel there are a lot of able bodied men on welfare and they are on welfare perhaps not because of their own fault, you need more than just an able body to be a good worker, you need something besides that. What evidence have you got? What research has been done to prove that there are few able bodied, physically fit, mentally competent men who are on welfare?

Miss Peters: I quote only from figures that I have read.

Senator McGrand: What is the source of your figures?

Mr. Hanrahan: Senator Croll is one.

The Chairman: He has not done the research.

Senator Sparrow: The Americans on the poverty programme did a study on this and these are the figures being used. In Canada, the Province of Alberta is the only province that has done a study as such. There are individual community studies that I think we have access to and the Alberta study and the American study coincided in their figures very closely as to the people on welfare being 48% or—I should not say, "welfare", the people below a poverty level, there were 48% of them working poor, 38% are the one family—one parent families, 10% are the disabled and so on and 5% are the people who might be able to work but just too lazy to work. I think these are the figures they are using.

Senator McGrand: Five per cent, senator?

Senator Sparrow: Five per cent.

Senator McGrand: Of the welfare recipients?

Senator Sparrow: Five per cent of the people below the poverty level.

Senator McGrand: Are able bodied?

Senator Sparrow: Yes, not classified in any of the other groups.

The Chairman: You have a question, Senator Sparrow?

Senator Sparrow: I would like further comment by this group.

Mr. Hanrahan: Well, in that case, if you would like comments from the group, I would like to invite comments from the students who participated.

Senator Sparrow: Perhaps, senator, if I might, just to encourage perhaps questions, you wanted questions from the audience or are you suggesting that in your questionnaire, I think this questionnaire, the answer to it at least shows up not only the problem of the middle class and when I say "class" I am referring to economic class or group, you mentioned that of the middle working class having to be better educated as far as poverty is concerned. Would the people from your survey, would they indicate that they in turn do not really understand the problem or the answers to it? I just refer to question 15:

Do you feel your children are getting enough education?

And 64% of them said, "yes". I think that any one of us in this hall today would agree that they are not getting enough education as such and it surprised me that of that interview group that 64% of them would in fact feel that their education, when you proceed further into the questionnaire, I think the figures that only 5% in fact ever go to university. Surely we have to find some way of giving these people the knowledge of the importance of education and the incentive for their children to get a better education than they are getting so that the next survey 64% of them will say that they think their children are getting enough education.

Mr. Hanrahan: I would just like to reply to that. 64% of them are probably right when they say they think that they are getting enough education because of the opportunities that do exist. They are getting enough education for these opportunities, this education is realistic for what they are going to be able to do afterwards.

Senator Sparrow: I would like further explanation on that one.

Mr. Hanrahan: I think that if the poor people—the children are getting Grade 9 education—then probably the poor people think this is quite enough for the type of jobs that are going to be open to those children.

Senator Sparrow: Is that not what I said? We have to educate them, inform them that this is not enough. They have got to overrate their education. Is that not right?

Mr. Hanrahan: Yes, but we have to give them the opportunity to get better jobs, to get a little higher education.

Senator Sparrow: Definitely.

The Chairman: That 64% was taken from a sample of 150?

Mr. Hanrahan: Just a small sample, 21.

The Chairman: Twenty-one, yes. That is a rather small sample to draw conclusions from, don't you think? I would like to ask you a question myself. Gather that all three of you are social workers?

Mr. Hanrahan: Social service—unpaid.

The Chairman: Tell me when you, as a group, became interested in poverty in Canada? When did you suddenly become aware that this was a national problem?

Mr. Hanrahan: I would think that would vary from individual to individual. Some before they came here and some since they came here. I was working in the welfare field before I came to Ryerson and some have worked in the welfare field for years, many years before coming to us, so they have been involved with this problem much longer than the two years or so year they have been at Ryerson. Some have not.

Senator Carter: You were aware of it as a national problem before you came to Ryerson?

Mr. Hanrahan: I was aware there was poverty in Canada, yes.

The Chairman: Well, that is not my question. We know there is poverty in Canada. We all meet it in our daily lives. We run across poverty somewhere and think that we are inclined to accept it but that is nothing. To look at it as a national problem that should not permit to exist is quite another thing and that is my question; when did you become aware of this as a national problem that is a blight on our society and that should not be permitted to exist?

Mr. Hanrahan: Well, myself, probably since I came to Ryerson. You know we all see poverty. We realize it is unfortunate but we probably do not think of it as a national problem until we actually start selling it.

The Chairman: May I ask the same question of your other two assistants?

Miss Peters: I came to Canada as an immigrant. I was then employed in the medical field and I found it a wonderful country. It did not take me long to realize that Canada was not such a wonderful country once you became sick or disabled. You rapidly lost your source of income. You rapidly lost the finances you had. I also became involved with boys on probation from small families. I again found out that there were poorer families in Canada. It is fine if you are young and healthy and fine if you have got a skill—Canada is a wonderful country. Just become poor and disabled. It is not such a poor country, I must admit, till I came to Ryerson and examined probably my own attitude that I did not realize that some of the causes of poverty—I mean the radical causes of poverty—

does not start to analyse them because one is quite so comfortable, you know. One may be concerned but one is so comfortable oneself one does not really stop to find out why other people are poor and what you can do about it. I think this is a major problem. Again because of apathy, you know.

Miss Fitchett: I started to work with poverty groups when I was fourteen and I lied about my age and started working in a camp, but I did not realize really at poverty existed as a problem until I started to work on this committee on attitudes and I started to take surveys and I began to realize what it must be to live under the stigma of Welfare the way we investigate welfare cases. I was appalled at the attitude of my father that, you know, poor people are, you know, parasites on the community and I began to realize just that they have to go through to live in a society where they are always outcasts and you are always forced to be put under investigation as we are investigating them now. Of course when they are receiving payments they are investigated far more in a way that leaves them no self respect and I think this is when I realized poverty was the problem it is.

Miss Peters: Can we ask the senators the same question?

Senator Sparrow: First of all, Senator Carter, I think your question was excellent although I do not think it was accepted in the way it was asked because this is a problem, how are you going to have people aware, at least think this group is here, that there is poverty. How do they become aware because our problem is making the rest of the people in Canada aware of the problem so that if any individual can ever give us their experience we get to everyone to get those experiences. Maybe we can relate that in the method of informing the mass of the Canadian people of this problem. There is your father and perhaps my father and perhaps everyone else's father, who have come up through a different era of lack of understanding, and I believe that is all it is, it is a lack of understanding, where they think when you talk of Welfare they don't understand it is only the 5% you referred to that are perhaps lazy, the no-goods, so to speak, and that we have to get that message across to all of the people of Canada because they are the ones that have to make the decisions. Fortunately, or unfortunately, our society is governed by this middle class society and the higher income people and it is those people we must get this message across to. I am sure that is what Senator Carter was asking, tell us your experiences so we can turn can take these experiences and relate them to the rest of the people of Canada.

You mentioned the word "stigma" on welfare, and I think there are two things that most of us are aware of as I know you are, the word "welfare" is not a good word. The word that should be used is "social services," so that we can encourage the use that and in

fact there would not be a stigma, as such, for receiving social services. We do not want to see a stigma and we do not think there should be a stigma on it. We have to in turn get that across that there is no stigma. If we can assist people and give them an incentive then there should be no stigma to it because we want to raise their level.

Senator Pearson: May I ask a question here? In this class of social services that Ryerson School has, how many are taking the course, how many years does it last?

Miss Fitchett: Approximately 150, is it?

Mr. Hanrahan: Seventy odd in the second year, I don't know about the first year, about 150.

Miss Fitchett: It is a three year course, two year option. It is not a social work course but a social services course. If I could just say that Senator Sparrow was mentioning about how to get across to the general public this idea of poverty. One thing I would discourage is the printing of sob stories about the United Appeal Fund. When we ask people what their opinions are on welfare recipients they first of all tell us that they have personal experience. When we ask them to qualify that we get things like, "my second husband's brother-in-law is on welfare". I question the validity of that and I question the validity of the stories in the press. I don't think there is any way that these two areas get across the real situation.

The Chairman: Is there somebody down there who wants to add to this?

Mr. Dennis Colby: I was just curious at the reactions of the students taking the course here at Ryerson. For instance, how do the municipal governments and the boards of education, for instance, come into this aspect? I know, for instance, in let's say the center part of the city in Ward 7 which is one of the very poor parts of this city, education in academic institutions is discouraged. There is not one academic institution of learning, they are all technical and vocational. I was just wondering what is the reaction, the attitudes of people you reviewed on the subject of education?

Miss Fitchett: Do you mean the attitudes of the middle working class?

Mr. Colby: Yes, you know, the attitudes of the municipal governments and the boards of education. Do they tend to discourage people in their own incentives in seeking higher education, especially in poorer areas of the city?

Miss Fitchett: I cannot really say. I will give you an example. I just found out the other day, I am not sure

how accurate my facts are, Ryerson Public School is one of the largest public schools in all of Ontario. It is situated at Dundas and Bathurst. I think something like 1600 public school kids are there and there is one social worker who they share with twelve other schools. I think their recesses have to be staggered because they do not have a playground and they have too many kids to let out at the same time. Their classes are very large and it does not seem to me to encourage education where it should be encouraged.

The attitude of the working class? We ask a question on children, most were sort of sympathetic to deserving cases — the true poor — but there were cases where people felt it was the parents' fault and "retraining" was the more common word, that there should be more education and some sort of training in a level of vocational training.

Mr. Colby: I wondered whether or not the government tended, as I say, to encourage this by not building academic institutions. In the streaming everyone is directed into the vocational and technical school. Surely there must be some academic students who come from the area.

Miss Mary Long, Student, Social Service Course, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute: I would like to ask Senator Sparrow a question. You said that one of the ways to solve the problem of the stigma of being on welfare was to change the name. From what I have heard the name has been changed many times and it doesn't matter what word you give to it, "flower people" is a nice word but it is always attached to being poor. It becomes a stigma and I don't see how changing a word can do anything.

Senator Sparrow: I did not suggest that by changing the name we would change the stigma. The point I was trying to get across was that I do not think there should be a stigma attached to people who require assistance in society and receive it. I do not think there should be a stigma attached to it. All I am saying is that we have tarred, generally speaking, all people who receive something as welfare or social aid and there is a stigma attached to that. I said that in this total services aspect, whether it is a retraining programme or something, there is a stigma that appears to be attached to all of those things and I like the broad term though of social services rather than welfare, as such, because we can have those social services and I consider education a social service. There is no stigma attached to that.

Miss Long: Well, our course was once called, "welfare" and they changed that to, "social services". It has still got the same stigma it had when it was called, "welfare".

Senator Sparrow: I think we are getting better though in society. I think it goes back to the era of relief. That had a worse stigma than even welfare has. So we are progressing. Relief as such was a very definite stigma in the period of time I came from. Perhaps a little extended beyond your time.

Miss Long: I would also like to say something else.

The Chairman: Just a minute, please. I must warn you that we are running short of time. We have about five minutes left and I would ask you to make your questions very short and your answers very short also.

Senator McGrand, do you want to ask one question?

Senator McGrand: I am going to try and clarify something. This stigma that is attached to welfare probably goes back to the days when people who could not support themselves were placed on parish aid on the taxpayers and they were called, "paupers" and they lost their right to vote, they lost their right to citizenship, they could not serve on juries or participate in community affairs. They had lost their identities as citizens and I think that is the background.

Miss Long: May I say something else? One of the members from the committee asked how the senator became aware of people who are poor and I think this issue was sort of successfully evaded. I would like to ask you again.

Miss Peters: One of the things that really hit us in preparing this brief was we were trying to say really that you could not go around the country to find out the facts about poverty because most of them are written down somewhere. You must have known of the facts that have been presented to you. Was there an idea of going around to get people's attitudes, what exactly was the purpose? Most of the facts we found were already out several years ago.

The Chairman: Well, we all know what the problem is but what we are looking for is answers and so we are coming around, trying to get ideas from whatever sources we can find. We will try to appraise the ideas. We all know what poverty is and where it is and what causes it. We know most of the causes, but what we are looking for is answers and we are looking for the bright young people and bright ideas that we can come across.

From the Floor: Could you stay another five minutes?

The Chairman: A speaker in the audience has asked the committee to remain another five minutes. If you stay a little longer then we can get some answers.

Senator Sparrow: Just in fairness to your committee that prepared the brief and to the committee here we give these other briefs being presented this afternoon from other groups and this is why the committee has requested written briefs. We have studied these briefs and we will take these written briefs back to the full committee plus the additional recommendations or suggestions that may come from you. That is the purpose.

You have asked if we understand that problem the problem of poverty and you say studies have been done, but there has been no study in Canada done on poverty as a whole, as it affects all Canadians. The Economic Council of Canada, where most of these studies are being tossed around, with the relation of the dollar value on poverty, the recommendations from their studies are that in fact a Senate Committee has been established to study all aspects of poverty in Canada and this basically was what prompted this particular study because up to that time there had been no effective study. We have the Farmers' Unions which have done studies and the Labour Unions which have done it and a number of other groups that have done it but they have not covered the full poverty study in Canada as such. The important part, I would hope, at least of this committee, is that we can bring this information together that has been gathered from all sources, not only from Canada but studies from outside of Canada and bring them into a proposal in the policy to endeavour to solve the problem of poverty in Canada.

The Chairman: I am sorry, my friends, our time has run out. We started 15 minutes late and we are still late.

Miss Sally York, Journalism Student, Ryerson Polytechnical Institute: Is it possible for us to speak at the end of the afternoon because I have some really concrete suggestions to make which I think . . .

The Chairman: We will look to the end of the afternoon and we will be glad to stay here and I am sure my colleagues will. We have made arrangements to hear other people who are here and it is a matter of courtesy that we should hear them. We are hearing them 15 minutes late already so I think it is only a matter of common courtesy that we should hear them and after that, if there is more time, and you want to stay, we will be pleased to hear you.

Miss York: Would you kindly request then also that the press stay because I think there is a lack of communication right across Canada and I think this is part of the trouble and you will understand this when I make my recommendations. If you will be kind enough, I quite understand the fact that you would like us to leave now.

The Chairman: Mr. Hanrahan, I want to thank you again very, very much for the splendid brief. This is one of the best that we have seen and we are very sorry that we had so little time to discuss it with you. We would also like to thank you for taking the trouble to prepare such a comprehensive brief and for doing the research that you did and for coming here and presenting it this afternoon. Thank you very much.

We have with us now representatives of the SOS—Volunteer Action for Social Change. The spokesman is Mr. Ken Murdoch, the Executive Secretary. I will ask Mr. Murdoch to introduce his companions who are up here with us and to open the hearing with a brief summary of his brief.

Mr. Ken Murdoch, Executive Secretary, SOS—Volunteer Action for Social Change: Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. With me to-day on the stage are Mr. George Ford, who is responsible for preparing the brief largely, and Mr. Alan Livingston, who is the Chairman of our Central Committee.

You have asked that we give a brief summary of our brief. We started off our brief by making some effort towards a definition and we took the approach that poverty is a function of the disbursement range in distribution of both wealth and power in society. Therefore we see it as a relative as well as absolute level of wealth and power that are important in looking at the question. Also, that the disbursement must be considerably narrowed as well as in the base levels of wealth and power are raised.

Poverty, therefore, is not simply a material phenomenon but also is a psychological and sociological phenomenon demanding changes rather than the nature and extent of social services alone and these changes are imperative if we are seriously interested in tackling the poverty question. We speak partly from the SOS experience, a volunteer organization working with various groups across Canada in social issues and we have focused on the distribution of power as the topic of our brief. We see and support the rise and importance of indigenous local citizen action groups. We see this as a move for the redistribution of power which involves participation, control and responsibility.

At the moment, we see decisions are being hidden behind corporation doors. We see decisions hidden behind the doors of the civil services, cabinets, parties and behind municipal bureaucracies. Two ideals we have mentioned in the brief and an attempt at social change are these; first of all self determination, that is those affected by a decision must have control and responsibility for that decision or programme; secondly, a more equal distribution of wealth and power in the society. Out of these we see the following implications for governments; first of all, in the area of resources and primary money of course and made available to indigenous issue and community groups

with a minimum of restrictions. Secondly, we see community developments that should be the spearhead and priority of the welfare system and thirdly, we see there should be a move for a great deal of decentralization, that is sharing the decision-making processes. In reference to these we see the following criticism of government. The government fight against inflation withholds resources and aggravates the poverty situation. The impact on the marginal worker, the working poor. The second criticism would be with reference to the C.Y.C.; we do not feel a three month's trial of a volunteer governing body is hardly enough test of self determination. We would see the Minister of Health and Welfare and his national advisory council, which includes some welfare and former welfare recipients, as perhaps a well meaning but indeed a nod of tokenism. The main part of our brief, senators, is focused on the indigenous groups. We see this as a vehicle for change. We believe a permanent and increasing social factor will be these indigenous groups in our society. Therefore we have focused on a problem we think is involved here. The question of recognition and legitimacy is bound to rise and indeed has already arisen. Some will incorporate. We made reference to the neighbourhood government booklet by Milton Kotler showing some groups incorporating themselves so they act as legal entities in order to fund raise and develop programme operations, but the question of recognition and legitimacy still remains especially face to face with governments. We seek recognition and legitimacy as a bargaining representative and administrative unit for a group of people and largely the people who have felt themselves oppressed, exploited and are channelling their anger and frustrations. Therefore, because of this, there is a potential for explosion, violence, violence towards governments and among themselves.

In review of this situation, we see similarities paralleling the labour history. We have made an attempt, senators, to pose a proposal because you are looking for solutions. We think that it needs a lot more thinking, but to look towards this factor as a basis of resolution we might suggest it would be a legal framework and perhaps we could refer to the Labour Relations Act as something that might give an idea of this. Such a legal framework, by its very existence, would provide the following; first of all, recognized legitimacy to the rights of people to order, set out conditions under which government or the civil service department would have to recognize and negotiate for such grounds and provide an apparatus for solving jurisdictional fights or disputes and fourthly, mediate contract disputes and grievances regarding contract obligations. There are some problems we see in reference to this. First of all, defining, "bargaining units" taking into account the geography or main issue like welfare or things like that. We would recommend no arbitrarily defined bargaining unit but question each representation received, working out agreement with those making the representations.

Another problem would be in the jurisdictional disputes and we would recommend mediation rather than arbitration as refusal to recognize either group in the dispute would force the parties involved to settle among themselves.

Finally, the percentage of persons in bargaining units, we don't know what to recommend here, but we do suggest, through discussions directed toward maximizing the organization effort without threatening major rule should be looked at. In other words what we are suggesting in our brief is a legal framework that serves rather than restricts or co-opt indigenous groups.

In brief then, senators, this is the digest of our brief to you. We have further comments that we could add to it and are ready to add to the brief. As well, there may be some comments in reference to the guaranteed annual income which is in the hands of your committee.

The Chairman: Thank you very much, Mr. Murdoch. Your Mr. Ford and Mr. Livingston, are they making representations or asking questions? Do they want to add anything?

Mr. Murdoch: Mr. Ford would probably have a few comments.

Mr. George Ford, Member, SOS—Volunteer Action for Social Change: Yes, there are a few comments we would like to add which are extensions of the brief. The brief itself, which I was primarily the author of, consider as a minimal document. On the other hand, the document is that which the organization of SOS felt most comfortable with so the extensions I am making represent more my own extensions than those of SOS.

I would like to take as a basis for any extensions a couple of points from the brief. We have noted that on the whole citizens have been forced to accept decisions that affect them which come from government and the corporate community. There are the principles of social change which we feel are necessary if any kind of social change is to work and all necessary for eliminating poverty. Self determination and more equal distribution of wealth and power in society. I think the following three points can now be added to those principles. Firstly emphasis is on self-determination. It is not participation alone particularly on a minority basis, rather it is control over and responsibility for the decisions which affect the group in question. A government or private agency invites people to participate. They are assuming they are a structured organization they are inviting the people into. Is it all right or at least repairable? Only if its representation is in question. This is seldom true, however, rather the instruction of the department or agency is very much in question. What

manded is change and participation, not just participation without a willingness to change. Participation is meaningless leading to frustration of the poor participants or to their socialization in the middle class values which is the sole relation in their role on that committee and the role as members of the community. Self determination has its implication for all aspects for social order and not just the community.

We have noted in our brief that for the workplace self determination means industrial democracy. Workers will individually and collectively together with management and representatives of the public participate in and have control of and responsibility for the management work environment and social role of the company they are working for. This clearly follows from the discussion in our brief and extended to the workplace for the universities, self determination means university democracy with faculty-student and/or faculty, student and public control of the university in its direction with allocations to the university being publicly decided in the parliamentary process for the political economy of Canada.

The principle of self determination especially in the limit of the concentration of corporate power in the hands of a relatively few people who have no social accountability, must be made. Only in this way can people in Canada participate in the most important economic issues that affect them such as the production of energy, for example, the investment decisions, whether we produce low-cost housing or more colour television sets, whether we have high quality medical services for all or produce another make of automobile. Social considerations must be used in determining how the profits, economic surpluses made by workers are used. Self determination means social determination.

These four elements: local-community control, industrial democracy, university democracy and representative democratic bodies are important. Many of us, certainly myself, come to see a democratic, decentralized socialism. This is the only solution which can deal with the structural nature of the problem whose one effect is poverty.

I would like to make a few comments again to the principles in the documents on the guaranteed annual income. The range must be considerably narrowed. One question is: are people serious in using the guaranteed annual income to really narrow this gap? It must be seen as a method and promoted as a method for substantial redistribution and as such its cost can be high. Many vested interests will be challenged. The cost will only be moderately higher than the total welfare system. Is it just to be a programme so that people will be guaranteed no more than a minimum level of poverty. If a guaranteed annual income is to work, the power must be simultaneously redistributed otherwise it will be removed from the incomes of the

poor without organized workers, consumers, tenants, community groups. This will only be avoided if the government institutes comprehensive wage controls. If the government is serious about a guaranteed annual income, it must either implement simultaneously these controls or work towards development of decentralized, community tenants groups and other such indigenous groups.

A further point on the guaranteed annual income is that in effect while we are getting everyone to a subsistence level it will, in effect, provide subsidies to low-wage industries. If we remove the pressure on those industries to raise their wages to a decent level.

I would also like to point out the political effects on the guaranteed annual income now as a hope that the poor will delay their efforts in organizing. In some senses there has been years of delay while we research the guaranteed annual income before we decide to have it and then we will have it for a trial period for years and finally, unless the points we have mentioned so far are followed through, there will be no dissolution of the poor with the guaranteed annual income. Wealth will not seriously be redistributed, not be retained by them because they have no power to set prices, wages and rents.

Finally, the guaranteed annual income is a centralizing force in the administration of welfare which will lead to a powerlessness among the poor and remove the local focus for their organizing, the local welfare office, diffuse local groups and thus diminish the opportunities for development in the key centralized democratic involvement in our society and will lead only to greater despair and possibly to violence.

Those, I think, are the comments I would like to make on extending the brief and I would point out again that while some of those may be shared by people in SOS—Volunteer Action for Social Change, they are not necessarily the views of that organization as a whole.

The Chairman: Can you tell us, Mr. Ford, SOS is a student organization or a public organization, where do you draw your membership from?

Mr. Ford: Perhaps Mr. Livingston would like to answer that.

Mr. Alan Livingston, Chairman, Central Committee, SOS—Volunteer Action for Social Change: It is an independent organization. Every summer and also during the year it gets volunteers and SOS considers itself an agent in bringing people together so they can mobilize their problems and it is sponsored by a number of groups, ecumenical groups, and the Y.M.C.A. and the Y.W.C.A. and independent sponsors and the government pays for travel of the volunteers across Canada during the summer months. The concept of a volunteer as a catalytic unit means

research as much as activity. In these cases the question is meant to be what is the root cause of the issues. The volunteers are not meant just to be a stop gap measure but as a supplement to initiate tiers of community action. SOS also provides field workers to initiate discussions before volunteers come to help them. They clarify the direction and role within their community action.

After the summer they may provide regional SOS committees and return volunteers to each area to help with ongoing projects. The idea is not just a summer thing and ends when the volunteers go home but a continuing process.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Senator Pearson: In that first page in your brief you mention the distribution of power. What do you mean by "distributing of power"? What is power to start with?

Mr. Ford: Power is the ability to make decisions which affect our lives.

Senator Pearson: Pardon?

Mr. Ford: Power is the ability to make decisions which affect our lives. It has come to mean more than that in our society. The decisions people are making individually, in small units, have come to affect a great number of people outside of their own lives and I think that is the key to the brief. The question is the distribution of power that people should only be able to participate in and everyone should be able to participate in those decisions which affect them which means, for example, the corporation decisions which are presently made by a board of governors, board of directors and by some managers without concern for the public and only on the basis of profit criteria, that structure of decision making is going to have to be changed so the people affected by the decision making, workers and consumers of the goods, are included in the management and decision making of that company.

Senator Pearson: What would you do in the case of an owner of an apartment block? He is collecting rents and he says that the rents must be a certain amount and an individual in apartment number one says "No, my decision is it shall not be that.", what ever happens then? Who's decision is going to be minded?

Mr. Ford: All right, we have it presented as two individuals. The way I conceive it is a collective in that apartment, a collective. It is a collective decision of that apartment building. The way I see it working out is somewhat in parallel to the labour situation that the tenants of that apartment, perhaps other apartment buildings owned by the same landlord, organize them-

selves into tenants' unions. These unions will negotiate contracts with the landlord or the owner of the apartment so that they will negotiate the questions maintenance, repair, level of rent and services. Once that contract is signed, all parties to the contract, the union representing all the tenants as a labour union represents the workers, will be responsible carrying out the terms of the contract. In other words, if one individual in an apartment refuses to pay the rent depending upon his reason for refusing to pay, if he feels he has a grievance there should be a grievance procedure whereby he would go to a grievance committee set up under terms of the contract and there the dispute would be resolved. If the dispute was resolved in favour of the landlord he would have to pay his rent, he would be legally obliged to pay his rent.

Senator Pearson: What would happen in the case of a landlord not agreeing to the contract and would it sign it?

Mr. Ford: His apartment building would be struck.

Senator Pearson: The apartment building would be struck. Where would the tenants go?

Mr. Ford: Well, the tenants would remain in the apartment building. I am not sure, I have not looked into the Landlord and Tenant Act of Ontario and revisions two weeks ago, but in many American places they have an escrow fund where rents are put during a rent strike. As long as those rents are kept in an escrow fund, which the landlord does not have access to, then those tenants are not—in some states they are not liable for eviction. You work with whatever laws there are in the place and you seek to avoid an issue. If necessary, the local union takes action to protect what you feel are your rights and to come to a collective agreement on a contract.

Senator McGrand: If the building was struck, income, who will pay the taxes?

Mr. Ford: The legal obligation, I think, under present law is the landlord is continually responsible for paying the taxes.

Senator McGrand: Rent or not?

Mr. Ford: That is one of the pressures he faces as a result of the strike. Just as a corporation presently has to continue to pay its taxes whether the workers are on strike or not.

Senator Pearson: When you have a number of the places that have been struck which you probably would have because I think your organization would definitely make a decision that these rents are high, I am not disputing you at all, I agree that r-

getting quite out of line but the population is increasing rapidly in the City of Toronto and the need for more and more accommodation. The people who own the building are the people who have the money and power, as you say, but how are you going to get them persuaded to keep on building more and more apartments to accommodate people who do not want to pay or cannot pay? I should say not "don't want to pay" but cannot pay?

Mr. Ford: This is certainly a very real problem. It has been happening, I think one case I know in Washington where a number of landlords and a number of developers have left the field because their apartments have been struck. I think that you have to take the total perspective here and that is that at the present time we have no indication that the private market is providing enough housing in any case.

Senator Pearson: Because the costs are too high at the present time, that is why these builders will not build. They find there is no profit in the thing.

Mr. Ford: Let us turn to the question of why the costs are too high. We will probably get into an argument here as to the causes of inflation. I would argue that one of the substantial reasons why the cost of building is so high is directly related to the earlier question you asked of power. Power in a corporation, as the power of the corporation in society is such that the amount that it can extract for its own purposes, including lavish office buildings, lavish executive residences, is such that the profit rate, I am not only referring to accounting, but the hidden profit rate in such things as luxury office buildings for executives is excessive and that is, in fact, one of the major reasons why the costs are so high. In terms of people not being able to build housing and rent restrictions making a profound problem, I think your answer has to be that the government has to provide that money, not as it is presently doing to provide money to private developers to build low income housing but to provide that money to existing groups, to community groups who are willing to undertake a plan of their own in building their own housing so that the housing is appropriate to the community they are in so it will not disrupt life of the community. At the same time it will provide increased quantities of housing.

Where will the government get the money for that? Again I think I mentioned in my extensions to the brief, that is why I feel the extensions are necessary, that the government must become the agent for making investment decisions. In other words it is going to have to mobilize the investment capital of this country and not just through the private market by expropriating the economic surplus created by corporations in this country and using that for the priorities or to take the profits, for example, of General Motors. Does it want to invest the profits of G.M. in producing more cars or housing.

The Chairman: I don't quite understand. Are you saying the government should take General Motor's profits and decide what should be done with them?

Mr. Ford: That is right.

The Chairman: You think General Motors will say nothing? Do you think they will continue making cars or making anything under those conditions?

Mr. Ford: No, I think that is why the government will have to take them over.

Senator McGrand: You would have general bankruptcy of industry.

Mr. Ford: No, you will have nationalization. Let me explain what that nationalization will mean. It is not a centralized nationalization as is in existence in socialist countries. That nationalization is where the workers are deciding how the company will be run. The experience in Yugoslavia is that it can be done more cheaply by the workers than by management.

The Chairman: Well, could I follow this up? Isn't that exactly what was happening in Czechoslovakia and exactly what brought Czechoslovakia to the brink of ruin and they had to get away from that system?

Mr. Ford: My understanding of what happened in Czechoslovakia was that they were trying to move to that system. In other words, they were trying to move from a centralized nationalization where the government made all the decisions to a decentralized system where there would be more worker control in the factory and decisions in the factory about investment priorities about management, more community control. It was that move to democratic and decentralized national control in Czechoslovakia which led to the invasion. That is the difference I was trying to point out. The difference between a centralized nationalism and decentralized nationalism and that is where they were moving and that is why the Soviet Union, to prevent them doing so, partly because it had a measure of success.

The Chairman: Would you agree that in the production of—well it really doesn't matter where you start, you start with investment capital, you start with labour, that is another factor and management also is a very important factor, becoming more important every day, especially in the technicological age, are you saying that the workers can make management decisions better than management?

Mr. Ford: I am saying the worker should go with the managers and together they can make better decisions because they know what will make them work. Management can only guess what will make them work and what they are willing to work for and to

what extent they are willing to work and therefore it is a hit and miss affair when managers alone make those decisions.

Senator McGrand: You would be very much in favour of a situation where the workers, industry and management owned the industry together, co-operatively, where the workers give their time and management gives their administration, that would be it, co-operative ownership?

Mr. Ford: I would call it "co-operative management", "co-operative operation", the ownership.

Senator McGrand: Profit sharing, that is what I have always believed, a profit sharing scheme.

Mr. Ford: What I am talking about?

Senator McGrand: Equal responsibility.

Mr. Ford: Yes, profit—if profit sharing means an equalized distribution of power and decision making in that corporation, yes, but not just profit sharing in terms of division of the profits of that company.

Senator McGrand: Well, of course, profit sharing and sharing of management will have to be part of it. The worker puts up his skills and management puts up the knowhow, is that not it?

Mr. Ford: Yes, the workers' skill and there will have to be a feedback to the managers' administration and knowledge too, so that there should be a free flow of communication both ways then.

The Chairman: Do you have a question, Senator Sparrow?

Senator Sparrow: I was wondering, from your verbal presentation and talking about management decisions being on a broader base that at some point in all this someone has to make the final decision, is that correct?

Mr. Ford: Obviously.

Senator Sparrow: You prepared a brief on behalf of your association and you were either reluctant to or were not permitted to put all your ideas in that brief so you specifically told us that these were your views and that you had not apparently sold those ideas to your group?

Mr. Ford: Right.

Senator Sparrow: Who makes the final decisions? Somebody does so in your relationship in the management-ownership field, owner-worker field, who in fact makes that final decision?

Mr. Ford: That was a collective decision made by the central committee of the organization which includes the volunteer representatives of the denominations on the staff.

Senator McGrand: May I ask a supplementary question?

You have already said that you could not come to a conclusion and that you had not come to a conclusion. Now, if you were a big corporation and you could not come to a conclusion; who makes the decision?

Mr. Murdoch: I think you misread the conclusion. It is in your hands. It is our brief. What we are saying, to comment on this, Mr. Senator, is that decisions were made and what has been said is briefly that the decisions were made by all parties.

Senator McGrand: It takes a long time to get co-operative decisions sometimes.

Mr. Murdoch: We did not take that long to get fifty copies up to you in Ottawa. We made it in the emergencies of the situation and it was done. If the enterprise is worth while, and I think this is the point we are trying to say, that if you are talking about poverty the urgencies of poverty are that much, the poor would like to have a voice. They are damn well not going to sit on their ass. They are going to talk around and get some of those decisions made. As long as we have a meaningful voice in the decision making, that what we are saying, that is what we needed more but it doesn't necessarily stop progress.

Senator Sparrow: You wish to give the power to the people. I don't think we will argue with this. If there is a way of doing it. You have opinions in this brief and the person who wrote the brief in fact brought additional suggestions that he said he could not incorporate into that brief because it may not represent the opinions of the others. This shows a division as you tour and talk to people and we do because we have talked to representative groups of tenants' associations, of mothers on welfare, as an example, so you talk with one group or an individual but say as a group and the group says the emphasis must be placed on education, spend the dollars, find the money for education and another group would come to us and say that all they want is to raise the allowance to \$50.00 a month and that will solve their problem raise it by \$50.00 a month. Another group will come and say the problem is employment, "find us employment, that is the total answer, make sure everyone employed, give everybody the opportunity to have a job."

But can you tell this or do you, in fact want to mother who is the single parent family with children, do you really believe or does anyone believe

that she should be working? I for one don't think she should. I think society should support her. If it is her desire to work, to get out of the home for a change or something, that is a different story but perhaps she should not be forced to work. One group says supply jobs—who makes this final? These are all collective ideas and who makes that final decision? This is our problem.

Mr. Ford: We are back to the question of decentralization or centralization. You are looking for one solution. Maybe all of those solutions are correct in each of those individual cases. The person who thinks the need is for more education, if you believe they know what is best should be given that increase in education. If they find the need of something else they will come back and tell you. The person who believes in the \$50.00 more assistance probably needs that \$50.00 more assistance and may be able to get along with just that. The person may find he needs something else after that. We must begin where we think the needs are. We do not have to deal with it in a universal way. We can deal with it in a more decentralized way and try to deal with the needs of each of these groups as they see it.

The Chairman: Coming back to your decision making in industry; are we not a little late in coming to that? Has not technology advanced to the point where management in future will not be making decisions? The decisions will be made by computers. What then are we heading for?

Mr. Ford: The extension of a computer making decisions in industry seems to me logical under the basis of—that is computers making decisions and man follows them. Well, I admit that is a possibility. I could hope that we, I think that the suggestion to move towards decentralization, to move towards involvement, to move towards people having a say in their decisions that affect them, is a move in the other direction. We can say that we must use our technology and we must determine how we are going to use it and what we are going to use it for. That does not determine what we are going to do. In other words, a man must control his own technology.

The Chairman: How can one industry that uses the computer, how can an industry that does not use the most modern techniques available compete? Will that company not be pushed out of business altogether?

Mr. Ford: That can be answered, I think, or can be commented on in at least two planes. The first plane I talked about earlier was the necessity of some government involvement in that question. In one of the comments I made I said that our industrial structure is a very irrational one because it is a miniature of the American pattern. For example these figures are three years old. There are seventeen—or were in 1967—

seventeen refrigerator manufacturers in Canada manufacturing something like a total of 287,000 refrigerators whereas the minimum scale plant considered by an American manufacturer was half a million. It means we should not have any more than one plant in Canada, according to rational economic thought, which means when you rationalize the economy it is going to be centralized. The only thing that is stopping that is the tariff. If it is going to be centralized anyway because of the economies of scale because of the technological question let us have it centralized with social control rather than in the hands of a few private people. Let us try to decentralize that consciously and politically as much as possible.

The Chairman: I don't think we are disagreeing at all with what you have in mind. What you are trying to accomplish, I think, what we are disagreeing with is whether this is really practical, whether this can really be done because supposing you said to General Motors or Ford in Windsor that your profits, that they were not going to plow the profits back, you are not going to invest and that we are deciding how you are going to do this. What is to stop General Motors saying, "Fine, we will close it then. We do not have to make cars here in Canada."

We are not that big, we are not that important in their scale of production that we can dictate to these people, at least I don't think we can, I don't think any of us disagree with what you are trying to say, the broader base for the decision making, so that it is spread out more to the public need and the public benefit but we do not, in our system, based on freedom, a certain amount of freedom, you cannot have it both ways. You cannot take away freedom with one hand and give it with another and you cannot take away freedom from one without affecting the freedom of everybody.

Mr. Ford: Is your assumption that we now have equal distribution of freedom? Mine would be you could not have equal distribution of freedom without equal distribution of power. That is quite the opposite of what we have now.

Mr. Livingston: This freedom is affecting the poor people, making them poorer.

Mr. Ford: Within our system you are right, within our system we are captives of those corporations because they have that kind of leverage so you are right, the only thing that we can do is change the system. Do you want to work within the system or do you want to change it? I will take you back, they are both because I think you might get back to poverty.

The Chairman: My question was that if you change the system can you compel General Motors to stay and live with the system?

Mr. Ford: If you change the system you will nationalize General Motors. The question of compensation naturally arises, I agree. We don't know the answers to all your questions. What I would do is complain very strongly. If you want to talk about changing the system we are going to have to do some research but there is no money available to research a socialist Canadian economy, however, on the question of assistance, after our definition, we pointed out that because what we are talking about is defining poverty in terms of disbursement of wealth and distribution of power and because that leads to people with vested interests at the high end of the disbursement range, poverty, is part of a function existing in the social order with the vested interests and the change in the structure of society, if the system changes, in effect what I am saying is that they are, rather than social services alone, imperative if we are seriously to solve the question. That is how I think the whole thing relates back to poverty. I know that Al and Ken can talk more about that specifically. Academically, it is interesting here that the point has been raised.

The Chairman: I would like to ask Mr. Murdoch a question based on his earlier statement where he proposed a legal framework and legalization of the right of people to organize and negotiate to mediate and to settle disputes, if I understood him, at large. In that legal framework would you have something to protect the interests of the negotiating parties?

Mr. Murdoch: I see the parties that are involved are, you know, the public but the public which has gathered itself, you know, into units. What we are saying in the brief is that more and more citizens are banding together with their collective concerns. Surely it is a part of the legislators to balance the interests within the framework of the law so that is one check and control. I think what we are suggesting in the legal framework, there is a framework, unfortunately there is not a framework now and whether you know it or not, these citizens groups are developing by leaps and bounds. A study of the inventory of groups assembled with the Canadian Association of Neighbourhood Services registers 200 local citizens' groups, in the major Canadian cities. This is increasing. We will have troubles if you do not provide some sort of framework. We are suggesting a framework. We must recognize that these people do have a say and a way and means within the system. We are not arguing that there has to be a balance, we think that the legislators are part of that balance. We are saying that the people are part of the balance as well.

The Chairman: Now, maybe we could just relate this to the low income groups. How would that apply to the low income groups?

Mr. Murdoch: Well, I think you know there is going to be a multiplicity of the kinds of groups. There

would be groups that are going to be organizing around housing situations, tenants. There would be people organizing, as they are organizing now, in terms of quality and the kind and way of distributing welfare itself. We are talking about changing the welfare system. Even within that system there is possibility of organizing so people participate and make it a little more humane, at least. Maybe there are some more people with ideas that would like to refer to that.

Senator Pearson: One statement you made, Mr. Ford, was the idea of a guaranteed annual income would just be another vehicle of power in the hands of one group. Is this not right? The power would be handed to the government or some other body and the system would be just the same thing as it was before? They would be oppressed and under control and gaining nothing in the way of freedom?

Mr. Ford: I don't think I was that severe in my criticism. I think what I am looking at is the potential growth for change, the potential for frustration in the idea of the guaranteed annual income. What I am saying is that one of the attractions is that it is cheap to administer because it is more central, requires less local offices, requires less actual field work contact with people. That is a centralizing sort of thing. You may have to take steps to counter that so you can be responsive to local needs and local differences. Further, I was saying that if indeed you do not use the guaranteed annual income seriously as a means of redistributing, pretty severely the wealth of the country, not just guaranteeing a minimum level of poverty, but trying to eliminate poverty, then that means you are going to have to realize it will be a costly programme. You are going to have to sell it as a costly programme and you cannot hide it as a cheap programme. Unless you are serious about that, unless you do that, all you are doing is setting up hopes and delay which will, in the end, increase frustration. The matter, not inherently being the same, as this is, but essentially it will be increasing frustration.

Senator Pearson: My idea of a guaranteed income is that you would have your guaranteed income at a certain rate according to the number of persons in a family, etcetera, all their conditions, etcetera, whether married or single or one family, one parent family, etcetera. Then coupled with this would be an incentive because if you just get people a straight \$10, or \$15 or \$20 a day, and that is it, you are just throwing your money away because people will just be wasting their lives, no incentive to get any more but if you give them an incentive, say, "now, look, for every \$50 a month that you earn, you keep the whole \$50 besides your guaranteed income that you get. If you earn \$100 a month over and above the guaranteed income you keep two-thirds of this." So there is an incentive for them. This is my idea of a guaranteed income and

cannot see any objection to it if it works this way. Mind you, I am just theorizing this is what the government will have in mind. I don't know what our final programme will be.

Mr. Ford: The assumption behind that is that full employment remains a possible, possibly achievable goal and therefore people will be able to, by working, raise themselves above the guaranteed level.

Senator Pearson: I would hope they would be able to raise themselves up and have a comfortable life and be able to raise themselves up and become independent of anybody and work themselves without having to draw on this income. With regard to the income worked out at the two-thirds basis it would eventually vanish for a person above that would not be drawing any.

Mr. Ford: I just relate that back to the senator's earlier remarks about technology. I certainly have not got the answer. He said, "Will the technological evolution make it possible to continue to supply jobs for all who want them."

Senator Pearson: I definitely think so.

Mr. Ford: The second point I want to make on that while I understand it is necessary for the incentive system to some degree I also have some hesitation regarding it solely as all it does is continue in many cases the kind of accumulative self interest ethic rather than a co-operative communal community but I don't have any solution in that respect.

The Chairman: Well, we have reached the end of our time and we have the next witnesses waiting.

I would like to thank you very much, Mr. Murdoch and Mr. Ford and Mr. Livingston, for your brief and for coming before us and answering our questions, thank you.

We have with us now, Mr. Gesta Abols of the student body of the University of Toronto and he has with him two other students, Miss Jean Golden on my left and Mr. Ron Weihs. There is another one, Eileen Ericks.

Mr. Abols, we just received your brief around noon and I think the senators had a copy distributed only a few minutes ago. We have not had any time to study it at all so perhaps, since our time is limited, you might perhaps make a short opening statement and focus on the highlights of the brief and then we will turn over to the questions.

I understand that some students of the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute have stayed behind in the hope they could have a little brief session after this one.

Mr. Gesta Abols, President, Students' Administrative Council of the University of Toronto: Thank you very much, sir. We were invited to make a presentation to this committee in the fall of last year and at that time we sent out an invitation to many of the groups on the campus that deal with, one way or another, poverty to make a submission. We stated that we would not, in fact, speak on their behalf but we would like them to speak independently under the umbrellas of permission we were granted. What has happened since then is that a number of groups involved feel publicity would be harmful to their projects and as such they decided not to participate but there are some people here that are involved in community projects that participated. The other groups that are not directly represented we are going to speak for we're not going to, I think, be able to present their case as well as they could have but I will try and summarize both their viewpoints and some of my viewpoints as to the question of poverty and how we see a possible way of alleviating it.

I may state at this stage we have no answers for it.

The Chairman: Would you identify the other groups? Are they identifiable groups?

Mr. Abols: Well, yes, they are identifiable including organizations such as SHOUT probably being the main one of the lot that were going to participate, the others being legal aid projects which we are developing further. I am going to let VDEP speak for themselves. I think they have got a very good record. They are quite interesting. We do feel though there are ways the problems of poverty, first of all, affect the university. The first one, most obvious one, unfortunately that begins to sound like a rhetorical question, who goes to universities. First we know one must have financial power to have access to information in the university. We also know this information is power itself and therefore it becomes a question of power reinforcing power. It has been suggested, and I think, wisely, so possibly some sort of consideration should be given for some sort of, if you want, information aid programme whereby people in the community, if they need advice from the sociologists, that would be made available not through City Hall, not through Provincial Government but at the University Directory so people can come in and ask questions and get answers.

I do not like to cover the rest of the questions; who does the university serve? It is obvious and I am sure you have heard the arguments at least a hundred times in the many sessions you have had. I would like to talk about some of the specific things though such as birth control. We have started a birth control clinic at the University of Toronto, it is my feeling, at least the feeling of many, many other people that the question of abortion, which is part of birth control, should rest totally within the jurisdiction of the individual at this stage of our historical development. We are not suggesting abortion is a question in which society has

neither interest or stake, it clearly does, however I think it is also evident that governmental structures tend to be somewhat slow in responding to the needs of people and especially those people that become poor as a direct consequence of excessive child birth. For the time being, at least, we should try to give them the jurisdiction, it could be problematic in the long run, that could be remedied and speed would not be the same problem as it is now. Of course there are also many unwanted pregnancies on the campus annually. What this means is students have to drop out of university and have to drop their education. Many end up incapable of coming back. Of course this means they have less valuable functions. This causes financial hardship on them and, of course, also is a loss to our society. So we are not in favour of wider birth control dissemination, it is a way of ending poverty and clearly opening up a portion and leaving it entirely to the individual.

I should point out these are not official policies of the council. They are only views some of the groups involved in the problem have and they are also my personal views.

Another question which we have become involved with is the question of community organizing. We have, as a council, given financial support to people that can be considered poor, that have come out to participate politically within their own community. Mrs. Gaudet, a resident of Ward 7 ran successfully as Trustee of the Board of Education and we also supported John Sewell, who I believe spoke to this committee yesterday.

We believe though that it is not enough that we provide money. We do not have much money to give out to people. We feel that the poor can be helped if the government would provide means by which they can organize politically and gain a position of power and from that position gain their needs. To achieve this, and I feel personally, resource centres could be established in poor communities where the government provides the managerial help, organizing political campaigns, provide assistance to run campaigns, give money to run for perfectly serious candidates. Of course, there would be a problem in testing the seriousness and also institute political education programmes to teach the people what the political issues are and define them by means of public speaking and so on.

I would like to talk also, at this stage, about the access to higher education from the poor, something that, of course, is much more directed to the universities. I think it is indisputable that being poor decreases your chances of going to a university. Studies have come out on this and all of them, although they disagree on the degree to which it affects the situation, they agree that it does affect it significantly. We realize at the same time that education is a question of provincial jurisdiction but at the same time it has

become clear over the last few years that the federal government has become involved in education and not very indirectly either. It does, for instance, provide money for the Ontario Student Loan Programme. Unfortunately, the federal government in this area makes it a loan that has to be repayable. This directly affects, I think, the poor student. The poor student does not see the value of going into debt to get an education which ultimately would give him a greater return. This can be solved quite simply, I think by the governments first of all removing the debt and giving as an outright grant. Secondly, the government should put pressure on the provinces to go out and advertise their student aid programmes widely in the high schools where the student generally drops out. Furthermore, I think the grants should be considerably increased for poor students. I am in favour of means test to prevent abuse. I think it is important that poor student become totally independent in university. This, of course, would alleviate the anxiety and depression that are, to some extent, a direct result of this association with middleclass people, the embarrassment that he has of being poor which should not be. It exists and it is a problem.

We also believe that if you make this student totally dependent this would, in fact, in the long run, increase his love and concern for the family but not, I think, alienate him from the family unit.

Before I pass the programme on to VDEP, I would simply like to stress again we do not have an answer to the question of poverty. I think it would be simplistic to suggest it is just an economic problem. It is not. It is a psychological problem, not necessarily to be solved psychologically, economics does come into it and the student's chances to get into the university also affects the role of the university and can be remedied. I do not think the solutions are all that difficult and just involve a certain amount of desire to do something about it.

I would like to pass on the VDEP.

Miss Jean Golden: I am the director of the project at the university that we call the Varisty Downtown Education Project, or VDEP.

What we are attempting to do at this point in time is—two years ago in the summer of 1968, the Students' Administrative Council of the University of Toronto set up this project with the desire and aim that you train and expose the university student inner-city life in Toronto with whom we had evolved some sort of a plan or design involving ourselves more with inner-city communities. We hired twenty people that summer and we spent the summer mostly being exposed. My friend Ron Weihs and I are members of that group.

The area is mostly below Bloor, Jarvis to Parliament and in the great Portuguese area we call the Kensington

Market area on the other side of Spadina below College Street.

Since that time it has involved full time commitment in two areas in the inner-city. One is the Trafan Court area below Queen Street and the other is the Jarvis-Dundas area or George Street.

So, I will talk about both those projects. Last summer, the beginning of the summer we were approached by a group of six mothers of Trafan Court who were very dissatisfied with education their children were receiving from the local public school. Their children were being put into opportunity classes and were being termed "retarded" yet a couple of them had I.Q.'s, according to school tests, of 120, around that area, still being put in these classes. The children were not learning in the basic schools. They felt this was the fault of the classes they were being put into. We were attempting to deal with the whole problem of poverty and to be able to teach and show that there were so many areas involved, not being able to learn and not being able to read and the schools might be detrimental to this learning.

In this area we learned to cope with specific needs. They approached and asked us to set up a summer programme. There was the idea of setting up a fulltime private school. This year we did do that and sent some of our people down into the area to talk to John Sewell and others to see what they recommended. We are running the school now with ten children from 7 to 17. There are six mothers on the Board of Governors who determine the policy. We work in close association. If they ever decide we are not doing a good job or no longer wish us in the community then we will leave. We feel truly responsible to the needs of these parents and to these children and did not go down with preconceived plans of what we wanted to do down there. Their aim was not only to help the children to learn the basic skills they are going to need to survive in that area but the tools become more involved in their community help. The children become more involved so they understand the problems they are facing and their parents are facing and will perhaps be able to evolve on their own, with their parents, some scheme for themselves.

The second area we are involved in is the Jarvis-Dundas area. This is our community organizing project. Last summer we set up a house on George Street which was open for children from about 9.00 in the morning till 9.00 at night. There was education and recreational programmes and we had a few parents popping into the house but essentially it was geared to children. We made a mistake when we did it because we went into the community without having contacted the parents, without asking them what they wanted us to do. We just plunked ourselves down, and then I think we have learned that if you are going to go into the lower economic area you would

have to go to people who live there. You cannot offer them things that may be totally incongruent with what they want. For the past eight months we have had some people living on the street who are residents of the area, Ron, being one of them. There are two residence houses there consisting of students and teachers in the area and residents of the area who work very closely together. In response to what the parents have been asking for we help set up programmes. We gained access to the Duke of York Public School, which many of you know is a progressive experimental school in the City of Toronto. We run programmes out of that three times a week in the evening. We have a house on the street paid for by our organization, VDEP used by the parents and residents in the area. They decide what they want to do with it. We hold meetings every Tuesday night which we called "What's Going On?" where we bring down people like John Sewell, different ministers in the area, other groups that are involved in the inner-city like the Angels. We allow the parents and residents in the area to have talks with people and express their points of view. We have established a residents' committee, some people like ourselves, some parents, some teachers in the area who hope to deal with many of the issues facing that specific area. At times it is a very difficult area to organize. There is no cohesive community that exists there. It is a transient area where there are a lot of men's hostels, prostitution is heavy in that area, houses, communities broken up by vacant lots, by factories, we feel we can be successful in working with these people and organizing these communities. We may be able to be successful in other areas. The whole aim is that these people decide what they themselves want, what is best for them, how they want to solve the problems facing them.

We have set up a tutorial programme for the inner-city children who go to Jarvis Collegiate. It is the only school in the area and is predominantly made up of children in the Rosedale area. These children in this school are essentially very bright children and have to be made to fit there in the first place because the majority are sent to vocational and occupational schools. What happens by the time they hit Grade 10 or 11 is they are failing. What we hope to do is provide for them extra help they need. To do this we have contacted the College of Education on Bloor Street providing their teachers to work with these children on a one-to-one basis to help them in specific subjects but further than this we have made a condition that if these teachers come down in the area they must also be willing to get to know the parents and try to understand how the parents of the children are doing.

In the school we also have a group league for student democracy, a high school radical group involved with us and interested in working with children in this area. They have been involved to the point where they want to look after the clean-up of the programme and other

small jobs they can do. So they learn what is happening there.

I should stress that the issue we are working on now is bulldozing in the inner city area that stretches from Jarvis over to Parliament. The two wards 6 and 7. There are developers who are accumulating great pieces of that area. The plan, which is going to go through in perhaps two months is to build high rise apartments at the corner of Sherbourne and Dundas without asking the people in the area whether they want this type of thing to be built. This will be high rise housing and not for children under 12 or 13. It will be expensive housing that people in the area will not be able to use. What is going to happen to the people who are already in that area?

We are concerned with what they want. Last night we had a meeting with John Sewell and the residents in that area. We have two months to try to tell the City what we want in that area, what we want to see done so we have to conclude on what we are doing.

That connection with the university—inner-city we think is vital. The university has connections not only with its own people who are in many disciplines but with places like the local city governments. It is a powerful institution and we hope to be able to bring it closer to the community to understand the problems and expose more and more university students who go out in the world and command these higher positions to the problems in these areas.

We have trained twenty people now and there would be a hundred or two hundred people dropping down who are interested. In the first year it cost us \$20,000 and now it costs us \$40,000 to run it. Most of it is done on a volunteer basis. The salaries of the teachers are extremely low and most of it will go to the children. The whole idea is we do not want to bring a lot of money down into this area because that is not showing people how to help themselves. We want them to be able to say what they want, what they need because they certainly know better than we do. They should then be able to request from us what kind of help they would like and to see if we can meet that demand.

Mr. Ron Weihs: I would like to say a couple of things.

Gentlemen, I have been involved in VDEP for two years now and for almost all of that time I have lived on George Street, just south of Dundas, just east of Jarvis Street. I would like to say a few things and tell you about a few things that I have noticed while I have been there particularly as they pertain to the way our society relates to some of the people I have come to know in that area.

One of the main difficulties, I think, in poverty is its lack of dignity. This is understandable partly because in our society money does develop dignity.

Dignity, to some extent, differs from money. We measure our dignity by the amount of money we have so what starts out as quite a simple problem, namely poverty being a lack of money, as someone once said becomes quite a complex syndrome and I would like to just talk a little bit about how our society contributes to this.

I want to talk about only the things I know so I will only speak about what people have told me. Now this is somewhat hearsay, but I think I know these people well enough to believe what they say and to know when they are telling me what actually happened. What I am talking about has to do with dignity. I do not want to talk about who these people are, what their names are or to really tell you too much about them. I hope perhaps that you will take, on faith, that these things are like this. Perhaps you have heard a bit about this before. I don't know. If not, perhaps they could just be very convenient fictions. I assure you that they are not.

One of these I want to talk about is something that we in VDEP call the "rent receipt cycle". We know a number of people on welfare, things like that, as a matter of fact some of my friends, I go visit them, and they come and visit me. The way the rent receipt cycle works, I am sure the senators all know about this, but perhaps the audience does not, is that you cannot get a room, you cannot get welfare, excuse me, unless you have a rent receipt. Unfortunately you cannot usually get a rent receipt unless you are on welfare because you cannot pay for the room. Consequently because you can't get the rent receipt you can't get the welfare. I know a couple of people who have been caught in this trap and I have watched it go on for weeks on end. The only way that someone can really get out of this rent receipt cycle is to find a friendly landlord who will give them a room on credit and give them, in advance, the rent receipt so that they can take it to the Welfare Office and get the money and pay for the room. Now, of course, this type of landlord is not very prevalent and what is more sometimes these people get burned and decide not to do that any more. So it is very hard to try to find somebody like that. So many people, I think it is fair to say, many people are not on welfare when they really need to be because they are caught in this trap.

Of course I know about the papers, that you have heard about some of the lack of dignity that comes with dealing with the Welfare office. May I say this I have heard some people say such and such a welfare worker is very good, he is terrific and at the same time another is not, is always treating people very rude, insultingly and what is more, of course, you have heard, I think, because I read it in the papers, that welfare workers barge into people's houses and throw like this. One case I know of, and I really do believe this is true, that one of my friends went into a friend's house and saw a number of beer bottles on the table.

and said, "What are those beer bottles doing?" and the woman said, "I am collecting them and I am going to sell them back to the Liquor Control Board." So my friend said, "Don't do that because what if your welfare worker barges in and sees all those beer bottles? You will be off welfare." The woman said, "No, that will not happen." Of course it did and that's the end of that story.

Of course there are a lot of things that are a problem. On welfare you cannot get a job. I met people and I say, "How are things?" and they say, "Well, I am going off for a couple of days. I have got some work in Hamilton but don't tell anybody because if anybody finds out I am off Welfare." Now, it seems to me that once somebody gets trapped in the Welfare situation there is really no way you can get ahead of the game. There is no way he can ever break out of it and it is kind of unfortunate because I think many of us would like people to find their way back into a more dignified economic situation where somebody is paid for all the work he does, but you really can't do this just off the bat in one afternoon. You are usually looking for a job and it takes quite a while. Sometimes if you have not been working, if it is a while, you have got to get a few little jobs so you can develop some kind of a work record. It seems to me Welfare makes this impossible. Also, people on Welfare have extra expenses sometimes. I need not speak of things like medical expenses, perhaps they don't want to talk about that or maybe they need suddenly new clothes. Perhaps they need new clothes to get a job but perhaps it is Christmas or something like this, to have the kind of system where someone is not permitted to make this kind of extra thing for himself and his family, where he has to sneak away perhaps for enough money to have a bit of a Christmas celebration, I think it is very damaging to people's dignity.

A friend of mine, who lives also very near me, went to the New City Restaurant, which is the only one open at that time of night. Now, it does not have that terrific a reputation but this woman went for a cup of coffee and a couple of policemen came in and one of them was very, very rude to her based on the fact she was in that restaurant. The other one, may I say, remanded the one who was being rude and what is more I know of some very, very good policemen who are working there, who help people out, things like this but this all strips people of their dignity.

Judgments are always being made about people on the basis of living in our area. The other day, in the City Council there were references to our area as a "red-light district" which really offended one of my friends who lives on Dundas Street who happened to be there observing the City Council meeting. I do not think this kind of thing contributes to the kind of a self-image where one can have some self image that

will allow him to get out of whatever hole he happens to be in.

I have more here, I am sorry, I am going to make it as brief as I can.

Another thing is this; inspectors are there to protect tenants and I think that is a very important thing, but some people are home owners and sometimes the way these inspectors function in doing their jobs would be to go against what people expect of them. It amounts sometimes to harassment.

There is another woman I know who lives on the street in which speculators are very, very interested and they have been trying to buy her house for some time but she won't sell because, believe it or not, she likes to live in that area and many people do. Many people do think of themselves as living in this area. What happened and I am quite certain, probably there is no connection here, but the inspector came around inspected her house and came up with an estimate amounting to \$12,000 which had to be done in two months. Now, it seems to me that if these people are really interested in people improving their homes perhaps a little more realistic assessment, based perhaps on what people could reasonably accomplish, might do more to improve those homes than coming up with something like a \$12,000 assessment for a house that is really not worth much more than that.

The Chairman: Mr. Weihs, I do not want to interrupt you. I am not sure whether Mr. Frerichs wants to make some remarks. There is twenty minutes left and it is up to you how you use this time. You can use it all for the presentation or questions. I thought I should let you know the time is passing and I just wondered if, while I have the microphone, if the lady from Ryerson . . .

Miss York: I would only be about five minutes, if you could give it to me when you finish.

The Chairman: We will finish this session at a quarter past 5.00 and then we will have a few minutes left for Ryerson.

Mr. Weihs: If I could just say one or two more words?

In your deliberations I would ask this, perhaps this has to do with disposing of people, with dealing with people. It also has the effect of producing a mental set in those people that makes it impossible for them to deal with themselves and dispose of themselves. I would ask that you think about ways of helping the poor that does not have to do with coming down and doing things for people and administering people but also thinking in terms of how you can get people to administer themselves. And I think the one thing that these people do have a role in is their communities and if they can be encouraged to take a part, an active

part, in the planning and development of their communities I think this will go very far to counteracting the negative effects of some of these programmes that dispose of people instead of taking them into account.

Senator Pearson: I would like to ask the young lady about that area where the highrise is being put out. Are those houses there, talking of bulldozing down, capable of being remodelled or renewed or are they too old and have gone past that stage?

Miss Golden: I am not an urban developer. They are about four-storey apartment buildings that exist. Now, I have been inside them, they are housing like any other housing in the area, not bad housing, families living there right now but they have been offered a fair amount of money.

Senator Pearson: That would be the owner of the block?

Miss Golden: Offered a fair amount of money. From what I understand he has sold already for the developer.

Senator Pearson: So the tenants have no control at all on what is going to happen?

Miss Golden: We are going to stop it from going up because there is no place for those people to move right now.

Senator Pearson: Because of the housing shortage?

Miss Golden: Where are they going to go in the central area? If you are going to build something like that you have either got to have certain areas in the building which will be rent controlled and they can move into but it is highly unlikely in that area.

Senator McGrand: How do you intend to try and stop them? How are you going to try and stop them?

Miss Golden: We are right now in the middle of deliberating with people in the area as to how we are going to do it. We are having a meeting on Saturday to try and decide how we are going to go about this within the two months which is a very short period of time. I think that is what we are going to do is make the issue known through the people of the area. They do not know it is going to happen. This information just has not been made available. The second thing is to evolve a plan of what they want. There is no good saying to the City, "We don't want something". We have to decide what we want instead. We have got two months to make it known, to make it a public issue to get people to go down to City Hall and let themselves be seen. We need a large number of people to do that. Frankly, I don't think we are going to be successful, but if we lose this battle perhaps we will win the next one because we will have the organization by then.

Senator Pearson: How many people would be living in those apartments?

Miss Golden: I would guess a couple of hundred.

Senator Pearson: How many?

Miss Golden: Three buildings, four storeys, I would say 300 people but I could be away off. Approximately that.

Senator Pearson: Has the owner been able to collect his rents all the time? Why did he sell?

Miss Golden: He got offered a good amount of money.

Senator Pearson: Why did these people want to develop these areas rather than some other areas?

Miss Golden: I think it all goes back to the question of why do developers speculate in the inner-city? Why? Land is so valuable.

Senator Pearson: You get the property cheaply and decide to build it there?

Miss Golden: Twenty years from now you may be able to build with the area of department stores more expensive high-rises. They have got the market. People move into them. This whole waterfront development will be built with tremendous high-rises there.

Senator McGrand: In your brief you say:

For whom does the University, any university exist? Official propaganda would have us believe that the University exists to create, preserve and pass on knowledge.

Do you believe that the university is to pass on knowledge and that or that it is passing on false knowledge?

Miss Golden: I did not prepare the brief but I answer it, if you like. I do not think it fails to pass knowledge, but it passes on a specific type of knowledge, the perpetuation of the current system. The knowledge is not being passed on to the people of the society who are being exploited, the people who are powerless and we are not passing on the knowledge of how to help those people, how to show those people how to help themselves.

The Chairman: Excuse me, I think Mr. Frerichs wants to add something to this.

Mr. Eilert Frerichs: The university serves or specific interest groups in society; business, government, industry and so on. The disadvantaged people of society as a whole, even people who are not disadvantaged or poor, workers, your ordinary workers.

your factory workers, do not have direct access to what happens in the university, the kind of knowledge which the university has, whether this is technical knowhow, whether this is cultural knowhow, which is equally important.

Senator McGrand: There was, I could never find out how it came about and what happened to it, Rochdale College, here in Toronto I believe it was an eighteen storey building, was it not? I do not know who built it but I understand that it was handed over to the students to run themselves and teach themselves and it folded up. What happened? Why did that happen?

Mr. Abols: I gather that you are somehow trying to tie this into the previous question?

Senator McGrand: Yes, I am.

Mr. Abols: Well, first of all, nobody can deny the university passes on knowledge but again you know the point is . . .

Senator McGrand: I asked you about Rochdale.

Mr. Abols: No, but I am trying to tie the two in, if I may. You know the answer is not only is the university passing on knowledge but what it is doing with the rest of society . . .

Senator McGrand: That question has been answered to his satisfaction. I want to know about Rochdale.

Mr. Abols: As far as Rochdale is concerned, it was a project initiated essentially by students of the University of Toronto who arranged for the financing of it. What happened to it? It was badly managed.

Senator McGrand: Who managed it?

Mr. Abols: The students managed it, or the past students, not necessarily students, the past students (it had conceived of the idea and then graduated and then managed it.

Senator McGrand: Where did they find the money?

Mr. Abols: It was given to them by private companies and by Central Housing and Mortgage.

Senator McGrand: The money came from people, is that right?

Mr. Abols: From the public and the private sectors of the community.

Senator McGrand: The big business men and so on, people who had the wealth to give it, is that right?

Mr. Abols: No, it came from both, both the public and private.

Senator McGrand: \$18 million?

Mr. Abols: I am not sure of the exact cost of Rochdale, I am not sure.

Mr. Frerichs: I think it was only in the neighbourhood of \$4 million.

Mr. Abols: I have heard \$4 million to \$5 million.

Senator McGrand: Would you say that a university does not serve the public in general, it only serves the business community and so on but does not serve the common people? Here was Rochdale, a \$4 million institution provided for the students, given to the students to run in the interests of the students and in the interests of the poorer people in general and the thing collapsed, why?

Mr. Abols: A couple of things. I would like to say I don't think it was designed in the interests of the poor people. It was designed in the interests of experiment in education. It was quite obviously not really to aid the poor people. I have said such experiments do not aid poor people, but it was an experiment in a type of education.

Senator McGrand: Which the students taught themselves, they didn't listen to this false philosophy that the universities were passing down for generations, was that not the idea? That was your word yourself, was it not?

Mr. Abols: Yes, but to say to teach yourself is not to say you are going to go out and do something for the community or make things available to the community. That is another concept.

Senator McGrand: I want to know why this university, with such a noble idea behind it, why did it fail?

Mr. Abols: I do not think the noble idea of experiment in education failed. It has been a good experiment. It was interesting. Everybody was watching it. Rochdale was never set up to help the poor community. We are suggesting that the university should start helping the people that generally do not have the financial power to acquire education.

Mr. Frerichs: Could I attempt at least an answer?

I have been a member of Rochdale College myself. Not at the moment but last year. Rochdale was designed primarily as an educational experiment. What happened was that Rochdale, I think the basic idea behind it is still valid, Rochdale was set up as a co-operative community. Unfortunately the planners made the mistake, I think, of forgetting that it is extremely difficult to have any kind of community life in that kind of building, the way the building was designed. That was one problem. The other problem

was that in the middleclass of bourgeois society from which most of the members of Rochdale College came and still do come co-operative living is not one of the things that people learn. That is the students who lived at Rochdale just do not know how to live co-operatively. It is as simple as that. We don't learn it. Our society is not collective. It is always geared to the wishes of the individual and the freedom of the individual. Suddenly you throw a lot of people into a place and say, "You order your own lives." You are bound to run into immense difficulties. People throughout the whole educational system never ever learned to order their own lives. Young people are taught and told organization always by someone older than they are. They just do not learn how to organize and run their own lives.

When you multiply that by 800 you can imagine the problems that you are going to run into. That is the second thing.

The third thing is this; Rochdale has in fact performed a very important function in our society as a gathering place and a very warm and very important community where all sorts of young people from all over Canada and a lot of them from the United States have found an environment where they can express themselves in whichever way they like. Sometimes this expression can be very destructive.

Senator McGrand: Is it still functioning?

Mr. Frerichs: Yes.

Senator McGrand: How many students, how much is occupied?

Mr. Frerichs: I think it is in the neighbourhood of 75%, at least 75% which is quite good, but when you get a whole lot of young people who have rejected the values of their own society, including the value of money, they just do not have the money to pay their rent and then the building, the institution is going to run into financial problems quickly. This is one of the things that has happened. I do not deny that it is a very important function that Rochdale has had of providing a community where people can be themselves and where young people could find acceptance and still do.

The Chairman: I would like to ask one question. Now you three people have taken a very special interest in what we call the "poor", the problem of poverty, the low income groups. University students are idealists and that is natural for young people. Tell me why is it that students generally have not adopted poverty as a cause? You mentioned several causes in your brief but poverty is not one of them. Is there any special reason for that?

Mr. Abols: I can only give you my personal opinion. I think there are more idealists among young students than there are among say the other eight groups of the society. I would not go so far as to suggest that all students are idealistic. I think we have to keep in mind that we have learned how to respond to fads. We have learned how to respond to many things politically; it is impossible for people to pursue more than one or two major projects at any one time. It just so happens at this stage of political interest poverty is not one of the "politically in" things. What you do have is you have a base of serious, dedicated people looking at the problem. Hopefully, in the process, these people will be able to get other people interested in the problem so they can get political support and some changes can be brought about and I think that is about all I could say. It is a very general question and a very difficult one to answer.

The Chairman: Does anyone else want to add to that?

Mr. Frerichs: I do not think poverty can be considered a cause. Poverty is a disease in our society. Most students do not feel poverty directly just as the whole of Canadian society. It has to be, I don't know, educated or changed or what have you so that the whole of society is prepared to do creative things with respect toward poverty. So does the university student. The university, unfortunately, I think, only reflects the minds of the general population.

The Chairman: Well, you have said poverty is a disease and not a cause but cancer is a disease; tuberculosis is a disease, but people have adopted the elimination of cancer as the cause, why not adopt the elimination of poverty as a cause?

Mr. Abols: May I just add, I think too that we have to keep in mind that unless somehow or other people feel affected by a problem it is very difficult to motivate them politically to become interested in it. We do live in a very affluent society and we are very glad of that. It means many of us are very comfortable but at the same time having that affluence, having that materialism, we can isolate ourselves from those things we find unpleasant. If we do not like a television programme we can switch channels. If we do not like something on the radio, we can go out to other wavelengths. Just look at the change in cars, everybody has a Mustang. It is essentially a two-seater car. Twenty years ago people had family cars. People had to live together. Materialism isolates. Another thing, I think is that people do not feel they are essentially needy. People don't realize, generally, I think, that there are other people within the community that do need this and until you can get that message across, until you can feel that it does affect them, that they are all part of their society, their environment, that they are all people, it is hard to make something like poverty

which is generally well hidden from the student as well as it is difficult to make it really a worthwhile cause. It is nice if you can tie it in with something like civil rights, and they did in the States and then it was politicised, but you know the problem is still there to a large extent.

The Chairman: Are you saying it is not politically glamorous enough?

Mr. Abols: Yes, that is right. It is not politically glamorous enough.

Mr. Weihs: May I say a word to that question, Senator? I think that the reason it has not become such a cause is because I think people are primarily concerned with what affects them. I think a much more cogent question, perhaps, is why is poverty not a cause of the poor who are directly affected by it? As to the university situation, I think that concern for poverty is a very healthy state. I think it would be very unhealthy if it were a cause. The last thing people here I live want is a bunch of idealistic, perhaps university students all rushing down suddenly. The thing has become a cause. But I think that real concern and real deep commitment for people who seem to have been left behind by our society is owing at the university and that this is a very healthy group. What you are finding is that more and more people are interested enough to really go into the problem, not to go to a rally about poverty, you know, but to find out really what is going on there.

The Chairman: Earlier this afternoon at 2.00 we had a brief from the social service course of the Ryerson Polytechnical Institute and one of the students is still down there. Perhaps she may want to speak to this but I am going to read you just a few words from their brief, right in the introduction, and this is a group of social service workers who were preparing a brief on poverty and they say this:

All students were asked if they wished to participate. A few were not interested, some were very cynical feeling that nothing would be achieved by another report. Approximately 70 students initially decided to participate with varying degrees of cynicism, hope and concern.

Wouldn't you say that would be typical of Toronto University too?

Mr. Weihs: I imagine on a large scale when we advertise for people for our project we found that we had many more applicants than we had need for. So I would say again there is probably a small group, very interested and the rest, I suppose, like the rest of society are not that interested.

Mr. Frerichs: I think that a lot of students at the university would certainly feel that the Special Senate

Committee on Poverty, "What on earth is that all about? What power does the Canadian government, which this committee presumably represents, what power or will or moral conviction does the Canadian government have to grapple seriously with the problem of poverty?"

Jesus said the poor will always be with us, but I don't know whether he is right in that. Certainly our society, in governments, has acted as if the poor were always going to be with us and that nothing is going to change. I would suggest to you very strongly, Senator, the only way that we can eliminate poverty is by drastically altering the social structure. I am sure you have heard a lot about that and I don't have to go into this kind of thing.

The Chairman: Now I am going to ask this little girl from Ryerson who has been waiting all the evening to say a few words. If she would be good enough to come to the microphone and identify herself and make her statement.

Miss York: I am Sally York, Journalism Student. I will be 44 in April.

I left school during the war. I became a nurse and contracted tuberculosis in 1952. I went into hospital for two years and had another year of work. When I came out of the hospital I found it very difficult to get . . .

The Chairman: Excuse me, we cannot hear very well. There is another microphone if you could come up to it.

Miss York: Do you wish me to start over again?

I will be 44 in April and I have known difficulties for two times in my life. The first time was when I came out of hospital after being in hospital for two years with tuberculosis as a result of nursing the last year of the war and I spent a year convalescing. When I went to try and get a job no one would even interview me because I had had tuberculosis. I eventually got a job in a hospital but I had a broken engagement or series, I would say, because I could not have any children. So I went to the Netherlands and I got a very good job there with Philips at the world head office where I did work in developing countries.

My family lived over here in Toronto and I thought, as I was getting older, I would like to come to Canada and be near my family, the only family I had. My family was living here in Toronto. I came here to Canada after being told in the Netherlands that I would have a very good job due to my work experience in the Netherlands but because I was over 40 I experienced difficulty in getting employment, but eventually David Crombie, who is the director of Students' Affairs here at Ryerson and the Registrar, who knew me, said, "Sally, you will have to go back

to school and get your post-secondary education." I came back here and I started in Social Services and unfortunately two of my clients got murdered in Cabbage Town. I got very depressed and so I transferred to Journalism. I state these things so you will have some idea of how I am concerned with poverty and the difficulties.

I faced difficulty when I graduated from Ryerson on a Provincial loan. I hope to God I am going to be able to pay off the loan from the Ontario government. I state this because you have made a remark that worries me considerably. I hope I am going to be able to get a job to pay off. That is just preliminary. I will go through these points very quickly.

There are some very constructive things which are really follow-up especially to Jean's and Ron's remarks which I have listened to with great interest.

First of all regarding employment-unemployment. It would seem to me that one of the things that helps to bring people down into the poverty group, and this is going to get much worse, we have now figures of 6.1 unemployment rate is that people, usually the people on the lower income groups who have not managed to save any money, they have to wait at least three weeks before they get their money and then go to the finance houses if they have not got a credit rating and they are paying compound interest. I wonder if there will be some way of preventing people from going on Welfare by having some agency which would give them temporary loans at low interest rates. This is one thing.

My second point is that transport has become so expensive now that people who are on Welfare, the officers and I know this from experience myself, that they are usually left with about \$1.50 a day. Now, it costs 25¢ for each car fare which means that you do not have enough left just going around looking for jobs let alone food in the one day and I would like to suggest both to the Provincial and the City Welfare that they find some means of helping them out with car fare to look for jobs. It is no use saying, "Why don't you walk?". You lose important time. The offices are only open at certain times of the day. That is one thing. The other thing which I really want to get is that it worries me very much, having read with great interest all the hearings right across Canada that there seem to be walls building up between all the different sectors of society and I am wondering if Peter Newman of the *Star* who seems to be organizing excellent Star forums and maybe John Bassett of the C.F.T.O., could televise it and bring all the different sectors of society and get together instead of having a competitive society and have a co-operative society where everybody is going to co-operate to try and solve some of these problems we are talking about just now such as both Jean and Ron about developers in that part of the city. I happen to be doing a research project as a journalism student and I would like to point out to

the committee that there has been urban renewal down there and they have taken houses, renovated them and before that the rents were around about \$150 a month and several families lived in them or people roomed in those houses and when they have been renovated they have gone up to \$275 to \$300 a month which means that the people have nowhere to go. When I asked other people what has happened to these other people they are tripling-up and doubling up and this seems to me to give great cause for concern. In other words there is no comprehensive planning. What happens, where do these people go? So Jean's and Ron's question is extremely valid that we do really have to find out where do these people go because they acquire debts and acquire such debts that they have no alternative, they get their wages garnishees which means then that they cannot get a job so that they are getting into a more and more vicious circle. There is another thing, if there is something wrong, if a man or a woman has more money they can pay but if another man goes to prison which again lessens his job opportunities, he cannot pay.

I am also very concerned about the kids, young people, who are getting criminal records for drugs. They again cannot get a job and they are creating more permanent welfare cases. The other thing is that I would like people to consider when they did the housing we seemed to be thinking of shelter for people in the range of \$7,500, but Professor Albert Rose of the School of Social Work says that two-thirds of the people in Canada earn under \$7,500 and of that group 40% earned under \$5,000 and yet we are talking about low-income housing. One of our teachers at Ryerson did a mathematical calculation and the yearly mortgage rate of interest and everything amounts to \$3,500 which is a fair amount. If you take that from \$7,500, when you have paid out all your medical taxes and everything, what have you got to live on? In other words, we have got to find some way of everybody coming together. Let us stop bitching about the past and think about the future and if people can get gatherings together where people are not going to be expressing their hate, we have got to stop expressing our hate. Now, what we have got to do is to start doing, making constructive, comprehensive plans for the future so we do not destroy society.

For instance I read in the paper the other day that Halifax is developing at a very fast rate and that a man went down looking for housing, I cannot remember the exact rent, forgive me for not remembering, it was approximately \$90 to \$100 a month and it is now \$175 a month. This is the sort of thing we must prevent. These are the sorts of things that cause poverty because people are exploiting the supply and demand factor in the economy. I know you have to find capital keep evolving a healthy economy, but in the more affluent sectors of our society do not get together they are not going to have a healthy economy. So even their own interests appeal to them.

lish interests of the affluent society, they have ally got to think what we are going to do.

Most of the construction going up in the City at the esent moment is in the luxury housing class. I know e developers say that it is not profitable to build w-cost housing, but I think there are lots of solutely first-class brains in business, probably the est brains in the country, and in the universities. I ink it is time that we did not turn them off. We rned them on and we asked them to come together d say, "What can we do at the present moment?"

The media is writing very good descriptions of what erty is. What we have got to do now is, and I think p newspapers, radio and televisions are doing very od research work, if they can go and do projects of iting with these people and find out the solutions, ecause I am sure that the solutions are there but we ve got to find them quick.

The Chairman: I am sorry to interrupt you, we are gting near the end of the time and if you could wind ip in one minute. We must cut it off at 5.30 sharp.

Miss York: Yes. I think those are the main things. e other thing is the question that the poor people be to wait for such a long time on tax rebates. If smething could be done about that. I think too that e transport would be a very great thing. I would like tsee the cost benefit factor and study made as to the qstion of transport and transportation takes an ul lot of the poor people's income. I think a great d) could be done to make the less affluent sectors of o society more mobile.

he other thing that I would like to see is that not t every dollar a person on Welfare earns that they ny only get \$1 free. I would like to see a more firable ratio because most of the people going on V fare are in debt. I would like to see an incentive so tly could recover their dignity and be given a chance toay off their debts.

on put it beautifully, talking about the man aking off to Hamilton to get a job. I have known of cus of this myself right down here in Ward 6 and Wd 7 where they have wanted to work so they could p off their debts that they acquired before they ever wit on Welfare.

ow, if we could give them some incentive to pay of their debts and not penalize them. These are most nortant things.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. I am sorry th we have to break off this very interesting meeting bi we have to get back to the hotel and get smething to eat and then we have to leave again at 7.1 to go to another meeting tonight. So we really do n have very much time. I want to thank you Mr. Als and your friends very much for your kindness in

coming here and making your presentation to us today. Thank you very much.

The Committee adjourned.

EVENING SESSION

Toronto, Wednesday, March 11, 1970.

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty, (Sub-committee "B"), met this day at 8.00 p.m. at O'Connor Drive Public School.

Senator Sparrow (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

Mr. Ralph Hughes, President, O'Connor Drive Development Community Association: I would like to take this opportunity to thank everybody for coming here and to the senators for coming to listen to us. I hope it will be quite interesting.

I would also like to congratulate the new president of the association, Mrs. Jones and all the new executive members who got in.

I am now going to introduce Senator Sparrow, the chairman.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. To be somewhat informal perhaps we will not stand. I would like to introduce to you the Honourable Senator Pearson of the Senate Committee on my right, and Senator Pearson is a senator from the Province of Saskatchewan. On my left is the Honourable Senator Chester Carter from Newfoundland. We are very pleased to be here with you at your meeting tonight. I understand that the membership of your association has a brief to present. Mrs. Le Mesurier tells me that no extra copies have been made so I understand that she will read the brief.

If I may establish ground rules, after consultation with your president and members of your committee, I feel sure we want questions and discussion from the floor as well pertaining to the presentation in the brief, and any other areas that you may wish to discuss, as far as poverty is concerned; the problems of poverty, suggestions of how it could be solved and recommendations to this committee.

This is a subcommittee of the total Senate Committee that is having hearings in Toronto this week. There is another part of our committee meeting in another section of Toronto tonight and we have been meeting on Tuesday, yesterday and today and tomorrow. We are open to and welcome any recommendations or suggestions you have.

Could we now have the presentation of the brief?

Mrs. Lynn Le Mesurier: I would like, with your permission, to address you as concerned and knowledgeable Canadian citizens rather than as our senators. Do I have your permission?

The Chairman: Right.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: In trying to put this brief together I found that really I was not sure of what this committee was after so we finally decided that if we asked some questions that we have been asking among ourselves that maybe it would help the committee to better understand our problem. I would also like, at this time, to ask if we could have written answers back in at least six months, if you or your staff cannot or are not able to come up with some answers we would appreciate a letter or note to that effect. We would also like to receive the report on your findings throughout Canada on the particular subjects that we will be talking on to-night.

We feel that one of the biggest concerns in this area is the interpretation of the Family Benefit Act and the Welfare Act.

Our first question is, why are not welfare recipients or people on assistance such as Mother's or Father's Allowance, Compensation, Disability Pensions or our senior citizens given a handbook that they can refer to, something that would inform them of their rights as people on assistance rather than depending entirely on the interpretation of the individual case worker.

What are some of the reasons that recipients of assistance can go to the appeal board and does the board ever let the person making the appeal know the decision of the board?

Why does not a woman on Mother's Allowance have a prescription card? Why is she only allowed \$20 a month for prescriptions? Why is it that she cannot accumulate, for instance, if she does not use all of the prescription allowance in this month then why can't it be added to next month's allowance?

Why, when a woman applies for Welfare or Mother's Allowance, is she told that she has to take her husband to Court or she is not eligible for assistance? Is this a law or is this a bureaucratic resolution?

Is it a law that a woman, applying for assistance, has to show her bank book to her worker? Why, when women are on welfare are they not allowed to make any money at all without it being deducted from their cheque? Why is it that a woman on Mother's Allowance is only able to make so much money per month rather than so much per year? Why are not all forms of assistance under one administration? Why is the minimum wage so low that it would be better for a man to go on welfare or leave his wife so that she could go on welfare than try to support his family on such a wage?

Why does a man or a woman have to be in a workforce for three consecutive years before he or she is eligible for upgrading or skilled training with pay. The only exceptions being that he or she has one or more dependent upon him and that he has not any more than 26 weeks or 3 months of work in the said years.

Why is it that a person on assistance pays more rent to live in government housing than a person that is getting the same amount of money but is not on government assistance? It was stated in *Saturday Globe and Mail* that there will possibly be a \$3 million profit on OHSIP in the 1970-71 year. If this figure is right then why are the people only getting 90% coverage?

When the hearings are going on in the House and when the changes are taking place will there be any of the people who are directly concerned involved in the decision that takes place?

You have heard our questions, most of which have asked about governmental law or resolutions. These we feel, are some of the reasons we have poverty. Our government, who enforces, and people who make these laws, are at fault. These people are, every adult citizen in this country that exercises his right to vote, as much to blame as the person who does not vote. We are the Canadian people. We have made our own poverty. Now is the time to face that fact and do something about it. We have supported it and now we must change it.

Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. I wonder any of the senators, at the moment, have a few questions they would like to begin asking in regard to the brief?

Senator Carter: I copied down, very briefly, your or 11 questions. Most of the questions you ask illustrate our problem as well as yours because it happens that out of the 11 or 12 questions you ask 9 or 10 of them are under the Provincial government. That is because the British North America Act gives the sole jurisdiction to the provinces in matters of welfare and the federal government cannot do anything for welfare without the provinces' consent. Some of these welfare measures that the federal government is mixed up in have come about through agreement. The Provincial government could very well tell the federal government "hands off" and the only way the federal government can get into the field is by working out some sort of agreement with the provinces.

What we have found is that these agreements with the provinces are not the same. The agreement with one province varies and you go from one province to another. That makes it very difficult for us to come grips with all these social welfare measures.

When you say "Why not in a handbook," there is no reason. There is no reason why it should not be in a handbook, but there would have to be two handbooks or three because the municipal government is in it and they would have to put theirs separately and the provincial government is into it and the federal government comes in and there would either have to be a joint one drawn up but that joint one would be different for each province because the agreements are different.

Although the federal government spends money and works out the measures the administration of the welfare measures is left in the hands of the provinces. For example, we, several years ago, '65-'63, we thought we had come up with something. I was in the House of Commons then, I was an elected member, and we developed what was called The Canada Assistance Plan, which we thought was pretty modern, was going to take care of most of the problems and the great thing about this Canada Assistance Plan was it was to be based on need and not on a means test. The one thing about what they call Social Old Age Assistance and Social Security, Old Age Assistance was based upon a means test. You either had to sign a certificate that you did not have much money or you had to tell exactly what you had or else somebody had to come and snoop around and verify what you said. In the Canada Assistance Plan was supposed to do away with this snooping and it was to be based entirely on need and even though you were getting the Old Age Pension and the Old Age Pension was not enough because you had drug bills or something else that it just couldn't cover, this Canada Assistance Plan is designed so that you could go and get something extra under the Canada Assistance Plan and the federal government would pay half of it, but what we found is we have gone around is that these measures are all administered by the provinces and so when it comes to the provinces define what is meant by "need" and they have all got a different definition and that complicates the situation.

I don't know if I made it plain. I do not want to be too long. I am trying to give it to you in capsule form and as briefly as I can. I could take half an hour.

In my experience, when I first came to Ottawa, was the welfare pensions were paid by the provinces, \$20 a month. I think that was the amount. Then the federal government raised them up, I remember, to \$40, but they got the agreement of the provinces and we had to get another agreement. Eventually the federal government said "we will pay, we will take over completely when a person reaches 70." But, that had to be a special agreement because the British North America Act would not permit it otherwise and eventually they did this. That opened up the way for old age assistance below 70, 65 and 70. Now, we have the Canada Assistance Plan where a blind person, disabled, even able bodied can get relief, the federal government

will pay up to 50%. It pays all of the Old Age Security and anything for old age assistance, all of the able bodied relief up to 50% but it is the province who decides who is going to get it and under what conditions they get it.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: But this still has not answered why there is not a handbook.

Senator Carter: There is no reason. The only reason is that they have not got together and agreed on one.

Senator Pearson: One of the reasons is that they all come under different acts; all these different welfare agreements all come under different acts and a different group controls them. It is not all from one body that controls them even in the provincial government so you have a very great number of bodies working on different items and that is why we have not got together to get your booklet. You would have to see a whole lot of people and it seems to be a problem that you should get your M.L.A. to take up in parliament here and see if they cannot get a booklet made.

The Chairman: May I just add that first of all you made a request that answers be given to these questions to you and you suggest as well if not to-night by mail and I think that we can endeavour to answer these individual questions for you to-night. Any particular one you would like apart from that we will certainly see you get proper answers in detail on all these questions that you ask outlining who is responsible for them and your people will know who is responsible. One of the main purposes for this investigation as such is just because of these complaints you have given us that the people do not really know the areas of jurisdiction. They do not know who is responsible for what. They do not know why a person on welfare is only allowed to earn a limited amount of money and why the drug bill must be spent in the month in which it is given, it cannot accumulate for a larger drug bill over the period of a year. These are problems I might add that are faced by Canadians, if not in every province, I am sure in every province, but if not almost all provinces in Canada. The same questions are asked and this is a problem and a very legitimate problem to bring to this committee because this is the purpose of this committee that the Senate of Canada and the Parliament and the Government as well are concerned about these problems that there is not the co-ordination we need between the three levels of government. The federal government having brought in a number of years ago as Senator Carter mentioned, the federal government said to the provinces, "You set up the social welfare system or the social service system and we will match, dollar for dollar, what you spend on it." Or in other words, "We will pay half." And they have done it without really any control over how that money has been spent. It is a matter now of how to devise a

better system of social services on the total co-ordinating basis. So these questions, I think, are very relevant in the overall study because it shows us the problems that individuals are having with them.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: Couldn't there be some form of law or something stating that the provinces must do certain things?

The Chairman: Yes, there probably could be and as such there isn't. That is right, there probably could be.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: Well, there should be some continuity between provinces. We are all one country.

The Chairman: Right.

Senator Carter: You asked, just now you said something about an appeal board, there is an appeal board for the Canada Assistance Plan. I don't know how many people know about it but it is part of the Act that requires an appeal board to be set up. Whether the provincial government has done it or not, I don't know. If the provincial government has not done it the federal government cannot force them.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: Why?

The Chairman: Under existing legislation.

Senator Carter: Well, because . . .

The Chairman: As I say, under existing legislation.

Senator Carter: Under the British North America Act, under our constitution.

The Chairman: Mrs. Lemesurier is saying if the federal government pays 50% certainly they could put some restrictions on it. If you are going to get this 50% you must handle it in this method. I think that is the question she is asking and I am sure that can be done.

Senator Pearson: You asked a question there of the minimum wage. This is a very debateable point. Right now in Ontario they are talking about it. Again this is a provincial affair. The minimum wage, each province works out their own scheme of minimum wages, this comes under the budget problem of the provinces, of each province. They have to allow for this in their taxation. They cannot just jump in and say, "Tomorrow we will start with \$2 or \$2.50 an hour." They have to work this thing out in a budget scheme that they are going to submit to the public so that it takes time to do this sort of thing. I don't know why it should be so low, all these things are started at a low figure. It is like the old age security which was started at \$20 as Senator Carter said and it gradually has build up to now \$79, I think, at the present time. All these items

start at a low figure. The governments think they can raise just so much at a time and so they put that figure in but eventually it gets up to a point where they feel this is necessary. Now, the cost of living has gone up tremendously in the last few years, the last couple of years particularly, consequently the minimum wage is too low. Everybody recognizes it is too low and being considered very seriously by most of the provincial governments at the present time.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: Why isn't it, when the cost of living goes up a man either gets a cost of living bonus or the minimum wage is increased?

Senator Pearson: Again it is a question of budgeting again. You cannot just get money off a tree, you know. In the government they have to work the things out, budgets, they work those budgets pretty closely and they like to get their budget down as low as possible and this is the problem.

Senator Carter: It doesn't follow that if you raise the minimum wage you automatically cure poverty. It does not follow because if you raise the minimum wage and the industry will say, "If I employ ten people now, I am going to now employ nine." So one person is out of a job.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: But what happens, you know when everybody is down so low that it befits them more to go on welfare, then the government is really in a fix, isn't it?

Senator Carter: Well, Ontario is, the Ontario Welfare is far ahead of the minimum wage, as you know. They pay more on a welfare basis than on a minimum wage. That is up to the province itself. It is the province's own business. The federal government cannot come in and say, "You have got to do this or that". They are masters in their own house on matters like this.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: So how do we, as people, you know, change the provincial law?

Senator Carter: Well . . .

Mrs. Le Mesurier: Through the federal government?

Senator Carter: No, through your provincial member.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: The backbenchers that are heard very often?

Senator Carter: He depends on you to get elected.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: That is what I said.

Senator Pearson: You put these questions to your local member that is where you might get some action then.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: Our local member has an awful hard time getting heard. Who listens to him? It is the federal government?

Senator Pearson: No, the provincial government.

Mrs. Le Mesurier: The provincial government. Okay, and where does the provincial government go? They have to then go to the federal government.

Senator Carter: No, they can make the laws themselves. It is a provincial law, you see, and provincial laws are made by the people you elect to the provincial government. All the federal government does is pass out the money.

The Chairman: To a degree that is right, Senator Carter, but there are exceptions to this that the federal government when they bring out a policy that it must be a policy for all Canadians in all provinces. The provinces have laws besides so that some provinces' welfare system may be better than other welfare systems. Some provinces have a higher minimum wage than other provinces because this comes under it. But under the federal scheme, just as an example, under the federal government the Family Allowances are a federal responsibility because, by agreement, they, with the provinces, the provinces permitted the federal government to have the power to pay the Old Age pensions. It is the same way that it is paid to all Canadians and all on the same basis. There are no national differences. The supplement to the Old Age pension is the same thing. It is true that it is a federal responsibility.

The federal government is now in those fields, in the last few years of paying direct payments and direct assistance to all Canadians. There is no reason why that programme cannot be extended further, you know, by agreement with the provinces on new programmes or extension of existing programmes. So it is a matter to try and determine a national policy of necessary assistance to the Canadian people similar to the 50 per cent rebate to the provinces for the money they spend on other programmes that may be effective for all of the people of Canada. I appreciate this that we can certainly get all those answers and the breakdowns for you and I am sure we are in a position to, as well, make recommendations to the provinces that they have been the complaints that have come to us. We can certainly pass this on so they are not lost if you give them to us.

any questions from the floor then? Yes?

r. Frank McGowan: You are talking of the federal-provincial and municipal welfare and family assistance, the 50 per cent paid under stipulation from the federal government and stipulations in between the provinces causes most of the grief, if I am not mistaken.

Senator Carter: You see, the way it works, the federal government works out an agreement with the provinces and . . .

Mr. McGowan: Excuse me, sir, they don't work out agreement they tell the provinces.

Senator Carter: No, no, the federal government, in matters of welfare, cannot tell the provinces anything.

Mr. McGowan: In matters of welfare, for family assistance, the stipulation between the provinces comes from the federal government. It holds back part of the payment of welfare or family allowances.

The Chairman: That is not correct. The responsibility for family allowances rests solely with the federal government and on family allowances cheques are paid by the federal government. They come direct. There is no connection between that and the social welfare department of the Province of Ontario and any other. This is true in some provinces when the social welfare department as such, is determining the income of people they might very well determine that that \$20 from the family allowance as part of the income you know, or other sources, so in that way it can be connected but only by the provisions of the provincial government social welfare policies. Would that explain it?

Mr. McGowan: Still there is the stipulation between the two provinces, whether it is a stipulation or not, one of the problems in welfare, in the family assistance, I would like to go back again, the appeal boards are set up in Toronto but the appeal boards are set up by people who are ex-officials of the welfare system. I think this a little hard to understand. It is an unbiased report? There is never any appeal that is out and out . . .

Senator Carter: I think we are talking about two different things. Senator Sparrow talked about family allowances and you are talking about family benefits.

The Chairman: He was connecting the two.

Mr. McGowan: Can I go back to the stipulation on family allowance? Is there a stipulation that if a family runs through their money prior to the next cheque are they supplemented? Is there a supplementary? Are they allowed to get more money without going to churches and such?

Senator Carter: Are you talking about family allowance?

Mr. McGowan: Federal family allowance.

The Chairman: Standard amount per child per month?

Mr. McGowan: Is it per child? That is funny, I know a woman who has ten children and is given so much money. If she feeds ten children on this amount of money it works out to about 75 cents apiece. I could not feed my dog for that.

The Chairman: That is under the welfare allowance or family assistance plan. They call it the Family Assistance Plan here. But that has got nothing to do with the Family Allowance. The family allowance cheque comes regardless of what the other income of the family is. So that is a separate thing. Now each provincial department of welfare breaks down the food allowance and the clothing allowance for each member of the family and it may be too low. I am not suggesting it is not.

Mr. McGowan: It is too low, I know it is. I still don't understand it.

Senator Carter: I cannot blame you. There are so many of them it is hard to keep them sorted out.

Mr. McGowan: Under legislative law it is political change. The people have to change. Can they not force legislation through the federal government?

Senator Carter: With respect to the Old Age Pensions and with respect to Family Allowances the federal government got the authority, years ago, to enter that field and in other words with respect to Old Age Pensions and Family Allowances the provinces said to the federal government, "You take over that field". So that agreement still holds good and the federal government can alter Family Allowances any time. They can alter Old Age Pensions, put them up any time they want. There are only two types of benefits the federal government can pay on their own. When you get down below that, when you come to what they call the Old Age Assistance, blind persons, allowances, disability allowances, even able bodied relief, the Canada Assistance all these are different acts as Senator Pearson said and payments can be made in a different way. When it comes to these, the federal government, as I said, works out agreements for each one separately and under those agreements generally, says, "You go ahead and administer it".

Mr. McGowan: With stipulations.

Senator Carter: Well, the stipulation is, "We will pay 50 per cent. We will reimburse you 50 per cent of what you pay out."

Mr. McGowan: I think this is not exactly what the full meaning is.

Mr. Carter: Now, apart from that, I am talking about these measures, but apart from that, you have pro-

vincial benefits as well; the Mother's Allowance is purely provincial. The federal government does not come into that. The Family Benefits Act is purely provincial. The municipal government may have supplements to that. The federal government does not come into that, but the federal government does generally, I think, pay 50 per cent.

Mr. McGowan: That is right, 50 per cent, it is this 50 per cent with the stipulations.

The Chairman: Yes, you are right, before they made the agreement they could have made the stipulations different.

Mr. McGowan: Excuse me, they not "could have" they do.

The Chairman: They did and they cannot change till there is a new agreement drawn. They cannot make a change from day to day, right, it has to be a new agreement.

Mr. McGowan: I think that under the circumstances maybe this should be a flexible law.

The Chairman: Maybe you are right. Maybe that is very good recommendation in fact.

Mr. Ed. Thompson: Regarding Old Age Pension when I became available for that, it was \$75.

Senator Pearson: Old Age Security?

Mr. Thompson: All right, the government set formula of 2 per cent as their basis of increase paid on it.

Senator Pearson: It is supposed to cover the cost of living.

Mr. Thompson: Yes. Now in each year that 2 per cent was given or allowed on the pension, the cost of living went up a good deal more than 2 per cent. Now my questions are why do they stay to the 2 per cent when they know very well the cost of living has gone up a good deal more plus the fact that the 2 per cent based on \$75, right back to the original figure. Those are the two questions. Why do they not increase it say on the \$75 and then 2 per cent on the \$76.50 so it can escalate a little bit, but they don't, they stay at 2 per cent of \$75, next year 2 per cent of \$75 again, and outside of this year, out of the goodness, probably on their hearts it is \$1.58, maybe that takes up the slack. I don't know, but that is what it is now. How did they arrive at that 2 per cent formula? That is what is kind of bugging me in my mind. How did they arrive at 2 per cent. Was it the available money they had? Because if it is the available money they have for the one year and they go into a deficit budget and put

up the following year again by increasing taxes along the line somewhere to take care of the money they paid extra for it, those are my two questions.

The Chairman: First of all your suggestion of 2 per cent on the \$75 is a good observation. Why they did it at the time, I don't know. I am not, nor any of us here, in a position to speak for the government that did it at the time. Right, you will agree with that, but one of their thinking was that 2 per cent was a long term average of the cost of living increase, on the long term average. Unfortunately, of course, in the interval, the rates have gone much higher than the long term average of 2 per cent because it has gone as high as 4.6 per cent. So you are right on the formula. A person is certainly wrong if the inflation is going up higher than 2 per cent and I think that my colleagues would agree with me that certainly the government is reviewing this situation, you know, all the time so they might very well make a change in it. I know there are many recommendations going to them to make a change to coincide with the actual increase in the cost of living.

Mr. Thompson: Now, the cost of living, supposing it goes down? I can recall when I was working, why the cost of living was added on to our pay cheques. If the cost went up the pay cheque went up and if it went down then it went down. Well, couldn't the government run the same kind of a situation on that?

The Chairman: Yes, I agree with you.

Senator Pearson: We won't reduce it if the cost of living goes down because this is in the Act at the present time. All these things are done through parliament and the House and Senate, etcetera, it is all in the Act that it has to be brought in, they cannot change that from day to day, it has to go on till a new Act is brought in.

The Chairman: He is recommending the Act be changed.

Mr. Thompson: Yes, that is right.

Senator Carter: I think there is another reason too. You spoke about this 2 per cent that didn't change. One of the reasons why is that Senator Sparrow is perfectly right, the 2 per cent was the average over a period.

Mr. Thompson: The basic figure.

Senator Carter: But in addition to that they brought in the guaranteed annual income, you see.

Mr. Thompson: Oh, yes.

Senator Carter: So it wouldn't make much difference. You are only robbing Peter to pay Paul

because if you are eligible for the guaranteed annual income, if you didn't get the 2 per cent extra or your 4 per cent on your \$75 well you picked it up on the guaranteed.

Mr. Thompson: On the supplement, I see.

Mrs. Joan Dobson: How come, when you are on Welfare or Mother's Allowance you go into a store to get credit and you can't get it?

The Chairman: On Welfare and you go to a store and want credit and you cannot get it?

Mrs. Dobson: You want credit and you can't get it.

Senator Carter: Well, that may be so here but it is not that way everywhere. I know in my province they do get credit.

Mrs. Dobson: Not here.

Senator Carter: You see, that is another case where it is different from one province to another.

The Chairman: Would this be an individual store you are referring to or would that be a general provision?

Mrs. Dobson: In the store.

Senator Carter: It is up to the store-keeper, you see.

Mrs. Dobson: As soon as you say you are on Mother's Allowance or Welfare they don't want anything to do with you.

Senator Carter: You cannot pass a law to tell the storekeeper he has to give credit. It is up to him.

Mrs. Dobson: I know.

Senator Carter: One store-keeper may not give credit and another one might.

Mrs. Dobson: People on Mother's Allowance and Welfare pay their bills better than the average working man yet they cannot get credit.

Senator Carter: That is the individual judgment of the person who has the store.

Yes?

Mr. Bill Busby: I am one of these persons too busy to prepare a brief but I was wondering, I notice in the papers you were asking for some suggestions or solutions and I had a few and wondered if I might get time later in the evening to present some of my ideas on the problem of poverty and problems some of these people have?

The Chairman: Right, would you suggest how long, at the moment, how long are you taking, five minutes?

Mr. Busby: If you gave me a chance to start I could go all night. Perhaps, at the end of the evening you could stop me when you like.

The Chairman: I would like to give an opportunity to other people. I will be sure to call on you. There is a lady at the back, I believe, who wanted to say something.

Mrs. Marg. Tugwell: Can you tell me where you have arrived at the name Old Age Security, because they have no security on \$79 a month, even with the supplement.

Senator Pearson: The original name has just hung on to it instead of changing it. They just kept the same name.

Mrs. Tugwell: What security have we got to look forward to under this Act?

The Chairman: I would think that is true and particularly in certain areas of Canada. You know it is not a very high rate. In other areas in Canada it is probably effective, perhaps rents are low, this type of thing. Remember that Senator Carter mentioned they did start out at \$20 and have certainly been making these increases from time to time and I think all of us would hope that they would gradually keep going up even apart from the 2 per cent we were referring to, right.

Mrs. Tugwell: I am sure Senator Carter would not want to live on \$79 a month even in Newfoundland.

The Chairman: Well, the people that need it just don't live on \$79 a month.

Mrs. Tugwell: They still don't have enough to exist on.

The Chairman: Right.

Mrs. Tugwell: They are barely existing, some of them are not eating.

The Chairman: Right.

Senator Pearson: Out in my province of Saskatchewan we have one or two widows, I know, in this little town I live in and they are getting along and they pay their taxes. The only trouble is they cannot get sewer and water into their homes. They have to get somebody to bring water to them.

Mrs. Tugwell: You mean under the C. C. F. government?

Senator Pearson: Not now, it is a Liberal government.

Mr. McGowan: I would like to go back on the Appeal Boards, if I might, setup for Welfare. If I might just take the opportunity to refer to the paper:

I have two children and have been on Welfare since last September. I had my own apartment and it was cold so when I had a chance to move into a house with a good friend I did. He separated from his wife and has one child and they rent two rooms upstairs and pay half the cost of the food... he pays utilities and gas besides. He works nights and sleeps days. I look after his son but the Welfare is up in arms. I was here just a moment and they wrote to tell me was cut off. They figure my friend should support his kids. We are just good friends. Besides if he gets married where does it leave me? I need your advice because this is very important to me. Name withheld.

Why am I reading this? I think it is very important to this committee. This is the advice. I will read and after I will tell you who wrote it.

It is also important to the taxpayers who pick up the bills. Your good friend could well afford to pay all of the bills if he wanted to. That is where the friendship broke up. Now you get a government cheque for yourself and two children.

The gentleman that wrote that advice is with the Toronto *Telegram* and is a member of the Appeal Board of the Welfare. I think this is disgraceful and I, as a taxpayer, hang my head in shame. I allow the man to do this, why? I say the Welfare Board if it is unbiased should never be allowed to have the people on it. The same man puts this out, *Action Line* in the *Telegram*. I believe he is the Chairman of the Welfare Appeal Board and I would question his right to be on it.

Senator Pearson: Can I say about the OHSIP, which is only 90%. We have it 85% in Saskatchewan on the medical bills.

Mrs. Dobson: It was stated in the paper the other night that there was \$35 million profit or something that was to be made this year on OHSIP. Then when you know, are we only covered 90%. Why are we not covered wholly?

Senator Carter: I am not sure I can give you the full answer on that but one of the reasons is that the doctors, like everybody else have had debts you know, they have bills that they don't collect and now here is something with no risk, the government says that under normal circumstances the doctor would not collect 100% of his fees. The

best a doctor would do would be to collect 90% and if we did not have a government scheme he would lose 10% of his bills because he would not be able to collect them. Why should he collect them now. So the government says, "We will pay 90% of what the hospital bill is so that if you lose 10% you know you are not losing any more than you ever lost and this is guaranteed income for you."

They expected the doctors to accept that as a reasonable argument and say. "We always lost 10% of our bills. We never collected that and so we will not collect it now." But now some doctors, probably, I think, did not agree to this. So they send out the extra bill for the other 10%.

Mrs. Dobson: So would they be—if the province or the federal government boosted it to 100% at the rates they are now charging, could they in turn boost their rates and make it only 90% again? Am I making sense?

Senator Carter: I don't think I can answer that one.

The Chairman: I don't know what the medical care in the province is as such to get down to some details but the medical profession has a schedule of fees for individual calls or operations or whatever the case may be so that the government says, "We will pay 90% of those fees" and if the doctor raises his fees the next day I am sure they have some provision in there where they negotiate raising of those fees with the government before they raise them. Senator Pearson mentioned the government of Saskatchewan paid 85% of the scheduled fees and there was 15% left on those. I could say at the moment, Senator Pearson can correct me if I am wrong, I do not think I would be out if I said at least 90 or 95% of the doctors don't ever collect the balance. They don't send bills because, as Senator Carter said, this was a normal bill to them previously anyway so now they are getting as much money as they did before so they are not billing extra. I understand there is the odd specialist in doing billing the additional amount but very few.

Mrs. Dobson: I know that most of the people I talk to are paying 55¢ when they go into their doctor's office. My mother is, right now she has a doctor and he will not send it to the OHSIP. She has to pay him then in the office and then she has to put it in to OHSIP.

The Chairman: Just so I don't misinform you; in the Province of Saskatchewan, apart from this there is what they call a "deterrent fee". Each time you go to the doctor you pay \$1.50 per call. Outside the schedule of fees I am referring to there is a

deterrent fee that is collected then and there. That is correct, that deterrent fee and the hospital fee is \$2.50 per day as a deterrent.

Yes?

Mr. McGowan: Talking about doctors, going back to Family Allowance, Mother's Allowance, I am not too sure, but I believe that Mother's Allowance they will not pay a specialist unless recommended by the family doctor and then there is quite a fight there to have those expenses paid. This is why I question it. If a man commits a bank robbery and he is sentenced to ten years in prison he is given three square meals a day, guaranteed medical, he is guaranteed clothing and yet the man's wife, his children have done nothing but have been married to this man. They are not allowed medical, proper food, proper housing and then society turns around and calls them everything. I read some article, I had better not get into that, I was wondering who was being punished here really. I wonder if this committee when you put down your recommendations, are you going to go to the people again with your recommendations? "We are recommending this for you?" And are you going to allow them to see these recommendations to see if they are good for them? I certainly know you men are interested. I appreciate this but on your recommendations, after these hearings, are you going to present them to the people?

The Chairman: Yes, that is correct, because a final report will come out that will be available to all the people and there will be the recommendations that will go to the people and then to the government. These are the recommendations that must be put in for changes in legislation and certainly there would be opportunities for people to question any of those recommendations.

Mr. McGowan: Excuse me, Senator Sparrow, you really made a mistake there when you said "government". I believe "democratic" in the dictionary means "supreme power of the government of the people". Maybe part of the problem is that people who have the supreme power—if these recommendations are good for people it is the people who should have the power to put them, not the government.

The Chairman: You might very well be right. Under our system of government they select representatives to act on their behalf. Whether that is right or wrong, I am not sure. The system may be wrong but I would not want to make this statement that I agree it is.

Mr. McGowan: What I wonder; are you going to have a hearing with the recommendations and invite

people and inform them of the recommendations and say, "Are these good or are they bad?"

The Chairman: That is really the purpose of these hearings. Even before the recommendations come it is to get the feeling of the people on poverty as such, on problems as such in the various areas, so when we find that you have a problem here and that same problem exists, you know, in Manitoba, in Newfoundland, in British Columbia and so on, this becomes then a very definite, cross-Canada problem. It is not just a small problem that someone, who is being a little radical, is bringing forward. That is a problem of the people. So certainly the recommendations will only be coming out because of the representations that are made because if everyone was happy there would be no recommendations. It is that simple. I agree with you.

Senator Carter: I am not sure we are understanding his question. Are you asking that the Senate Committee will consult the people about the recommendations for approval before we pass them on, is that what you are asking?

Mr. McGowan: Yes.

Senator Carter: I don't see how we can.

The Chairman: But certainly when the report comes out the report must go to the government and before it goes into legislation the findings will be made public as all hearings are, that is exactly what he is asking.

Mr. McGowan: I am asking after this hearing I imagine the experts will look at the conclusions of your evidence and the recommendations will be made. Now, I am not knocking the experts, but in some cases, quite a few cases, they have proven to be quite wrong on the recommendations made by these committees to the government. Will people, the same people you asked in your committees to give you briefs on poverty, will they be invited to hear what the recommendations are or will these recommendations be put to the government who will say, "Here people, this is good for you, don't question it."

I am afraid I am a little cynical. I apologize for it but this seems to be the thing today.

The Chairman: There are sometimes when a government will bring in a change of policy or a change of law, particularly this is true in taxation as such or budgets, without, you know, any prior notice to the people. This happens. The White Paper that you hear so much about now on taxation is an effort to let the people know, to bring this information to the people before it is made law and to try and get wide discussion on it and get the feeling of the people before it is put in. So this gives the people the

opportunity then to at least go to their member in parliament or their elected representative on any level and in turn make their thoughts known before the becomes law. So I would certainly hope, and both senators with me can agree. These recommendations on aging, the study on aging got wide publicity resulted in certain legislation and other studies that have been done, quite numerous ones, the same thing is true. It does get reasonably wide publicity from feedback from the people. Would you not agree with that?

Senator Carter: I think what he is driving at is something a little different. We cannot, as I understand your question, I don't see how it is practical to do what you are suggesting. You see we are here tonight and you people recommend certain things. We would go to another place tomorrow night and the will recommend something different, completely different. They don't want what you want, they want something different. All right, we can go around month after month like this and get all sorts of recommendations, some conflicting. We had two briefs the other morning and one was for a guaranteed annual income, they were solid for that. Another group came in totally against it. What they wanted was more family allowances. Now you have got contradictory positions and what we have to do is gather them all up, go through them and we sort out the ones we think have the most support and make the most sense and then we will incorporate that in a report and the report will be made public, so you will know what is in the report. It will be a public report. Then it goes to the government and the government may act on the recommendations, they may not. They may say "Well, these are good. We can do this." On another one they may say, "It costs too much money, we have got to put those off for a few years." But they will pick out some and do it. But before they do that you will hear about it. It will be in an election platform. It will be in the forecasting of legislation. So that if you are thinking the government is going to do is right then you get after your federal member and make your views known. That is how democratic works.

Mr. McGowan: You mean it should work.

Senator Carter: That is the way it should work, yes.

The Chairman: Right, any other questions?

Mrs. J. Tremblett: Two things; one is I know you are going to tell me it is a provincial responsibility, I want an answer and that is, if you are going to get answers back to us I understand, is this so?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Tremblett: Why is it, according to the Family Benefits Act, you get \$300.00 maximum per month

with four children and \$10.00 per month for each child that you have over four. Now, I can see that this would be a deterrent in having more children but certainly if you have this number of children when you begin to receive the benefits why should the last two be penalized? Surely we love the last two as much as the others and you have to take money from the first four in order to feed the last four. Obviously 10.00 a month goes no place for the last two. Find that out for me.

The Chairman: Yes.

Mrs. Tremblett: Another thing is the lady mentioned that you can't get credit while on Mother's Allowance and Welfare. Our association in Rexdale asked the same question of several businesses in the area and were told, sure they may be able to trust most of these people but should anyone go into default it is bad publicity for them to have to repossess things from someone on welfare or Mother's Allowance. They have taken the poor people's stove. They can do it a little more gently with other people and it does not get the bad publicity for the store. This may be a partial answer to the question.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Mrs. Linda Kelly: A person on Mother's Allowance allowed to make \$60.00 a month. If she receives a cheque from her husband for \$20.00 there is deducted \$0.00.

The Chairman: Will you repeat that, and come a little closer to that microphone, please?

Mrs. Kelly: A person on Mother's Allowance is allowed to make \$60.00 a month and yet if she receives a cheque from her husband for \$20.00, it is deducted by them but it is deducted by \$30.00. \$0.00 is taken away instead of \$20.00.

The Chairman: I will try and find that answer for you too. It does not sound quite right.

Mrs. Kelly: But it happened.

From the Floor: I was on Mother's Allowance and receiving \$240.00 a month and I got a cheque from my husband for \$20.00 which my Mother's Allowance worker saw and she deducted \$30.00, \$10.00 each month, then my husband comes back and I go on Welfare and I jumped from \$230.00 a month to \$202.00 a month. I would like to know why. Is he worth \$70.00 or something? I am not inclined to ask so but I am just asking. No answer?

The Chairman: Well, I don't know your husband. We will try and find that out for you. Yes, thank you.

Mrs. Betty Price: Can you tell me how a man with a family that is receiving family allowances, when the man is working it is considered a gratuity, it is a gift but if you are on Mother's Allowance or Welfare or something it is classified as part of your income, can you explain this to me?

The Chairman: Ask that question again, will you?

Mrs. Price: If you are a family and your husband is out working your family allowance cheque you get each month is considered a gratuity from the government. If you are on Mother's Allowance or Welfare it is considered part of your income, why?

Senator Carter: You mean the family allowance?

Mrs. Price: The federal government send us family allowance each month and if my husband is out working it is considered a gratuity, a gift from the government to me. If I am on Mother's Allowance or Welfare I have to classify that as part of my income. Why?

The Chairman: Well, that is a good one because I know it happens not only in this province, other provinces as well and that is on a needs basis. Senator Carter referred to that that they set up a schedule and, none of us are going to suggest they are high enough schedules or they are too high. We are not prepared to suggest that but on the needs basis they say a family of 1, 2, 3 or 5 people require so many dollars to live. This is the need—so many dollars. So if the figure that they require to live is \$300.00 you are getting now and they classify as income the \$20.00 family allowance then they reduce that, the total needs are reduced by the \$20.00. I am not suggesting it is right.

Mrs. Price: Couldn't the federal government do something about this? This is one of the fields they are in. This is a gift from them. If you are on Mother's Allowance couldn't the federal government do something to the province so this is not classified as part of your income?

The Chairman: It maybe could be done, there is no provision there at the moment but it is a good suggestion and I think that that is a suggestion that is well worth taking.

Mrs. Price: I have eight children and that extra money coming in each month would be quite a bit.

Senator Carter: It will have to be part of an agreement between the province and the federal government to do that.

The Chairman: We certainly could make this recommendation for change, yes.

From the floor: The question that I would like to ask the committee is what good are these recommendations going to do if the province says, "no".

Senator Pearson: You will have to vote them out of business then.

From the floor: We just might do that.

The Chairman: I think that is a good question excepting there are political pressures such from groups such as this to let governments know that their needs are. For example, under the medical care programme you know you have in Ontario the federal government brought in this as a national policy of health, medical care and some of the provinces went into it right away and others didn't go into it until two years later. I believe there are still some provinces that have not gone into it yet. One or two have not gone into it as yet, but the provision was there that the federal government would go along if the provinces did. Now, the people in those provinces are forcing their governments in fact to bring in. Ontario didn't have it a year ago about a year ago it came in and now it is a good programme, an excellent programme, certainly there has been criticism in many of the provinces of the premiums paid, you know, as much for that. You pay only 90% or this type of thing, but it is still a better programme than they had two years ago so I am sure that these programmes get better as they go along.

From the floor: I would like to recommend that the provinces set up committees on poverty.

The Chairman: Set up committees on poverty? Okay. We will take that as a recommendation. I hope when we are through it may not be necessary for each province to have its own committee.

From the floor: I think it should.

Mrs. Joyce Villa: I would like to ask as to why they don't have any sort of system that covers prescriptions and dental care as well as having a system that covers the doctors because many times you have children or persons sick in a family so they pay for the doctor's visit but half the time you do not have enough money to buy the prescription. Also, many people have to let their children go without dental care because they cannot afford it. What is the use of paying for a doctor to come when you have got a prescription in your hand but you cannot fill it because you have not got the money to pay for it. It is a good observation.

John Burke, Community Development Officer for Family Service: There are obviously many good questions or comments you get from everybody where you go, the same ones in one form or another but one of the real problems was probably artic-

ulated by True Davidson, Mayor of East York, who she classified people who are poor as basically lazy and really not with it and recalled, with nostalgia her own poverty as a young girl. This was quite different because in her day a lot of people were poor. It was not poverty in the sense it is now. I am often aware of how we are talking with the poor, if it were, and ignoring the real problems of the real areas of concern related to poverty and these are the tax easements and so on of the corporations, the monies that individual provinces will put into new business and new corporations either without interest or simply as forgivable loans on the theory that these are good for the future of the nation. One could argue, I think, that investment in people is also good for the future of the nation. However, we have real problems with such things as Workmen's Compensation Board and I am not aware of whether this is federal or provincial. The real question is the charter of that board, and I know something of its methodology and the effect of the way the board carries out its work on people who apply for compensation, that something should be done to investigate what the Workmen's Compensation Board does. Certainly here in the Province of Ontario.

Secondly, the control of unions, that unions are in a position where they have bargaining powers with government and with industry and yet have let behind the people they originally set out to unionize, the people on the bottom. Somehow or other we have to stimulate a new kind of union, not merely to segregate the poor into one more power block, but integrate part of our society or demand existing unions that they begin to be concerned with that whole base area of our social, economic society. I think inasmuch as the unions do have powerful positions of favour and so on in the areas of politics and economics that this could and should be demanded of them.

The third point is that C.M.H.C., with great fanfare last year set out to stimulate new housing. It was pointed out that the rates of interest that C.M.H.C. was prepared to give out money removed from the lower economic classes any possibility of taking advantage of C.M.H.C. funds. It actually moved some of the middle class, I think, from that area. Government should examine the policy that is being carried out with C.M.H.C.

Finally, a great deal of our trouble, in terms of housing for people with low and even moderate income, medium income, in the urban areas in which most of us live in now stems from land prices and not housing at all, wherein, as you well know, speculators and so on take advantage. The ordinary persons, like you or I make what we consider an honest profit on our land. We bought it ten years ago and now we can sell it for twice or three times the price, however, perhaps we should be looking into the examples of England and other countries

where the government has set up land banks and owns land and prevents speculation which, while it may enrich a few, works hardship on a great many others.

Thank you.

The Chairman: Thank you for your suggestions.

Senator Pearson: In regard to land banks, I think this is largely a question for the municipality itself. In Saskatchewan, the capital city of Regina, the mayor himself went over this thing and they have set up quite a land bank there for the people who want to build houses around the suburban part of Regina and I think this is a matter for the municipality to take hold of and to do this very thing.

Senator Carter: I don't see why C.M.H.C. could not do something like that too though.

The Chairman: C.M.H.C. have a programme, they finance 90% of any land that a municipality wishes to buy up around the built-up areas in any community. That is a two or three year old programme but they apply to the 90% of the money for that purpose if the municipality wishes to do it. That is an agreement with all provinces in Canada, I might add.

Was there another question?

Senator Carter: I would like to make a comment on the point raised by the last speaker that one of the bad things, in my opinion, just giving my own opinion, is that we have been using housing as a regulator of the economy. When the economy slows down, and you get unemployment which rises up to an undesirable level, one of the quickest ways of mediating that is to use the construction industry and so you put on a splurge and make money available for housing and that, of course, stimulates the economy because you build a house and sell furniture, electric appliances, it permeates the whole economy and then we pour a lot of money into housing just because the economy is slowing down. After a few years we find the economy going a little too fast and we then do the reverse. We turn off the tap to slow the economy down again and I think that may be a good idea, you know, from the standpoint of regulating but it is bad, it has had bad results on the effect of housing because housing is a permanent need. It does not go up and down in bursts with the fluctuations in the economy. So what we have got to do is try to find some other means of regulating the economy except by using the construction industry to do it.

The Chairman: Thank you, senator, yes.

From the Floor: In paragraph 5 of your introduction is says:

During its existence the Committee will be hearing publically from citizens' groups representing the poor, business, unions, the professions, governments and private agencies in the social welfare field.

Well, I think that business, unions and professions said it perfectly well. I belonged to a union for a good many years and was on the executive of the union and I know that they are much better off today than they were when I was working for them, but that doesn't apply to what I want to speak about. The point is this, controls, how many of you gentlemen and ladies is in favour of government controls of prices, wages, everything else? We had it during the war.

Senator Carter: Do you want a comment on that?

From the Floor: I do.

Senator Carter: Well, in time of war you can do things that you cannot do in time of peace.

From the Floor: I understand that.

Senator Carter: People will accept rules and controls in time of war they would never accept in time of peace.

From the Floor: I quite agree with you, but do you think that bringing out these, having these committees, as you gentlemen and ladies are, and bringing in submissions to the government what should be done, do you think . . .

The Chairman: You may be aware that the government has a voluntary prices and wages and profits committee working and the government of the day has stated that they may have to bring in controls if the voluntary controls—

From the Floor: Mr. Trudeau said that, I read that but the question is when and where will this happen? How long will we have to wait. It is action that the poor want now. If they are getting \$10.00 a week more than the prices of everything would go up that much.

The Chairman: Yes, we have heard that complaint before, yes.

From the Floor: So I think that these commissions is only a lot of talk. I am not blaming you people but that is all they are. We want something definite and we are not getting it.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

From the Floor: I was speaking to Mrs. Le Mesurier about this rent thing and Mother's Allowance. They have set a rate of \$90.00 a month for people on

Mother's Allowance and it just keeps on going up and why is it we have to pay more than the average working man that lives in Ontario Housing? The man down the hall makes \$65.00 a week, I won't mention any names, he paid \$41.00 a month for his rent and now I get \$225.00 a month and my family allowance included and I pay \$90.00 a month for rent. There is a woman here, she has eight children, she gets \$320.00 a month and she pays \$110.00 for her rent and also her hydro on top of that and I would like to know why we have to pay more.

Senator Carter: Is this in subsidy?

From the floor: Right here in Ontario Housing.

Senator Carter: Ontario Housing?

From the floor: Apparently it is supposed to be a set rate with all the government officials here in Ontario that we have to pay all the same amount yet some pay \$90.00, \$100.00, \$105.00 and \$110.00. It is supposed to be a set amount. This is what I cannot understand. Some are on Welfare and Mother's Allowance and disabled fathers. Why do we have to pay more than the average working man that is living in here.

The Chairman: In your situation, do you not get full rent that you pay, if you pay \$90.00 do you get the \$90.00 credit on that amount?

From the floor: I get \$225.00 a month and out of that I have to pay my rent.

The Chairman: Is the allowance based on the rent?

From the floor: What I cannot understand is why do we have to pay more than the average working man in the Ontario Housing Corporation?

The Chairman: I don't know the answer and I will certainly try to obtain that for you.

Mrs. Lemesurier: I have that question right here.

Mrs. Villa: I would like to ask this committee here what makes them think the Senate Committee has been doing more for us than any other committees or any other groups? They come and tell the poor people they can take all their recommendations back or take them and as a group sit around and figure out plans yourself as to which recommendations should be put before the people of Ottawa. They will sit back, after having a full stomach, sit around a table and decide what the old cliché says, "haves and have-nots". It is the same old system, everything will be decided as to what the poor people can live on. In other words they will tell us that no matter "how we live in our position as senators and such" this is how you should live and, as some social workers come and tell the people, "you can't manage because you can't

budget your money," I would like to know how you can budget, make up a budget and keep to it when the first place you don't have enough money to make a budget. Thank you.

Mrs. Tugwell: To answer the lady's question, I have inquired into this because I have, in my development, an awful lot of Mother's Allowance people. The rent goes from \$72.00 to \$105.00 but to get apart from the working man, this is nothing to do with O.H.C., the paying so much higher than O.H.C. The Mother's Allowance has a set rate that they have to pay, minimum of \$90.00 but I am not fighting because they are only paying \$72.00 where if you are O.H.C. and working you pay up to and including 33.1/3%.

The Chairman: Of your salary?

Mrs. Tugwell: Of your gross because I pay \$229. in O. H. C. that is how it works.

The Chairman: Yes, is this your first time up, sir?

Mr. McGowan: No, I can clarify a bit on the public housing. I studied a little bit of it and the Welfare pays 30% of the rent but it is not on a monthly basis. They have to break it down over a period of a year and then take it on this basis. You pay the highest percent. That is why the rents are much higher. It is a foolish thing to agree.

One question I would like to get back to, Welfare believe the Welfare assistance, you can make \$12.00 per child or 120 hours you can work extra, but the question I would like to know is this legislative law is this the agency itself who sets up the rules? Does anybody know?

The Chairman: Well, first of all, can I get the question correctly, whether it is social assistance the welfare act or whatever they call it in the province, that is set up to establish the principle doing something and then the regulations come out to make that Act operative. So any change in rates or rates are done by regulation by the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council. That is in fact what it is or Cabinet of the provincial government, so each of these are by regulation of the government in power and of course they are available, those regulations are available to anyone if they ask for them. So it is a matter if you are asking questions, it should not be a matter of the individual administering it making a decision.

Mr. McGowan: It is in the Act, I am not sure what it states, but I believe you are allowed to make \$12.00 a child or you can work 120 hours, but the question is asking is this in the Act or is it set down by the individual worker?

The Chairman: It would, of necessity, be by regulation under the Act by the government in power.

Mr. McGowan: I wonder if this is so, would it not be easier to allow social workers, I don't say she knows the situation, she understands the problems, sees the problem, let her set the amount and I believe there are some workers who would be more lenient.

The Chairman: A number of social workers have made this suggestion as well that they would like a little latitude in the method in which the give allowance out to people and they may have, in fact, in some areas, some particular latitude, but I understand not very much. Would that be right?

Senator Carter: I think so. I would like to ask the question now; have you people ever had a meeting like this? A session like this with your provincial member and with your alderman?

From the Floor: No.

The Chairman: Have you ever tried to get a meeting like this with them?

From the Floor: How would you get it started?

Senator Carter: Don't you think it would be a good idea to get a hold first of your provincial member and then get two of them to bring along their welfare officials because they are the people who are administering this Act. You see, every province, I know what is in the Act in my own province, I don't know what is in the Act in Ontario because the Ontario Act is different. Every province has a different Act. They are not all the same. But these people, who are administering it, these are the people who could answer every single one of these questions. So I hope you will follow this and take courage and try to organize another meeting like this and get all these fellows here.

From the Floor: About the part of Mother's Allowance and Widow's Allowance or such, they say you can make so much money a month, like one woman said \$30.00 a month, okay, the mother wants to try and slip out so she goes and takes a part time job, so she makes \$30.00, maybe 10 or 15 hours a week she can work but then after 3 or 4 months or 5 months she has experience at whatever job she is at and she cannot go for a raise like other persons would because if she gets after a raise she is going to have to cut her hours again. She is not going to be any further ahead. She is not going to be independent.

The Chairman: No, no incentive to actually work.

Mrs. Audrey Lacroix: There is no point, you are not further ahead. If it is the mother on Mother's Allowance she is alone without a husband, say she doesn't know when one of her children is going to take sick and she is going to have to quit her job. She works and makes a little more money than she is allowed to make

and she is cut off that much money so then if one of the children does take sick then she is back and trying to fight to get back to where she was in the first place. So I think this is why a lot of mothers don't want to go to work because it makes sort of a hardship between everything, you know. So maybe something could be worked out this way.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

Senator Carter: This is one of these things that comes to our attention over and over again, that there should be some sort of an incentive with welfare payments so that if a person is working and earning a few dollars they should not be penalized for it.

Mrs. Lacroix: What is \$60.00? I mean any mother that goes out and makes \$60.00, she can barely buy two kids a coat for the winter.

The Chairman: Do you have a question back there?

From the Floor: One question I would like to ask on Manpower. When you are three years on the job before you can get up-grading in your schooling. Is there anyway you can answer this?

The Chairman: This is a federal responsibility in particular and this suggestion has come to us before on this aspect and we are certainly taking a recommendation in this regard back with us on the time element as far as that is allowed. Yes.

Mrs. Lacroix: Going back to this working for Mother's Allowance, what is the reason for having to have a statement signed by your employer for the amount of hours that you work and how much you make? Is there anything that goes in behind this?

The Chairman: I suppose to prove how much money you made so you do not make an over-amount, I suppose.

From the Floor: Can you tell me, a mother has not worked and wants some up-grading to get herself a better job, how does she go about this if she has to work three years?

The Chairman: There are two things; one you have to be out of school for a period of time and you have had to have been unemployed for a period of time so in that particular case it would not be a factor.

From the Floor: Yes, I went down to Manpower and tried to get into that and they told me that I could not get into it because I had not worked in the last three years.

The Chairman: Well, that is absolutely in conflict to what we were discussing here saying that you had to

be out of work for three years and the other regulation says that if you have had to work within three years but that is the regulations and we can certainly get those for you too, if you are not clear on them.

From the Floor: Would you also find out why a woman on Mother's Allowance, if she has a baby, why she has to wait three months for, before the baby gets included on Mother's Allowance and she cannot have any welfare assistance, she just has to go on what she has? The first three months are the worst when you have a new baby. That is when you have to buy everything but it seems like being penalized from getting pregnant in the first place when you have to wait three months.

The Chairman: I was not aware of that provision but we will find that out.

From the Floor: It has to go in front of the Board of Administrators in the Mother's Allowance, Family Benefits Act, and if the baby is accepted then he is included on your cheque. If he is not accepted then he is not included. If he is accepted then that is fine, you have to wait three months. I had a baby in September and never got the cheque till December the 29th.

Mrs. Tremblett: Again this is a matter of your worker, what your worker states and what your worker recommends. We were meeting in Warden Woods a week ago and the Family Benefit Act people on Mother's Allowance. There is provision for pregnancy allowance. We were surprised to know about it. It would be wise to get a copy of this Act. I believe it cost 35¢ from the Queen's Printer. It has the pregnancy allowance in there. I don't see why they should run into this problem.

The Chairman: Could I ask your committee's president to write to the Government of Ontario, Department of Social Welfare and ask them for a copy of the Act so you would in fact have it yourselves. Would you do that? Good. You would have that rather rapidly.

From the Floor: I would ask two questions about rent and the three month's waiting period. I would like an explanation why it is so, why that is there?

The Chairman: You are saying?

From the Floor: Mr. McGowan said 33.1/3 of the wages of the working man. For us it doesn't work like that. I want to know why. I think the three month's period is there, why do we have to wait? If we have a baby why do we have to prove it to them?

The Chairman: You are suggesting the provision is wrong, that is what you are suggesting?

From the Floor: And the rent too.

The Chairman: We are going to have to cut it rather shortly. Could I ask over here?

Mr. Patrick Green: President Metro Federation Citizens' Association: Mr. Chairman, I would like answer your colleague's questions regarding the meetings held with possibly provincial members and aldermen. As a former resident here and formerly involved with the Association, we endeavoured to have quite a number of communications with both people with a certain amount of success at one time. We have actually seen the provincial member, to my knowledge since he was last running for re-election. He happens to be the Minister in charge of public housing and there may possibly have some bearing on the fact. With regard to the alderman situation, the young lady sitting with you actually ran for the position of alderman for this board in the last election. I think the community is a little modest in not speaking up for themselves.

Mr. McGowan: I feel that the whole meeting has a lot of things in the questions that we asked. We asked these questions this way, we want to know the rights of a person on welfare. It seems the questions are being answered by you individuals and I certainly am not knocking it but everybody has stated the Act. There is only one lawyer in Canada who is an expert and he is coming to my home next week to tell us how simple the Act is but your own lawyers cannot interpret the Act.

We are asking you to find out how to interpret the Act. Tell us the rights of these people. Do they have to pay this rent? Does the social worker have the right to take away welfare because a woman has a boyfriend? This is what I would hope the committee would go into to tell us. Our rights.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

From the Floor: Why does it not include braces anything for crippled children? They refused to pay for the brace. Five times I have to tell the Easter Seal Society to lay down my whole life on a piece of paper and even get a brace. I am on Mother's Allowance and there is no way, she just shakes her head when I tell the worker. The kid will never walk. The wheelchair has to take from the Easter Seal and give details of my life. Why do I have to give my life story to get a wheelchair? Now, I give it for a wheelchair and a brace. She is 18 and it is not funny. She is in Grade 8 school and she passes but this is it, you have to put your life history for a wheelchair or a brace and have to do it three times last week. One was just put a screw on the wheelchair. I cannot pay for it. Half my cheque goes to rent and I am not covered for medicine. I have to pay for it. Then I bring my life and I pay. She goes to the hospital and the Welfare cut off. They say she does not need it but she needs a few things. All she wants is to get \$15.00 a month.

he will never walk but she has got to beg for it, the wheelchair, really.

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

From the Floor: I cannot pay for it. I have to put down my life history for a wheelchair. A brace. Who is going to pay for that besides the East Seal?

The Chairman: Well, that should come under the medical department we were referring to.

From the Floor: It is the way you have got to beg for it.

The Chairman: Right.

Senator Carter: I would like to reply to the question of the friend up here in front; he says he had hoped that we could get the Act and tell you what your rights are. That is not simple. If you had the Act you would realize that it gives the department and the officials power to make regulations. They can change these regulations from time to time and unless you know the regulations that have been made under the Act you still don't know what your rights are.

The Chairman: Maybe if they asked for the Act they could ask for the regulations. They must supply the regulations for them.

Senator Carter: I know you have got to get the regulations.

Mr. McGowan: Excuse me, the Welfare Act is unchangeable. As it is read or written or whatever you want to say, nobody can understand it. When the Supreme Court of Appeal of Canada cannot even decipher what it means then there is something fundamentally wrong. These people on welfare have a right. I feel it is this committee's duty as interested individuals. You would not be here, if you were not interested in the rights of people. The problem is the rights of people are denied the people. If it takes twenty years they still should have their rights.

The Chairman: Yes, madam?

Mrs. Tremblett: I was also given to understand there is extra money, I believe, something like \$5.00 per month given to people for wheelchairs. When I inquired from my worker she said, "You have no sympathy", I said, "I don't want it. I want your help. I need it because I have extra expenses compounded by the fact I have a family". She said she would inquire about it. She phoned me back about three or four weeks later and said, "You are already getting what is coming to you and your children. I cannot do anything more for you." She then told me that this included what I am getting.

Figuring it out I am still not getting the right amount under the Act. Where do I go from here? I am getting exactly what I should be getting according to her for myself and children. The Public Health Department tells me I am also entitled to this for myself, transportation, et cetera, and she maintains that I am getting it. Nobody talks any more about it.

The Chairman: Well, I think that is where the Appeal Board then would come into play. If you are familiar with that, I would certainly appeal that. The Department of Health told you you were entitled to it. I would appeal the decision of the worker.

I wonder if we could have Mr. Busby come forward now. When I said before that we only have four or five minutes I was right. Would you come up and give us your recommendations?

Mr. Busby: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think poverty boils down to the common denominator; lack of money versus education, health and welfare and so on. I think one of the big problems is the freedom or control of the individual. How much freedom these people want. They are running their own lives and how much control they are willing to accept. That has to come, I think, through education. Where is the responsibility imposed? Responsibility for some people and opportunity for others.

You hear many women here today talking about support for themselves and their children but what responsibility has been placed on the fathers of those children? I think we must have stricter laws to make the fathers of these children responsible for their support.

Going back to the education again, maybe before these people become fathers and mothers they should have had a test in order to get a marriage licence in the first place in order to allow them to have children.

Mr. McGowan: What do you think you are talking about, cattle? I don't think you even have a right to be in this room.

Mr. Busby: Well, I think I have been one of the taxpayers.

Mr. McGowan: Well, hang your head in shame.

The Chairman: I would think that perhaps whether we agree or not I think we should just listen to these views. I don't think we necessarily have to agree.

Mr. Busby: I have lived in much poorer conditions than probably anyone in this room so I know what I am talking about. I have dealt with many people in

this group and I point to right now in education on your credit buying and your home management and money and so on. I have dealt with many of the people in this area and many of them on welfare and I have not seen, cannot remember seeing a woman yet who has not had at least two packages of cigarettes in her purse in case she run out of one. She is on welfare.

Now this is part of education. There is something lacking in the education when people do not know how to manage their own affairs and I want to suggest that either you have freedom to manage your own affairs, if you do you must accept the responsibility that goes with it through education and you must be given the opportunity for education.

To start off again on education I would like to suggest that we have many young people in the community who are not getting the education they need even though the facilities are there because of the conditions in the home. Now, some of these children would like to leave their home and have an opportunity so the first thing that I would like to suggest is that we establish cadet schools for these children. About the ages of 14 to 18 children cannot get along in the home and should not have to get into trouble and become juvenile delinquents. They should have the opportunity to leave home and get an education. That is the only way you are going to solve this welfare problem because the welfare problems are from these people who have continually been brought up on welfare themselves and it continues on and on and these children must be given the opportunity to get out of this cycle, this welfare cycle, and this is not necessarily for children who's parents are on welfare, this is for children who just don't get along with their parents and don't get along at home. I would suggest not only does it apply to boys but also to girls. It would be just the same as some children who go off to boarding schools if their families can afford it. They should be allowed to go to a cadet school where they have freedom. They don't have to be juvenile delinquents and sent to reformatory but they are free to come home, visit their friends, just as if they were in boarding school.

Now the same thing goes through in education in the home management. I was on the Board of Education in Scarborough. I would suggest that what is called, "home economics" and so on is a course that should be compulsory for both boys and girl students in school so the girls grow up and know the responsibilities of running a home as a parent whether they actually ever get married or become parents or not. That is one of their responsibilities of looking after themselves and the same thing goes for the men.

These men here, who should know how to run a home, look after a home and provide for a family

and have responsibilities, how can they do that they have not been given that chance in a home.

The other point is that the government has, of course, in the last few years the Canada Pension Plan which has been a very good thing and a godsend to many people in this community who have lost their father or one of the members of the family who was a provider and sometimes it is the mother and the survivorship benefits have been a big help when people have not been able to provide for themselves.

Again in the education of credit buying, as the lady was asking, why they cannot get credit I think it is pretty obvious why they cannot get credit. In the smaller communities out in Saskatchewan and Manitoba during depression years many people did not get credit because they were known in the community. You cannot expect a person to give you credit when you are not known in this area, when they just refuse to pay, that is an impossibility, but if they have a steady income on welfare which should be adequate then there should be no need for credit.

In fact I have dealt with incomes from \$2,000.00 to \$20,000.00 a year and there are very few people no matter what their income is, who have enough and that is also one of the problems in budgeting. There is never enough money no matter what the income is.

From the Floor: Would you mind telling me how it is adequate when you have 8¢ per person to live on? Would you mind telling me? For example, I have got \$2.00 and change and that has got to last me ten days. How is that adequate?

Mr. Busby: I just don't know what is adequate.

From the Floor: If you don't know, what are you talking about?

From the Floor: I would say if the learned gentleman is from Scarborough he had better stay back there.

The Chairman: Your five minutes is up. If you could just sum up very quickly now and I am almost frightened that we will get into a great discussion of this, however, if you would just sum up.

Mr. Busby: Again the whole thing is a question of responsibility and opportunity. Providing the opportunity in the first place for these people with incentives to get off welfare, if possible. Now, some people cannot get off welfare. I recognize that through debt, disability and disease and so on and therefore there should be adequate provision for those people who are in this position through no fault of their own but there are people who can help themselves, who should be given incentives. This is

men brought up by these people and as an example about ten years ago on Mother's Allowance through the death of a husband if he had provided something for his family that was taken into consideration and his family got some benefit from it in addition to the Mother's Allowance. They could put that money with the Public Trustee and get additional income. That incentive has been taken away about ten years ago by the government because now if a man leaves his family something they have to spend that money before they can get on Mother's Allowance. Now that is a very unfair situation to the person who wants to accept responsibility and help his family and these are the types of things which cannot be done by government. The government is wasting all kinds of money in the overdevelopment of areas and so on which could be done for example . . .

The Chairman: Perhaps we may not need examples. I think we must, in fairness to everyone . . .

From the Floor: I would like to ask the gentleman with the big mouth from Scarborough, I would like to know what his name is for future reference.

Mr. Busby: My name is Bill Busby, I am a lawyer.

From the Floor: I can see why . . .

The Chairman: I think I am going to have to cut this off, I am afraid.

Mr. Busby: That is also a problem, the people do not want to accept responsibility, to help themselves.

The Chairman: Right.

Mr. Busby: You cannot help people who do not want to help themselves. That is the discouraging aspect of government in a democracy.

The Chairman: Might I just sum up, you really first—all right, the last question?

Mr. Green: A one sentence answer, Mr. Chairman. Let me night the other half of your committee received a brief and I would just like to quote one sentence from it. I think it is a perfect answer;

One of the major problems faced by Canada's low income people is the complete lack of knowledge and understanding displayed by the general, more affluent public.

The Chairman: May I on behalf of our committee . . .

Mr. Dennis Timbrell: Alderman, ward 10, Borough of North York: May I make some brief comments?

I think I am one of the people, maybe, that get involved in this sort of thing. My name is Dennis Timbrell, Alderman, Ward 10, North York.

The Chairman: Welcome.

Mr. Timbrell: One particular aspect of the last speaker's remarks, particularly the question of education and home and so on I think really what we have to recognize is the fact that the family, more than anything else, has to be the basis for all success in our society, in the school, in business or whatever, and the very idea, you take children away from the home at the age of 14 or whatever, put them in a cadet school, remove them from the family atmosphere, however sacrosanct or devilish it is hardly worth commenting on as an aim. So my comment is on politicians since I am one and on the law. Too often, in the case of laws regarding welfare, regarding the social agencies, regarding the social laws of the state, the laws are made for the law makers. The laws are made for the civil servants not for the people. I would suggest that what has to be done first of all is a change in attitude of the three levels of government; federal, provincial and municipal, that governments start to come back down to the people that local members of parliament, members of council, members of the legislature of Ontario start to consult people more often, let the people know what they are doing, ask them what is wrong, get their suggestions.

Now, the idea that people who are on welfare don't want to help themselves is ludicrous, absolutely ludicrous. Several people have mentioned that given the opportunity they can do something. This is true and it is a question of the government sitting down, in realistic fashion saying, "All right, what can we do to give them the opportunities? How can we change the Manpower and Immigration Departments so we can get out to where the people are and find out what they are doing? Find out what they need? What they are capable of doing? What they need to be trained for?"

It is a question of Mr. Yaremko and his department coming down to the people. A question of changing the attitude of case workers.

I had a case last week of a lady in my ward who is going to be thrown out of her apartment this week. "Where do I go? My husband is on an airforce pension, in his middle 50's. He had a stroke. He is in a wheelchair. I phoned O.H.C. a month ago nothing."

Now, okay I can phone O.H.C. who say they have 1600 calls a day and I can say, "This is Alderman Timbrell calling, I want so and so". The average person phones, "I am sorry the line is busy, call back."

Now this is wrong. Damn it, all these people pay taxes. The system has got to be for these people. There has got to be provision made for government to get out of their Bay Street offices and get out where the people are.

The Chairman: Thank you.

May I say, on behalf of our committee, that we are very pleased to be here and I would like to thank each and everyone of you for coming and taking such an active part in this meeting tonight.

I am certain that we have learned a great deal about the problems that exist and it appears to me that the greatest problem, of course, is the frus-

tration of not knowing the laws as they exist and the problems, if you have a problem of where you can get that problem resolved. I think, apart from the individual suggestions and recommendations which were very good the broad problem of lack of information would appear to be a very very serious problem and we do appreciate you bringing this to our attention.

Thank you very much.

Mr. Hughes: I would like to thank the senators for coming here to listen to us and I hope we did get something through to them. Thank you very much.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

STATEMENT BY ALDERMAN
ANTHONY O'DONOHUE
ON MINIMUM WAGE AND POVERTY

The minimum wage as it now stands at \$1.30 per hour is probably the greatest contributor to the rampant poverty in our society. This, of course, puts many strains on the family life. Even by doubling the minimum wage it would still be below the poverty line, in my opinion. For a man and wife with 2 children in this economic climate it is impossible to make do with these wages, therefore, a reasonable level for a minimum wage should be about \$2.50 per hour for a 40 hour week.

Therefore, the first step that we should take should be to increase the minimum wage to at least \$2.50 per hour to give those people at the bottom of the ladder a fair chance in life.

Another great problem in Metropolitan Toronto is the great number of unskilled immigrants who have come to Toronto their home. These people work long, hard hours at low wages and have little opportunity to attend school—every family has to have 'bread on the table'. These immigrants become poor by constantly increasing cost of living and very often the family suffers many hardships. These people never seem to be pulled off the poverty line but by sheer determination they work on. Some make it, some do not. For those who do not it is a burden on the children who may suffer through neglect, health and lack of parental care—not to mention the benefits of an adequate education.

A concerted effort must be made to help these people and it can only be done by special emphasis to become familiar with the skills and the language of this country. Without the proper command of the language poverty becomes almost inevitable to the unskilled workers.

March 2, 1970.

SUBMISSION OF ALDERMAN HORACE BROWN
TO THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Poverty is too often equated with dollars and cents. Poverty takes many guises. It assumes a number of forms. The Webster's New World Dictionary defines it as follows:

"poverty—n., 1. the condition or quality of being poor; indigence; need. 2. deficiency in necessary

properties or desirable qualities, or in a specific quality, etc; inferiority; inadequacy. 3. unproductiveness, as of soil. 4. smallness in amount; scarcity; paucity; dearth; scantiness."

It derives from the Latin word "paupertatem", hence our word "pauper".

Yet no matter how you define it, poverty is a fact of life that will not go away by wishing. It is generally accepted today as applying to those unfortunate in our society who do not have the wherewithal to subsist normally, nor the means by which they may rise through their own efforts to achieve sufficient in food, shelter, clothing, medical care, recreation, entertainment and the social amenities others accept as their due in a supposedly affluent society.

The Victorians used to feel quite righteously that "the poor we have always with us".

In the latter one-third of the Twentieth Century, when man can walk upon the moon, when medical science has extended the life span, when there is greater concern for the paths of progress being trodden, that dictum is just not good enough.

It is a shame of our so-called civilization that two-thirds of the world goes to bed hungry. It is a shame that in this land we love, a land blessed above many with untold material and mental wealth, the problem of poverty among a too-large proportion of our people should continue to haunt.

Within the preamble of the City's brief, I would like to discuss certain aspects of poverty as I see them, some of which I disagreeably and unforgettably experienced personally during the Great Depression of the Thirties, and others that I have seen within my roles as alderman, writer, newspaper and radio reporter, and official of various social agencies. While there has regrettably not been time to do what I like to do with briefs, namely, document, I trust that the comments I have to make may be of at least some slight service to this eminently worth-while and necessary Committee. My points are not made in any order of priority, but they tend to arrange themselves into the categories defined by the City's presentation.

PUTTING A FLOOR OVER POVERTY

It is necessary to bury poverty, without honor and unsung.

This can be accomplished by banishing Poverty to the cellar and letting it unregretfully die of disuse.

There are a number of ways that this can be accomplished, but only two have appeal to me:

1. The Guaranteed Annual Wage.
2. The Negative Income Tax.

Of the two, the former seems preferable. The G.A.W. implies placing a floor *over* poverty, so that each and every person in our society will be at least above the subsistence level. Its principle has been accepted by government, even if no action has as yet resulted.

While there is much in favor of the Negative Income Tax, it implies that the recipient will have to await a bureaucratic pleasure, which, in the hands of some officials, can become both a burden and a horror.

With the Guaranteed Annual Wage, we all become our brother's keepers. And that is as it should be.

THE BORDERLINE OF POVERTY

The families that chiefly arouse my sympathies are those existing on marginal incomes. They are making an attempt to live proudly, as their teachings and inclinations lead them. The family income is sometimes below that which it could receive on welfare. The family skills are low-rated on the employment market.

Far too often, someone will telephone me with a problem that boils down to actually not having enough money to get along in this inflationary world. When I suggest that I am not personally equipped to evaluate the case and would like to arrange professional counselling from a social worker in the Department of Welfare, there is an immediate negative reaction.

"We don't want anything to do with welfare, Mr. Alderman", is the caller's dignified response to the suggestion. "We'd rather starve than go on welfare."

The pitiful fact is that many of these good citizens *must* end up on welfare. Scraping by, with not enough food, inadequate medical and dental care, poor housing, threadbare clothing, they come to the time when the bills of such neglect are presented for payment. Because they have been forced to neglect their health, because they have no resources either from without or within, the collapse, both physically and morally, is all the more devastating. They become the perpetual charges of the State that has passed them by on the other side of the road when

they held out their hands, not for alms but for a lifeline up to their feet and a help along the road.

These are the forgotten ones. How long will they stand for us forgetting?

THE TOTALLY-BOUND TO POVERTY

In my former capacities as Chairman of the City Committee on Welfare and later of that of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, I have been appalled by the cold statistics that have revealed year by year the increasing creation of a class of citizens doomed to a lifetime within that area of poverty known as "Welfare". For there are two things in which I believe, and which I propounded constantly as Chairman: "Welfare is a right and not a privilege" and "Welfare is a level of subsistence and only that".

The welfare statistics of our municipality are divided into two classes: "Employable" and "Unemployable". The Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto, in January, 1970, the "Employables", i.e. those who can still work if work can be found, totalled 14,537. *But*, for the same period, there were 22,022 "Unemployables". This is a figure from a rising tide of unemployment and of seasonal occupations, so the "Employables" can show a downward trend. On the other hand, over the years the number of "Unemployables" has been mounting with ghastly steadiness.

Who are the "Unemployables"? They are the chronically ill. They are the ones who have been broken by a lifetime of living substandardly. They are those whom life has passed by. They are the ones who are and must continue to be a charge upon the State. We have created them with our technology and our advanced medical science that has given them a longer life span.

The damnable part of it is this:

The "Employables" tend to become "Unemployables". The marginal families spoken of earlier being forced on to welfare often find themselves a statistic in the "Unemployable" column, because of their years of forced self-neglect.

For every family that pulls out of the morass of poverty as represented by welfare, there are dozens who make the grade only briefly or who slide all the way into unemployment.

There must, I feel, be a recognition of the existence of the "Unemployable", and a firm foundation for revivifying him. If those with physical mental handicaps can become gainfully employed when they are without the welfare circle, why not those who are caught in the "Unemployable" trap? Who will provide the incentive?

It is an imperative, if we are to win the war against Poverty.

THE POVERTY OF INTELLECT

Most of us today are under-educated. If we had to start all over again in the labor market, we might be in sorry plight.

How much truer this is of the family man in his fifties, who finds himself redundant. His Grade 8 or lower education makes him an employment outcast. His laboring job has been replaced by automation.

There are two courses he can take: he can give in and vegetate, or he can fight his way up the education ladder.

Let's be honest: how many of *us* could go back to school at a relatively advanced age, with our thinking rigidly channelled, faced by a bewildering array of foreign terms (even though they be in the English language)? It takes a special kind of courage.

Yet I have been heartened to meet men and women who have done it under Canada Manpower retraining. I remember one man in his fifties, with five children, who had been for years on welfare. He decided he would be an upholsterer. An upholsterer he became. But the one who made me feel ashamed to voice any small self-complaint was the single woman in her forties who took retraining as a bookkeeper. When she graduated proudly, her career was further advanced than when she had entered the course. But she got a job. Such is the courage of the human spirit, which, given the chance, will triumph over almost any adversity.

After an excellent start, it seems to me we have at back on the all-important incentive to those who want to raise themselves up by their bootstraps. As a governor of the George Brown College of Applied Science and Technology, I am overwhelmed by the variety of the courses being supplied and the vision of humanity with which they are being taught. But somehow (and I know this is not entirely true) we seem to be preaching to the converted. Somewhere we need to go back a bit along the road and pick up those who have fallen and bring them back into the self-respect without which a human being cannot function. We must say to those on welfare that we believe in them, and that we are willing to pay them to go back to school and not subtract that pay from their welfare allowances. Perhaps we need some missionaries of education to go into the field and gather up the flock of those who hunger and thirst for an improvement of the intellect that most of us are capable of sustaining.

Rather than the futility of spending money to keep someone at the expense of the public purse, I could spend that same money and more to create a productive, taxpaying citizen.

Is it such a revolutionary thought?

THE POVERTY OF THE CITY-DWELLER

As one who lived for years in rural areas, I know that rural Poverty exists to a terrifying degree. More times than enough it is exacerbated by unthinking, unfeeling rural authorities with a "parish woodpile" mentality.

But the plight of those stricken by Poverty in our cities is greater than that of their country cousins. In the rural areas, you can till your own little plot of land, wear whatever clothing is available, exist in shelter that would bring the city building inspector hotfoot. It is not right, it is not just, but at least a little diligence can provide fresh meat and vegetables for the winter. There is also more neighborliness in the country, a disposition to share what little there is, or, if there is more, to present it quietly and thoughtfully without embarrassment on either side. (In saying this, I am laying aside regretfully the infamous conditions I have seen firsthand that exist among much of our Indian population.)

The city dweller in Poverty must face the unnaturally high rents gouged by slum landlords, the skyrocketing prices of essential foods, the out-of-sight costs of clothing, transportation, and other prime needs. He is in a vicious trap, where the teeth bite deeper day by day.

While the rural areas should receive all necessary attention of this Committee, I bespeak a special mercy for the city dweller caught in Poverty.

THE POVERTY OF ILL-HEALTH

In one respect, the person subsisting on welfare is fortunate; medical, drug, dental and hospital costs are absorbed by the State. For others, Medicare provides a partial answer to the largest amounts of money required by sudden illness.

But ill-health can still create Poverty. A robust man, earning good money as a skilled worker or in middle and lower management levels, finds himself bedridden. It could never happen to him, but it did.

His benefits gradually run out. Mortgage payments cannot be met. Creditors hound him. His family looks at him beseechingly.

To a man who has always made his own way, who has looked forward to a productive future and an easy retirement, this can be the nethermost hell. A producer, he becomes a burden. A taxpayer, he becomes a charge of the taxpayer. His whole life has come to a stop.

Or, a successful citizen, he may have fallen prey to the illness of alcoholism. A large part of society has not yet accepted alcoholism as a disease, and he and his are stigmatized.

A creeping illness may gradually paralyze him. His body wastes away, and his mind is in constant torture for what-might-have-been.

Such a man (or woman) needs our every sympathy and consideration. He may be taken care of very well by the State, but his family suffers and he suffers because of this.

Not every man can rise from adversity and make adversity his own, as did the late great Eddie Baker of the C.N.I.B.

But there should be no Poverty for him or his because of ill-health.

THE POVERTY OF LONELINESS AND ISOLATION

The other day I had a call from an elderly man. When he and his wife were being evicted, I had been able to help them, through the good offices of that remarkable man, John Anderson, Metro's Commissioner of Welfare, obtain an O.H.C. apartment.

In a quavering voice, he told me that he had to pay \$85 a month for his apartment, and, as he only received \$86 from the government, he had but one dollar a month left from his cheque.

Some gentle probing elicited the fact that his wife had just become eligible for old age assistance, and was receiving her \$111 a month. Naturally, her husband's cheque had been cut accordingly.

Well, it did not take the wisdom of Solomon to figure out that what the wife got she believed was hers, and the old man felt he was depending on the charity of his wife. Once again John Anderson came to the rescue. He discovered that the husband was entitled to a \$14 a month supplement.

I believe they are a happy couple again.

But old people such as that can never be truly happy, isolated as they are by us from the world they have known. Families have grown indifferent, or have burdens to bear of their own that are too great to allow further sharing.

One of my duties as an alderman, I believe, is to sit at my telephone patiently listening to the trials and tribulations of some senior citizen. They may seem small to me, but they are enormous to him or to her, and there must be an ear into which to pour them.

There are many excellent homes for the aged, where light and laughter rule. There are thousands of good senior citizen apartments, where dignity can be maintained although loneliness may be a constant companion. But in this great and affluent city of Toronto there are far, far too many of our elderly who live in one room with a gas-plate and a

cold-water tap and a not-too-clean bathroom down the hall or on the next floor. There is never really enough to eat or to wear or to entertain, and life exists from one pension cheque to another.

These are persons who have each, in one way or another, made a contribution to the world.

Should they be allowed to linger in isolation?

Would we like to be lonely?

There is more, so much more, that could be said. I wanted to talk about the Poverty of extravagance and the crimes of the credit system; the social worker who unfortunately becomes case-hardened (but then so many are dedicated above and beyond the call of duty); the meanness of the minimum wage and how it is exploited by employers. But you Committee knows these things and more.

I hope what I have said carries some tiny seed of the thought that the poor should *not* be always with us, and that we *are* our brother's keepers.

SUBMISSION OF ALDERMAN KARL JAFFARY TO THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Minimum Income, Income Maintenance and Welfare Payment Levels

I would like to discuss very briefly the reasons why I believe our present income maintenance programs to be out of step with the times. To make the point which I wish to make, I believe we must first look at the low-wage earner. There was a time when society generally accepted that labor was no more than a commodity to be bought and sold in the marketplace and the levels of wages were fixed accordingly. I believe that time to have passed. The philosophy embodied in many collective agreements and theoretically embodied in the minimum wage legislation is that if a man does anything useful for the society he ought to be able to live at some decent standard of living. That is something which almost everyone seems to agree. No matter how menial the job, if it is something which society wants done (and society in this case is translated into an employer), the wage level should be such that the man who is doing the job and his family can live properly. The rest of society presumably absorbs any redistribution of wealth required by the outlook by having the employer charge a high price for his goods and services. It is on this level, the level of a wage earner doing menial work, which we must consider the minimum wage legislation. I am of the opinion that a family cannot subsist on the wages earned by a minimum wage earner and on that basis I believe that the minimum wage ought to be raised.

Unemployment Insurance and Workmen's Compensation

We come next to the wage earner who is unable to work because of some personal disability or because of some economic disability in the society. These are the people who receive Unemployment Insurance Benefits and Workmen's Compensation. I think most people like to think of these schemes as being insurance schemes and as being adequate insurance. In my opinion they are not adequate and are therefore less than insurance. The lowest wage earners in our society are the ones who contribute to unemployment insurance and in that sense their contributions can be looked upon as a tax on the worker. The benefits paid to these same people are frequently inadequate. The benefits received by a family with four children, the father of whom is receiving Unemployment Insurance Benefits are less than the benefits paid under General Welfare Assistance. That scale of benefits is simply inadequate if one wishes to think of Unemployment Insurance as something which a man is forced to purchase in order to provide for himself during a period of unemployment brought about through no fault of his own. I believe we ought to insure against unemployment; that we ought to provide adequate benefits from the insurance which we provide; and that we ought to do this as a social responsibility of the community as a whole rather than the responsibility of individuals. That being so, I believe that all of those earning income ought to contribute to the insurance scheme and all ought to have a right to draw from it. The scheme ought to provide minimum benefits sufficient to support a decent standard of living.

The theory of Workmen's Compensation seems to me to be somewhat different. The principle there is compensation without regard to the fault or possible fault of employee or employer. When an employee is injured in an industrial accident, he has to be compensated. It must be noted that the legislation giving the employee this right to compensation proved from him the right to sue his employer for damages when his employer was negligent.

Now that theory only works when there is full compensation. In fact there is inadequate compensation. The maximum compensable income is considerably lower than income earned by many working men. The maximum benefits obtainable even for full disability are only a portion of maximum compensable income. The result is that an employee may be injured through his employer's negligence and be forced to accept a level of compensation that is far less than he might recover if he had the right to sue his employer for negligence. The scheme simply does not work. A skilled, industrious workman can easily earn \$200.00 a week. He can then suffer an accident which disables

him and be reduced to about \$100.00 a week even on full compensation. If he has been living up to his income, as most people do, he finds himself in an intolerable situation. The level of benefits under the Workmen's Compensation must be raised.

Welfare

I have now dealt with the person generally considered to be the backbone of our society, the man who works hard, and with the person about whom great concern is generally expressed, the man who has been working hard and wants to work hard, but is unable to do so through no fault of his own. When we go to the Welfare recipient, we generally bring into play an entirely different set of attitudes. Large elements in our society seem to believe that we are giving charity when we give welfare; that we are paying people not to work.

I think we must look at the Welfare recipient in a different light. If we ask why this person is not earning a lot of money or why she is not married to someone who is earning a lot of money or why this person's father does not earn a lot of money, we are generally drawn to the conclusion that whatever the reason, it is not the fault of the recipient. The recipient is generally an unfortunate person who finds himself or herself in an intolerable situation. In each of the examples above, we decided that whatever else we did, we would provide a level of support that would permit a decent standard of living. We really made that decision because it was not the fault of the menial worker that the job he happened to be doing was one that did not command a high market income. We made the same decision in the case of the recipient of Unemployment Insurance Benefits or Workmen's Compensation on the grounds that it was not the recipient's fault that he was not contributing more fully to the economy. Well, is it any more the fault of the Welfare recipient that he is a Welfare recipient?

When a man leaves his wife or if he turns to drink and becomes unemployable, maybe it is the fault of a wife who nags him or maybe the man is congenitally unstable or maybe the problems of living very close to the poverty line at a very low wage are simply so frustrating that the man cops out of society completely. I suppose I am really saying that there is no point in trying to pin the fault on anyone. We really don't care whether we can assess a moral fault within a puritan concept and if we wanted to try to assess such fault, we might well say that the fault was in the organization of our society as a whole. In any event, I think most people would agree that that really does not matter. What we have to do is to provide a decent standard of living. We have to provide that decent standard for low wage earners and for those who are disabled and for those who are now Welfare recipients.

It may be that some kind of guaranteed annual income could solve many of these problems. From the reading that I have done in the field of guaranteed annual income I am not at all sure that it can, but I am quite open to being persuaded. I think the problems of providing incentives for people to work will remain with us and I am not competent to deal with the various technical devices which might be used to provide these incentives. The point which I wish to make very strongly is that we delude ourselves into thinking that we are looking after citizens of this society. We have not. One cannot live on minimum wage levels, at least not with a family. One cannot live on Unemployment Insurance Benefits. One cannot live on Workmen's Compensation and, in my opinion, one cannot live with any degree of dignity on Welfare. One cannot live adequately on Old Age Pensions. The outstanding fact is that those of us who comprise the middle class and the affluent are able to fool ourselves into thinking that we have adequately provided for these groups of people. We have not. Our social responsibilities are such that we must face the costs of making these programs adequate long before we get to a guaranteed annual income of any sort. I think we have to increase the benefits under existing schemes so that they are sufficient for people to live on.

SUBMISSION OF ALDERMAN JOHN SEWELL
TO THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Poverty and the City

The brief suggests that the poor are those who can order their lives less significantly than others because they lack the necessary decision-making powers. If one is to overcome poverty, then decision-making ability must be given to those who lack it. A similar argument applies to Cities. If Cities, like the poor, are to significantly control themselves, then it is necessary that they have the requisite power. Those on welfare can be considered poor because their income is limited, and is derived from a source much beyond their control. No matter what they do, if they are unable to work, they cannot get enough money to make the types of decisions we associate with good and responsible human behaviour. Similarly, if the City is to control itself, and meet its problems, it is necessary that it has the financial and decision-making power to in fact deal with its problems.

Unfortunately, the City is now the creature of the Province, and its tax base is limited. Like the poor person who pays much of his money to an absentee landlord, the City pays most of the taxes it raises to other levels of government. Certainly, the City has some of this money returned to it, but under the conditions imposed by other levels of government, much as the poor person has some of the money paid

by him in the form of realty and sales tax back to him in the form of welfare payments, etc. In theory, then, if the City is going to meet its own needs, and the needs of its poor, it is going to need the power and the money to do it.

In practice, it appears that the other levels of government are controlled, by and large, by rural constituencies which know little of the problems of the City. The fact that in Ontario the Minister of Municipal Affairs comes from a small town (Chatham) is indicative of the situation. Thus, it will be difficult in practice for a more senior level of government to really begin meeting the needs of the City if in fact it is more responsible to a rural environment. (And conversely, it would seem foolish for a City such as Toronto to try and meet the needs of a rural community such as Orangeville).

In terms of the poor in Cities, then, it is necessary that the Cities have the money and the power to do what it knows needs to be done. Decision-making ability, as well as taxing capabilities must be parcelled out more in relation to real need so that cities, like the poor, can come to grips with the real problem confronting them.

Housing

Two problems emerge when one considers the poor in relation to their housing. Firstly, there is a problem with quantity of accommodation: there is just not enough housing. The Patterson Report on Housing Needs in Metro Toronto, commissioned by the Metropolitan Planning Board in 1969, states that in the low income group some 99,000 families, and some 88,000 non-family individuals were living in shelter classified as inadequate, too costly, or both.

There is an outrageous need for housing, particularly for those who cannot afford 'market' rent. And, of course, the poor, with the least resources are those who know this problem most intimately.

The second problem concerns quality. Just as housing is not adequate. Housing which does not allow people to control their own lives will not help us solve the problem of poverty. Thus, we must consider the quality of housing as well as the quantity of housing if we wish to get at the root of the problem.

In the past, housing decisions were decentralized and were made by many individuals who went about meeting their own housing and neighbourhood needs. The land and material was available for most people to make sure that they attained almost exactly what they wanted. Today, the individual has almost no control over his environment, and this indicates that he has lost the power to order his life as he sees fit.

Several trends are noticeable:

A. Public housing (as an example of an attempt to help the poor in their housing needs) does not

give a person any right to have any control over his accommodation and environment. (1) The resident in almost every case is a tenant, and therefore without any real rights over the place where he lives. (He cannot make alterations to suit his needs, for instance.) (2) Units are poorly constructed and in many cases completely unsuited to needs. (Families have been forced to live in apartments which were never designed for children.) (3) The concept of neighbourhood, where people live with some degree of willingness, co-operation and enjoyment is completely lacking: through lack of choice, tenants move to available units in spite of drawbacks surrounding location, friends, facilities, etc. To a large extent, public housing is full of displaced persons who have exercised no choice in terms of the unit lived in, the location of the unit, or the amount paid for accommodation.

B. Government always emphasizes size, and almost all residential accommodation built, whether public or private is part of a giant complex. Municipal regulations discourage small but reasonable groups of building, and instead encourage massive developments. (Witness present bonusing provisions). Construction is seen in terms of landscaping, setbacks, etc. which have little to do with humane uses of space. For instance, there are no incentives to build in-fill housing which would be economical to individuals and healthy for the preservations of communities. In short, governments encourage projects which fail to allow people to control the types of buildings which are built by encouraging large private corporations to build massive projects, rather than allowing a range of individuals to satisfy their own needs.

C. There is an unavailability of capital for anyone save for the very large corporation (though at the present time even these large corporations are having some problems in getting money). If people are going to control their own lives, they are going to have to have the necessary capital to construct places they want to live in.

Suggested Actions

It is obvious that the private market cannot meet the housing needs of society, and particularly the poor, in terms of quantity or quality. Public funds must therefore be expended assuring that all people in this society are properly housed and the housing is such that it is controlled both in terms of development and management by the people who are affected by it.

Accordingly:

1) Housing money must be considered a priority, ranking ahead of other expenditures which do not relate directly to the other basic needs of clothing and food. This should apply to all levels of government.

2) Tenants must be given more rights to control their environment. Further, people must be encouraged to be owners rather than tenants in all types of building, so that the actual person affected, namely the person who lives in the unit, can in fact make the decisions necessary without having to wait on the grace of someone else.

3) Capital must be made available to individuals, and groups of indigenous individuals (as in the form of neighbourhood groups) so they can build the types of structures they want to build. That is the only way that they can exercise control over their own lives. If capital is available only to large developers, then large developers will be the ones who make the decisions about how and where people live.

Further, money must be made available to ensure that people can in fact repair their dwelling units, thus ensuring that the environment they want can be reasonably attainable.

All levels of government must direct themselves to these points.

4) There must be a complete overhaul of municipal regulations concerning building so ordinary people will be able to build, in their terms, in places healthy to their communities. Or, in other words, the rehabilitation of existing neighbourhoods must be encouraged by allowing people to build in-fill, rather than wait for a developer to demolish everything and begin anew to create an environment acceptable to him. Perhaps the poor have more experience than most other people in this regard, since it is the poor neighbourhood which is subject to massive private redevelopment and urban renewal.

The Mental Outlook of the Poor

As stated above, the poor cannot order their own lives. And one of the most frightening aspects of poverty is that the poor *feel* poor. They have been considered as not worthy of decision-making ability, and that consideration is soon interpreted by the poor as a feeling of lack of self-worth. The poor feel that they are of no value and their lives lack meaning.

In order to combat poverty then, it is not just enough to try and redress the imbalance in terms of financial capability. It is also necessary to give the poor the chance to feel as though their lives are important. And in fact if this is to be accomplished, it must go beyond the appearance of worth, it must be worth itself. In essence, the poor must be given more power to influence their lives.

In order to provide for this redistribution of power, it will be necessary to provide the poor with the resources available to the rest of the community. They must be provided with people who are there to serve them, whether it be in the form of bureaucrats who work for the poor, or in the form of people who are

around who can provide the types of skills normally attached to a large corporation. For instance, most professional people have a raft of persons who can help them express their opinions: typists, researchers, etc. Such persons are not available to the poor and accordingly, the poor have much more difficulty in expressing their needs than other members of the society. Such persons will have to be provided for the poor.

In allowing the poor access to these resources, there is the chance that perhaps the poor will begin to influence more the working of various public and private bodies. This will mean that they will begin to be drawn into the decision making process and in that

way begin to participate in the society in a more productive way.

Suggested Actions

Governments at all levels should assure that money exists so that the poor can have the resources generally available to most other persons in the society so that the poor can in fact begin to influence the process of society. This might mean, at the municipal level—just making available typists, copy-machines, etc. At the provincial level—it probably means making money available so that groups of poor persons can have persons at their disposal who can do the types of things that poor persons want done.

APPENDIX "B"

BRIEF

to

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

on

POVERTY

Submitted

by

FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION
OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

22 Wellesley Street East

Toronto 5, Ontario

(Telephone: 922-3126)

SUMMARY—MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto concludes, from its many years of direct involvement with the people of Metropolitan Toronto, that the working poor must be a major focus in the fight against poverty.

The Family Service Association therefore recommends that:

- I. Substantial increase be made in Family and Youth Allowances.
- II. Government insurance plans be extended to protect more adequately working families from common hazards which may impoverish them.
- III. Pending the implementation of a more fundamental incomes policy, families who are already poor should not be subject to direct taxation.
- IV. Federal and Provincial Governments make every effort to increase our stock of public housing.
- V. Personal bankruptcy be made available to the working poor.
- VI. Family planning clinics become a regular and recognized part of public health program.

SUBMISSION TO THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTYBY
FAMILY SERVICE ASSOCIATION
OF METROPOLITAN TORONTO

INTRODUCTION

1. The Family Service Association of Metropolitan Toronto is a non-profit family service agency, established in 1914, whose purpose is to strengthen family life and to prevent family breakdown. It is the largest family service agency in Canada.

2. The Association operates under Provincial Charter and has a Board of Directors composed of 30 men and women. Its social work staff consists of 50 persons—the majority of whom have their Master of Social Work degree. Service to families and communities is provided through seven district offices strategically located within Metropolitan Toronto, and in three public housing developments.

3. In 1968 the agency's counselling services were used by 8044 families. Many of these families were poor or in marginal circumstances. About 52% of known family incomes were under \$4800.¹ a year,

¹ These figures understate income a little, in that our income statistics do not include Family Allowances, and in the case of families in this group who were not on welfare the income stated usually represents take-home pay.

about 17% were under \$2400. In a quarter of the cases our work is focused solely on environmental or situation conditions, most of which involved inadequate income. Beyond this, many poor families use our service not because they are poor, but because they have relationship problems common to the general population. We become aware incidentally of their economic tensions and crises, and have the particular advantage of seeing them in the overall perspective of a counselling relationship. We have also the added perspective gained from doing the same counselling job with families who are not poor.

4. As well, we have gained experience from programs specifically directed to the poor. At present this includes a large summer camp program and participation in multi-service units in Housing Projects. It should also be recalled that for a decade or so, ending only recently, our services included a substantial income supplementation program which has left a considerable legacy of experience in intensive involvement with the economic problems of the poor. The subject of enquiry of the Senate Committee on Poverty is, therefore, of deep and immediate concern to this agency.

5. We submit this Brief in the understanding that the Senate Committee will have learned the meaning of poverty in our society in terms of its correlation with most of our mental, physical and social ills, and of its corrosive effects on individual and family strengths and the opportunities of children. We trust that our failure to dramatize the effects of poverty in our submission will be understood in the light of this faith in the Committee. Indeed, no document of any length could express the frequency and extent of our concerns for the human waste and agony, resulting from poverty, that we see in our work.

Emphasis

6. The emphasis on this Brief is on the "working poor" in Metropolitan Toronto. We have chosen this focus because we know many working families who are poor and we believe their position may be the least adequately represented in the mass of material received by the Senate Committee.

7. We realize that the Committee is receiving many significant views on the nature and definition of poverty, and on its causes and remedies. From the scope of our work with the poor, we are aware of the aspects of poverty leading to many of these views, and we respect their validity. Much that has already been presented merits our wholehearted support, and we refer, in particular, to the analysis of poverty and the suggestions as to its remedies presented in the report of the Canadian Welfare Council.

Basic Premise

8. The basic premise of this report is that the working poor must be a focal point for an approach to the reduction of poverty.

9. The 5th Annual Report of the Economic Council of Canada indicates that the working poor comprise two-thirds of the poor in Canada. The report identifies this group as those families "whose poverty problems are associated, not with the absence of earnings, but with an insufficiency of earnings."

10. In our experience, the working poor not only include the larger part of those in poverty but are a reservoir from which other commonly identified groups of poor are replenished. We are not merely thinking of the disorganized poor. The deserted mother on welfare, or the sole support working mother and her children, generally speaking, represent the remains of a working poor family that has survived for some years and broke up in the impoverished child-rearing phase. The aged poor were very frequently the working poor, too long impoverished in the child-rearing phase to acquire the home or assets that might supplement their social security beyond the poverty level. Children leaving school before completing a useful level of education are en masse the children of the working or welfare poor. Much family breakdown and individual handicap, which are the more personal causes of poverty, could be prevented through improvement in the position of the working poor.

11. In addition, we observe that the existence of many working poor prevents the improvement of welfare benefits for families. Welfare benefits are unlikely to be raised much above the living standards of the working poor.

Definition of Poverty

12. For the purpose of this Brief, we suggest that a working family is poor if it is paying more than 60% of its gross income for shelter, food and clothing. This is the more adequate of the two levels, based on 60% and 70%, considered by the Economic Council of Canada. The Council's formula does not take into account differences in direct taxation between working and non-working poor. The more commonly used 70% produces a "poverty line" that is inadequate for the working group on which this Brief is focused.

The Working Poor

13. The working poor are most commonly the families of working men who have too many children to be provided for by their wages, and many or too young children for the wife to work. They are not simply low wage earners. Usually their wages alone do not account for poverty. For a sim-

person or a childless married couple who are employed to be poor, even if they receive only our inadequate minimum wage, is as difficult as for an ordinary working man *not* to be poor if he has several young children. Families of men with very high wages are not likely to be poor regardless of size, and families of men on the lowest wages, or irregularly employed, will probably be poor if there is only one child. However, in the case of the mass of working men earning something near the median wage, the number and ages of children will usually determine which side of any poverty line the family is on. Poverty in the working poor is the result of having children, and for working class families who have several children it is a normal phase in the life cycle of the family.

4. In accepting that most poverty is the result of the presence of children in the family, we have had to accept that the incidence of poverty will be highest among children. That a period of poverty in childhood as become the birthright of a large proportion of our working class citizens. We have observed that the families of most working men on average wages or less will face a period of poverty if there are several children. Two-thirds of our people grow up in families with three or more children,² so that most

We have been unable to find any authoritative answer to the question: "How many of our citizens grow up in families with three or more children?" We present in support of our estimate the following information gleaned from simple analysis of Dominion Bureau of Statistics Publications:

Analysis of the 1961 Census table "Women ever married, 15 years or over, by age of women and number of children ever born" shows that 69% of the children that had been born to urban Ontario married women in the 45 to 49 age group, were born to women who had had three or more children. The proportion was 73% for all Ontario and 61% for the Metropolitan Toronto area. D.B.S., Population Sample, Bulletin 4.1-7, 1966, Table G 1. (Toronto table is unpublished.)

Also in 1961, 54% of the "children still at home" in urban Ontario centers of over 100,000 were living in families which still had three or more children at home. The proportion was 60% for all Ontario and 7% for Canada. D.B.S. Households and Families, Bulletin 2.1-5, 1962, Table 49.

In 1966, in Metropolitan Toronto, 55% of "children in families" were in the 23% of all families still including three or more children. D.B.S. Population Bulletin C-20, 1968. (Analysis producing this result required application of an average for the number of children per family to a group combining families with one and two children. This was derived from statistics in Bulletin 2.1-5.)

In 1967, in Ontario, 36% of all children born in the year were a third or later child in order of birth. The proportion was 40% for Canada. Of the remaining children born in Ontario in 1967, first or second children, 63% were born to women 25 years of age or younger, among whom the prospects of further children are high. D.B.S., Vital Statistics, 1967, Table B 11.

children growing up in families with low to average incomes will be exposed to poverty.

Poverty

15. Much poverty is a function of our wage system. Family income is determined by the economic value of the production of the members. Generally speaking, families are poor either (a) because, for various reasons, they have no productive members, or, (b) because the economic returns for the production of working members is insufficient for the families' needs.

16. We observe that families are rarely poor because their values and aspirations are significantly different from those of other citizens, or for lack of effort, ingenuity, self sacrifice or hard work. If these strengths seem to be lacking among the poor, it is usually because they have been eroded by poverty, or because it is hard for those not poor to understand how such strengths are manifested under the stress of poverty.

17. (a) Families who have no productive members live in the institutionalized poverty of the welfare system. Improvements in welfare rates, coverage and benefits, far more than services, are required to improve their position. We have many clients on government benefits, and while we are aware that the Senate Committee will have been more than adequately informed as to their conditions, we are too poignantly aware of needed improvements to omit reference to some of the most apparent.

Adequate welfare and social security rates are needed, calculated to provide a substantial percentage of benefits for other needs beyond minimum adequate food, clothing and shelter, and all government benefits, once adequate, should be adjusted annually to changes in the cost of living. There is need for increased rehabilitation services and family support services such as day care; these would enable more of this group to work, although in many cases they would only be shifted to the ranks of the working poor. There is need for substantial increase in the number and training of welfare staff. Inasmuch as the "needs test" and related investigations are to continue, such staffing is required to minimize the damage to self esteem and independence inherent in a situation in which vulnerable people are forced into humiliating procedures. Such improved staffing is also needed to provide or co-ordinate services related to the central maintenance program.

Under the Ontario Family Benefits Act, 1967, it should be made mandatory for municipalities to provide certain benefits, such as "Special Assistance" which are now permissive. Under the general Welfare Assistance Act, a detailed interpretation of "in need" is required in the Act or

Regulations. This is necessary so that persons applying for general welfare assistance may not be required to use up the last cent of their liquid assets, and forced to face living on their meticulously restricted allowance without even a small contingency fund.

(b) With respect to families whose working members do not earn enough to meet family needs, we find that most commonly there are not immediate means by which income can be significantly increased. Circumstances that limit the range of the father's earnings are so complex as to be practically unmodifiable. They involve for example, his educational level, innate intelligence, work experience, health, and such general things as wage rates, union membership and locality. Government retraining programs are of some help to persons left conspicuously untrained by our secondary school system, or who are for other reasons grossly underemployed, but, in our experience, are of no help to most working poor fathers. For example, many are impoverished more by family size than unusually low earnings, and cannot expect to earn significantly more after retraining.

Additional income of any appreciable amount is more likely to come through having other members of the family work than in any increase in the father's wages. However, employment of the wife is not only a matter of her work skills and the availability of suitable jobs, but of circumstances in family size and cycle that may take years to evolve. Families with a number of young children have little chance to increase income in this way. Wives with very superior work skills and ability are sometimes able to do double duty at home and at work, and may even earn enough for a substantial margin over deductions and costs of day care. Most are not able to do this, and, if they have a number of small children, the cost of adequate services to replace them in the physical aspects alone of their child care role is often more than they could earn.

Unfortunately, earnings in addition to wages from father's primary job offers the only hope of relief for many working poor families. Such additional earnings keep many working class families on the right side of the poverty line, and contribute to the position of many families in the middle income group. But among the working poor fathers are forced into moonlighting, and mothers out to work in situations when it is destructive to health, marital relations and the mental, emotional and social health of children. Children themselves start work before they have completed any really useful secondary education. In such families, this generation's solutions to poverty stand high in the list of the next generation's causes.

18. We recognize that a proportion of the poor are sufficiently disorganized emotionally and culturally to be said to be contributing to their own impoverishment. As well, within this group there are some who fit the stereotype of the hard core, generationally transmitted culture of poverty. However, we believe that this stereotype is considerably over-emphasized and that many of the disorganized poor, if they are a product of poverty, are made so by the ravages of poverty and not simply born into a culture that predisposes them to it. Public education and modern communication media have penetrated into the depths of any culture of poverty we may have had, and there are few parents today who do not at least aspire beyond poverty for their children. We see the ranks of the disorganized poor continually replenished by members of ordinary families who have broken under the stresses of our society. We recognize the great importance of special outreach and rehabilitative programs, but see them as remedial to the casualties of our social system, rather than directed to the causes of poverty.

19. While poverty remains the common punishment for most human breakdown or handicap leading to the inability to produce or to manage income efficiently, it is inevitable that the impoverished group will include many disorganized people who require special treatment. It is unthinkable, however, that the existence of such people should be considered a "cause" of poverty.

Our system of income distribution is the cause of persons so affected being poor. Poverty is one of the causes of such conditions, and the most severe aggravant to them and the most serious block to their treatment. Unfortunately, we are many generations away from knowing how to reduce many of the stresses in our society, or even understanding their effects sufficiently to offer specific and effective treatment to most disturbed persons. This generation is, however, certain of the epidemiological relationship between poverty and most kinds of breakdown, and fairly sure of its direct causal relationship in many cases. It has the means to eliminate the worst of poverty now, and can't afford to wait until it has the assurance that no one is going to dissipate his productive capacity or his income.

Survey

20. To illustrate some of our observations, we reviewed the economic circumstances of families seen in January, 1970 who had three or more dependent children, and where the father's wages were between \$80.00 and \$130.00 a week, or between \$2.00 and \$3.25 an hour. The families completed detailed questionnaires, which were reviewed with them by their caseworkers.

21. This particular group was chosen as representing the families of ordinary workers having average to low average wages. The survey is intended to show the degree to which these families are poor. At the same time, inasmuch as these families are seen to be poor, we hope that their conditions will give some perspective on the lot of the many working poor families whose incomes are much lower.

22. The Commissioner of Welfare for Toronto, Mr. Anderson, has estimated that there may be about 10,500 families (of four or more) in Toronto who would require supplementation to bring their incomes up to the amount they would receive on public Welfare.³ The poorest families in the group surveyed have incomes considerably above welfare rates.

23. The 16 cases in the survey do not represent a "scientific" sample of families in this group on our caseloads. Some caseworkers were not able to participate in the survey. Families were not included if their caseworker judged they were too troubled to be asked to participate, or if they were unwilling, or if they were unable to provide documentation of earnings and pay deductions. However, we believe that the cases were selected as objectively as possible and fairly represent our experience. Unfortunately, we know of little to suggest that the financial conditions of the families surveyed may not be typical of conditions among all families in Toronto meeting the same criteria.

24. The principal results of the survey are presented in table form as an appendix. The following is a summary:

(a) The fathers' wages alone were insufficient to provide for their families. The costs of shelter, food, and clothing amounted to considerably more than 60% of the fathers' gross wages for normal work hours in every case, and were 75% or more in 13 cases.

(b) In terms of Total Family Income, the costs of shelter, food, and clothing amounted to more than 60% of income in 14 cases. The addition of compulsory wage deductions brought the proportion of income required for basic costs to a minimum of 78% in all but one case. The addition of essential transportation cost at T.T.C. rates, telephone, and the interest cost of consumer credit brought the percentage up to a minimum of 86% with only one exception. The balance of income remaining was over \$12.00 a person in only one case, and ranged from \$6.00 to a minus quantity in ten cases.

(c) Fifteen families were using Consumer Credit. In 11 cases the expected monthly payments (less interest cost) amounted to more than the balance of income mentioned above. Usually it was a great deal more.

(d) Fifteen of the families paid between 9% and 22% of total income in compulsory wage deductions. The average was 16%.

25. The following is a summary of additional information from the survey that is not covered in the Table:

(a) The fathers were dependable working men. Thirteen had been with the same employer for the past three years or more, for an average of eight years.

(b) The families had virtually no assets beyond equities in homes and cars, and these were very limited. Only three of seven families buying homes had equity over \$1,000.00. One of eight families with cars had equity of \$600.00. The rest were much less, and the cash value of the cars probably averaged \$350.00. Only one family had other assets, and \$1,100.00 property.

(c) At the time of the survey, the income of the families as a group, averaged about the same as any other time of the year. Individual incomes fluctuated according to the availability of overtime, second jobs for fathers, and whether the wife was able to work and for how long. Reports on income conditions for the preceding 12 months indicated that five families were somewhat better off in January, and six were somewhat worse off.

(d) Families were asked to evaluate the effect of money pressures on various aspects of family life. The caseworkers concurred with the families' judgments in all but one case and were usually in the position to give a reliable opinion.

(a) Eleven families reported that money pressures were seriously restricting the developmental activities of children.

(b) Fourteen families reported that money pressures had seriously delayed or prevented the use of medical or dental services or drugs in the past year.

(c) Thirteen families reported that money pressures were contributing seriously to problems among family members.

Recommendations

26. In making recommendations, we hope to contribute to the Senate Committee's understanding of poverty only inasmuch as we are "telling it like it is" in our experience. We do not know the precise extent our recommendations are practicable, nor whether

³ Report to the Welfare and Housing Committee, the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Department of Welfare, May 14, 1969.

there are better means to the same ends. We do know that the ends are essential to any major reduction of poverty.

27. With respect to the working poor we need adequate economic measures to compensate for the fact that income from earnings relates to the market value of the job, and not to family needs. We are strongly in support of improvements in minimum wages, and a Guaranteed Annual Income Plan as final solutions to this problem. However, immediate action is necessary.

28. We recognize that precipitous increases in the minimum wage may force extensive economic adjustments. Also, we recognize that the highest possible minimum wage in the near future will not be sufficient to keep larger families out of poverty and that some additional source of income will be necessary for many. Everyone on every job can scarcely be paid enough to maintain adequately a family of five, when the average wage (with normal deductions) is already inadequate.

29. We are committed to the principle that everyone should be guaranteed at least an adequate annual income without the personalized investigations and stringent "needs" tests that are common to our public assistance programs. We are pleased with the general interest in the Guaranteed Annual Income Plan. We are dismayed, however, that the acceptance of such a plan as the panacea for poverty in advance of any acceptable model for implementation tends to preclude here and now improvements. We are concerned that the idea has been so readily endorsed by some groups who have demonstrated no great understanding of poverty or intention to relieve it. An essential feature of such a plan must be the provision of an adequate minimum standard of living, including coverage of the actual cost of raising children. We are concerned that obvious steps to realize this now, under existing programs, have not been taken. In terms of present performance, a new plan seems to offer only the hope of uninvestigated Guaranteed Annual Poverty.

30. Listed in order of priority we recommend that:

I. Substantial increase be made in Family and Youth Allowances.

We observe that most of the working poor are poor because they have children, and we believe that Family Allowances in amounts representing a substantial proportion of the cost of raising children are necessary so that children do not impoverish their families merely by their existence. We favour the use of the existing universal program with modifications in the income tax program to recover benefits from families who do not need them.⁴ We believe that recovery should not aim

to stop benefits just above the "poverty line" but that some help with the cost of children might be extended into the middle income group.

We suggest that this use of Family and Youth Allowances could provide for most of Canada's working families the essential features of a Guaranteed Annual Income Plan, and is a natural forerunner to such a plan.

We suggest also that substantial Family Allowances could largely eliminate current problems in Municipal Welfare Administration resulting from the disparity between wages and welfare rates for larger families. Existing welfare rates are already higher for these families than going wages for many jobs. Welfare rates for larger families tend to be kept down to minimize this disparity. Very needy working families living on less than a welfare level of income are refused supplementary assistance on the grounds that welfare is not intended to supplement wages, and if they do get on welfare through unemployment or illness, find the prospect of reduced income a distinctly negative work incentive. However, if a substantial proportion of the income of larger families were already derived from Family and Youth Allowances, additional welfare provision for them would rarely have to be higher than the wage, and the disparity would be eliminated. Moreover, there would be little need for the wasteful pattern of supplementing unemployment insurance with welfare benefits, and much less need for extensive readjustments of the various compulsory insurance programs that currently impose a direct tax upon the working poor.

II. Government insurance plans be extended to protect more adequately working families from common hazards which may impoverish them. Specifically:

The extension of medical insurance to include the cost of drugs and dental care.

The extension of hospital insurance to include nursing home care.

The improvement of unemployment insurance to provide benefits that will cover essential living costs, and due adjustments in rates according to family size.

III. Pending the implementation of a more fundamental incomes policy, families who are already poor should not be subject to direct taxation.

Virtually all working poor are subject to some form of direct taxation, in addition to their share of indirect taxes. This is totally inconsistent with any intent to alleviate poverty. We are thinking not only of income tax, but of the other compulsory wage deductions, including "insurances" and pension plans, and even union dues, which taken together usually amount to the bulk of pay

⁴ We favour adjustments to the existing program as outlined in the submission of the Canadian Welfare Council, paragraphs 32 and 33.

deductions, from the working poor. Exemption from income tax alone provides only a partial answer, and means must be found to make premium or other adjustments in the light of family size in all Federal and Provincial programs.

IV. Federal and Provincial Governments make every effort to increase our stock of public housing.

It is difficult to make a recommendation with respect to the complex problem of housing, although we find that it contributes vastly to impoverishment and hardship. We realize that to a considerable extent the "housing problem" is simply one aspect of poverty. Poor persons cannot afford to pay a fair going rate for the housing they need. To the extent this is so, the housing problem will be reduced as poverty is reduced.

In Toronto, however, and to some extent in other urban centers, a complex of circumstances has greatly inflated the price of land, and other circumstances prevent the building of the most economical family dwellings. The price of housing is being forced out of the range of many persons who would ordinarily not be considered poor. It seems that only government has the power to cut through the circumstances that prevent the building of efficient housing, and the acquisition of land for it. At the same time, unfortunate though it may be, additional money to the poor is more readily available through subsidizing housing costs than through more direct means. We are, there-

fore, forced to recommend the rapid expansion of public housing although we see the need for many changes in it.

V. Personal bankruptcy be made available to the working poor.

Consumer Credit is an integral part of our way of life. Our culture teaches its use as an ethic. Almost anyone with a wage can use it, and most persons who have children and are not very well off are using it to the point that interest charges are virtually a universal tax on the working poor. Entrapment in hopeless debt is a hazard as common and indiscriminate as any for which protection might be provided through a government "insurance" program. A suitable form of bankruptcy, at limited cost, is a necessary step toward providing protection from this hazard, and should have preventive value as well, as an incentive to more careful lending.

VI. Family planning clinics become a regular and recognized part of public health program.

Although family planning has been given legal sanction, general acceptance has been slow; few clinics have been developed and are not well known. Family planning services should be developed to give all couples freedom of choice in the number and spacing of their children.

March 1st, 1970

APPENDIX

FINANCIAL POSITION OF 16 TORONTO FAMILIES — January 1970 AMOUNTS AND PERCENTAGES EXPRESSED MONTHLY

1	2	3	4	5	6		7	8	9	10			11		12	
					Shelter-Food & Clothing					Basic Costs % of Total Income			Income Over Basic Costs		Consumer Credit	
					a	b				a	b	c	a	b	a	b
Case	Fam. Size	Man's Gross Wage	Source Added Income	Total Fam. Income (incl. F.A.)			Comp. Wage Deduc- tions	Cons. Debt Int.	Trans- porta- tion Cost	S.F. & C. only	S.F. & C. + Deduct.	S.F. & C., Deduct. + Other				
1	5	424.00	--	442.00	*293.00	70	81.00	4.00	31.00	66	84	93	6.00	31.00	12.00	325.00
2	5	525.00	Overtime	6180.00	+399.00	76	113.00	57.00	29.00	64	83	96	4.00	25.00	122.00	3777.00
3	5	450.00	Wife	568.00	*338.00	75	106.00	16.00	32.00	60	78	92	9.00	45.00	84.00	970.00
4	5	343.00	--	361.00	*260.00	76	31.00	57.00	28.00	72	81	95	4.00	18.00	33.00	1200.00
5	6	414.00	--	446.00	376.00	90	81.00	61.00	13.00	83	105	121	Nil	Nil	43.00	4050.00
6	6	468.00	--	492.00	350.00	75	83.00	7.00	19.00	70	88	95	3.00	25.00	52.00	618.00
7	6	565.00	--	594.00	+376.00	66	107.00	6.00	15.00	63	81	86	12.00	83.00	80.00	518.00
8	6	531.00	Wife & Boarder	795.00	+415.00	78	121.00	12.00	32.00	52	65	75	33.00	199.00	31.00	1200.00
9	6	520.00	--	544.00	+354.00	68	79.00	50.00	16.00	65	79	94	6.00	33.00	142.00	4700.00
10	7	480.00	--	512.00	379.00	79	52.00	Nil	16.00	74	84	89	8.00	56.00	Nil	Nil
11	7	394.00	--	426.00	*387.00	98	55.00	4.00	2.50	91	100	103	Nil	Nil	6.00	320.00
12	7	360.00	Pension	585.00	471.00	129	19.00	12.00	24.00	83	84	91	8.00	53.00	58.00	800.00
13	7	500.00	Wife	672.00	+407.00	82	132.00	21.00	25.00	61	80	88	12.00	81.00	137.00	1465.00
14	9	537.00	Overtime	738.00	+604.00	112	102.00	14.00	34.00	82	96	103	Nil	Nil	74.00	1125.00
15	9	548.00	--	584.00	502.00	92	57.00	33.00	44.00	86	96	109	Nil	Nil	81.00	1600.00
16	10	445.00	Wife	740.00	+541.00	122	92.05	6.00	50.00	73	86	95	4.00	37.00	24.00	500.00

Note: In Column 6 a, * indicates family is in Public Housing; + indicates family is buying their home.

In Column 10 c, "Other" includes interest costs, transportation costs, telephone, and (2 cases) small day care cost related to wife's employment.

APPENDIX "C"

BRIEF TO THE SENATE SPECIAL COMMITTEE
ON POVERTY:
LEGAL ASSISTANCE
OF THE POOR AND THE PRINCIPLE
OF EQUALITY UNDER THE LAW.

I. A. McDougall
Community Legal Aid & Services
Programme
Osgoode Hall Law School
York University

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- I THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEGAL EQUALITY
- II THE POOR, LEGAL ASSISTANCE, AND THE LAW: SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS
- III THE GENERATION OF JURISDICTION: THE COMMUNITY LEGAL CENTRE
- IV PUBLIC OR PRIVATE CONTROL?
- V RECOMMENDATIONS

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I THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEGAL EQUALITY

Equality under the law is the basic precept of our legal system. But the principle has been so often repeated that it has grown to become an obscured platitude. Too frequently it is accepted as a statement of fact known by all rather than the critical-distant objective that it in truth is. It is often ignored that legal equality does not exist or develop in a vacuum but evolves a concomitant result of economic, social, and cultural fulfilment: a goal to which, according to the constitutional white paper¹, we are apparently committed.

¹*The Constitution and the People of Canada*, The Rt. Hon. P.E. Trudeau, published by the Government of Canada on the occasion of the 2d meeting of the Constitutional Conference, Ottawa, February, 10-12, 1969.

"The government of Canada would expect to see certain objectives of Confederation stated in a preamble to the Constitution. These objectives should include the following:

...

- 3. To promote national economic, social and cultural development and the general welfare and Equality of Opportunity for all Canadians, whatever region they may live, including the opportunity for gainful work for just conditions of employment, for an adequate standard of living, for Security, for Education, and for rest and leisure."^{2,3}

Once these objectives are constitutionally enshrined an interesting result accrues. Because the provision of equality of opportunity assumes the status of a public Duty, it then exists as a Right of the underprivileged (given that rights are the jural corollaries of duties⁴). Equality before the law in terms of the provision of legal representation and counsel in all areas of law as a matter of right, and regardless of economic status, would be a considerable advancement over the charitable keynote attached to current legal aid schemes in many Canadian provinces.

It is however, patently obvious that the mere creation of a public right is no guarantee of it being exercised; particularly as respects the use of legal remedies requiring some legal knowledge and initiation on the part of indigents. It is necessary to bring the law to the poor, for, as the *Economic Council of Canada* noted in its Fifth Annual Review, part of the definition of poverty includes educational and economic alienation from the society's levers of change.

² p. 45 *ibid*

³ the emphasis is my own

⁴ Wesley Hohfeld, *Some Fundamental Legal Conceptions as Applied in Judicial Reasoning*, 23 *Yale Law Journal*, volume 16, 1913.

⁵ *Fifth Annual Review, The Challenge of Growth and Change*, September, 1968, Queen's Printer, Ottawa

"The problem of poverty in developed industrial societies is increasingly viewed not as a sheer lack of essentials to sustain life, but as an insufficient access to certain goods, services, and conditions of life which are available to everyone else and have come to be accepted as basic to a decent minimum standard of living.

Poverty, thus defined, is not quite the same thing as low income... much more serious and more widespread is the kind of low-income situation that carries with it a sense of entrapment and hopelessness. Even the best statistics can only hint at this. They cannot capture the sour atmosphere or poor health and bad housing—the accumulated defeat, alienation and despair which often so tragically are inherited by the next and succeeding generations."^{6,7}

The economically deprived will continue to have less legal security than other more fortunate citizens until concerted effort is launched to make the remedies afforded by the law physically and financially within reach. Experiences in Ontario⁸ the United Kingdom,⁹ and the United States¹⁰ with various legal assistance programmes amply illustrate the proposition that legal access cannot be given to the poor by the mere lowering of financial qualifications. Educational and national deficiencies must be partially overcome as a precondition to meaningful achievement.

"The shackles that bind to poverty are ignorance of rights, disregard of personal value as a human being, a sense of being abandoned, a conviction of despair as an object manipulated by a system. Lawyers committed to the finest traditions of the bar can speak for the inarticulate, can challenge the systems that generate the cycle of poverty, can arouse the persons of power and affluence."¹¹

II THE POOR, LEGAL ASSISTANCE, AND THE LAW: SOME UNSOLVED PROBLEMS

Ontario's legal aid system is both generous and advanced: a fact given international recognition.¹² But it is inefficient to the extent that its effectiveness wholly

depends upon the initiative of applicants. While the statistical precis of the numbers aided is impressive, the utilization of the scheme represents what is probably the "tip of the iceberg". The remaining five-sixths of the actual legal needs of the impoverished in Ontario are submerged and remain unsatisfied.

Law and Poverty 1965,¹³ a working paper prepared for the National Conference on Law and Poverty¹⁴ and co-sponsored by the U.S. Attorney General¹⁵ and the Director of the Office of Economic Opportunity¹⁶ enumerated¹⁷ four factors which deter the full effectiveness of legal aid assistance of the poor. These can be summarized as below, and each no doubt applies as respects the Ontario scheme:

(1) FAILURE OF THE INDIGENT TO CHARACTERIZE A PROBLEM AS LEGAL IN CONTEXT—the study took notice of a prevalence of a "home-made store of superstitious and legal half-truths, usually weighted against his own interests",¹⁸ a generally low comprehension of statutory innovations for his benefit in such areas as consumer protection and urban housing codes, and a general reticence to explore his rights when on the receiving end of a poor bargain¹⁹ or legal action.

(2) LOW VISIBILITY OF EXISTING LEGAL AID SERVICE—the study noted a U.S. survey which indicated that the preponderate number of indigents were unaware of legal aid, and that fewer still aware of how to obtain it. This difficulty probably does not exist to the same degree in Ontario where legal aid has received much public acclaim, but no doubt exists in other provinces. However even in Ontario there may be significant deficiencies in respect to community knowledge of when legal aid is available and when it is not.

(3) REMOTENESS OF THE LAWYER AND HIS SERVICES—the impoverished will "court exploitation to bypass exposure to all unfamiliar milieu or a social snub",²⁰ and for this reason proximate neighbourhood connections are mandatory in order to significantly translate the problems later-

⁶p. 104-105, ibid
⁷The emphasis is my own.
⁸Province of Ontario, *Report of the Joint Commission of Legal Aid*, March 1965.

⁹Society of Labour Lawyers, *Justice for all: Report of the Sub-Committee under the Chairmanship of Morris J. Q.C.*, July 1. 1968. (unpublished)

¹⁰The War on Poverty Programme

¹¹E. Clinton Bamberger Jr., *The Legal Services Program of the Office of Economic Opportunity*, p. 852.

¹²See supra note 9 and L. Silverstein, *Defence of the Poor, The Legal Aid Briefcase*, volume 25, number 3, p. 8.

¹³*Law and Poverty 1965*, Patricia M. Wald, edited by A. Chayes and R.L. Wald.

¹⁴held in Washington, D.C., June 23, 25, 1965.

¹⁵Honorable Nicholas de B. Katzenbach.

¹⁶Honorable Sargent Shriver.

¹⁷pp. 42-47, supra note 12.

¹⁸p. 42, supra note 13.

¹⁹ibid. The Paper referred to one survey of indigent consumers which indicated a tendency for the poor to blame themselves in the event of a bad bargain. 50% of the survey's population would not even register a complaint with the merchandizer. Caplovits, *The Poor Pay More*, Glencoe, Illinois. The Free Press, 1963.

²⁰p. 45 ibid.

tly within a depressed area into legalistic solutions. The working poor is apt to be less able to leave his employment during normal working hours and will therefore require off-hour access to legal services.

(4) FEAR OF REPRISAL—in a number of instances the poor may be reluctant to initiate legal actions against those parties causing them the most harm. Landlords are frequently the classic illustration for they are able to respond retributively²¹ when confronted by a tenant attempting to legally assert his rights. Creditors and welfare administrators are other examples.

Thus, for the reasons above, legal aid must first convince the indigent that it can offer a viable alternative to enduring the many legally surmountable hardships attending impoverishment. The poor have been so long without the normal legal protections accorded financially solvent citizens that an active effort is required to demonstrate that legal remedies do exist and are available to them.

A summary of the general areas of public interest that can be directly served by the legal system was given by the *Report of a Sub-Committee of the Society of Labour Lawyers of Great Britain*.²² It enumerated five general subdivisions:

- (1) representation in criminal proceedings commencing at the point of arrest or summons,
- (2) family law
- (3) other civil legal proceedings including such areas as landlord and tenant relations, personal injury and damage actions in tort, consumer protection and workman's rights,
- (4) distribution of welfare state benefits
- (5) property law including such areas as investment and taxation questions, and income and property conveyancing and distribution.

In each category there is evidence of an inability of past legal aid plans to serve the needs of the impoverished. On the contrary there are indications of intrinsic biases remaining within the administration of the system of law that operate to the detriment of the poor in each general area.

(1) Criminal Law and the Poor

Concerning criminal law, the *Report of the Joint Committee on Legal Aid*²³ of Ontario drew attention to two outstanding disadvantages confronting a prospective criminal defendant who required legal aid.

These were the disposal of bail applications and the extensive use of arrest (ie: as opposed to summons procedure) respectively. The Committee was particularly critical of apparently superficial criterion being employed to determine the question of whether or not to grant bail, and secondly, the type of bail²⁴ granted. It was noted that there is some informal suggestion the "... The man of small or no means is always at a disadvantage"²⁵ and that a more rational criteria to employ might be the 'roots of the community test'²⁶ as opposed to the current over-reliance upon the posting of financial security. The automatic demand for financial security as the surety of release imposes three unnecessary costs upon the system of criminal justice. Firstly, unnecessary confinement can jeopardize an accused's employment status and thereby make him incapable of providing for his dependants, (who may have to resort to welfare assistance as a direct consequence). Secondly, the system must absorb the diseconomies of having to incarcerate an unnecessarily large number of defendants awaiting trial. Thirdly, unnecessary confinement may subvert the entire process of determining guilt or innocence. The Joint Committee outlined this problem as follows:

"There is also the danger that an accused person who is required to find bail on terms that he cannot possibly comply with will be tempted to plead guilty, since the only alternative is to return to custody to await trial. Magistrates, social workers, lawyers, custodial officials, and others stated that the typical reaction of an accused person who has thus been required to remain in custody... is to "get it over with" as soon as possible and return to work and his family."

²⁴There are several possible types of bail: for example cash bail, property bail, bail upon the accused's own recognizance with sureties, and personal recognizance without sureties.

²⁵p. 80 supra note 23

²⁶p. 81 *ibid*, see also *Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections*, p. 99 and *passim* expressed the view that pre-trial detention was justifiable only where necessary in the public interest to ensure the appearance of the accused at his trial, to protect the public pending the trial of the accused and later, that a defendant perhaps should be denied bail: (A) if previously convicted of an indictable offence while on bail, charged with an indictable offence (within a reasonable time of present application) (B) if previously convicted of absconding (within a reasonable time or present application), if accused has been charged with the commission of an indictable offence while on bail charged with another indictable offence provided the charge appears to be of substance.

²⁷p. 82 *ibid*.

²¹see discussion *infra*.

²²*supra* note 9

²³Province of Ontario, *Report of the Joint Committee on Legal Aid*, March, 1965.

Thus the indigent accused is not only at an initial disadvantage regarding pre-trial release, but may also, as a result of the discomforts of unnecessary confinement, be deterred from exercising his right to contest his case. The consequence, where this is the case, can only be for the accused to adopt a somewhat cynical view of an apparently discriminatory law.

An expanded employment of summons procedure as proposed to arrest is a potential device through which a problem of bail vis-à-vis the poor could be mitigated. The decision however between either procedure, by and large, is the police officer's prerogative. His duty to ensure the appearance of the accused at trial makes the increased use of the summons an unlikely solution to the bail problem. Further, experience could seem to imply that the police often make use of arrest detention, coupled with the inability of the defendant to obtain instant legal aid at every centre of confinement as a means of extracting statements against his interest contrary to the *Judges' Rules*,²⁸ and the intent of s. 2 (c) (1) of the *Canadian Bill of Rights*.²⁹ Commenting on Ontario's Legal Aid, Professor G.E. Parker expressed the view that:

"Even if the Ontario police would resent the presence of counsel at the interrogation stage, there seems little reason for not providing some assistance in arranging bail in the police station—particularly during the night when no duty counsel is provided."³⁰

The Report of The Canadian Committee on Corrections in this regard noted that:

"... The right of a person under arrest to consult counsel without delay, recognized by the bill of rights as a fundamental right, should be spelled out more fully in a section of the criminal code dealing with the rights of an accused upon arrest."³¹

The above factors however should not cast a poor reflection on the very significant advances made by the Ontario legal aid scheme with respect to indigent criminal defendants. For the year ending March 31, 1968 for example, 18,502 certificates of eligibility for criminal legal aid had been issued, and an additional 52,668 accused had been assisted by Duty Counsel in Ontario.³²

²⁸The *Judges' Rules* require a police officer to administer a caution to the accused when charged, but he is not obliged to say anything in answer to the charge, but in the event of his doing so his statement may be reduced to writing and given in evidence.

²⁹Statutes of Canada, 1960, c.44

³⁰p. 480, Professor G.E. Parker, *Legal Aid Canadian Style*, Wayne Law Review, volume 14, 1968.

³¹p. 150, *Report of the Canadian Committee on Corrections; towards unity: Criminal Justice and Corrections*, March 31, 1969, Queen's Printer, Ottawa. appendix B, *Annual Report 1968*, The Law Society of Upper Canada, Ontario Legal aid Plan.

(2) & (3) Family and Civil Law and the Poor

There are more serious reservations about the effectiveness of many legal aid programmes as concerns civil law matters. The backlog of experience in the United Kingdom, for example, has tempted some to assert that the only prevalent civil legal aid problems of the poor are in the area of matrimonial proceedings. In effect they argue that otherwise the poor are confronted by inherently non-legal psychological, social, and economic problems beyond the scope of the law. The conclusion is a naïve one (despite such records as 80:20 ratios of matrimonial applications to other proceedings),³³ for it takes no account of the fact that this is one area where the legal ramifications are easy to characterize and further, the law has a near monopoly on available solutions. Thus, in order to settle his marital difficulties the indigent is forced to employ the law despite his possible distrust of it.

In consumer or landlord and tenant disputes he is not under this compulsion to resort to the law, and may not press those legal rights available to him even when aware of them.

This Committee has already heard testimony³⁴ recounting the plight of low income consumers. Of perhaps particular note was the comment:

"The general cast of mind of many low income consumers... leaves them vulnerable to misleading advertising, high pressure salesmanship and fraud. Failure to compute per unit prices can easily result in paying unnecessarily high prices. Impatience with printed matter or an inability to read printed instructions on packages or drugs or household chemicals (bleaches, detergents, cleaning compounds) may result in personal injury or damage to clothes or furniture. Inadequate incomes, frequently implying a lack of ready cash, means an inability to economize by buying in larger quantities or by taking advantage of special offers and bargain prices."³⁵

The area of consumer protection classically illustrates the argument that one-half of the battle to give a degree of legal equality are measures to acquaint the indigents of their legal rights and remedies available. In this context the suggestion of the *Consumer and Corporate Affairs Brief* that provincial and municipal welfare agencies, labour unions, and other community-minded organizations offer consumer educational programmes has a great deal of positive merit in the sense of aiding the poor to make use of new statutory protections as they arise, as well as the implied warran-

³³see *Society of Labour Lawyers Report*, supra note 9.

³⁴The Senate of Canada: *Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty* no. 8, Thursday, May 29, 1969.

³⁵p. 28, *ibid*.

tees of reasonable fitness and merchantable quality imported by the common law.

Landlord and tenant relations are another classic area where the poor have misapprehensions about the law, and often are incredibly exploited as a consequence. Illegal eviction, assault, illegal distraint of possessions, and deliberate annoyance are all too frequent occurrences, which contravene the spirit of the few protections that are to be found in the provincial *Landlord and Tenants Acts*. To permit these rights to be signed away by a tenant is a shameful adherence to a wholly unrealistic concept of bargaining. Clearly the poor do not have equality of bargaining power over leasehold terms. In a majority of cases the lease isn't apt to be read with any true sense of appreciation of its implications. An even more flagrant abuse of tenant rights is to be found in the purported licensee agreements which are aimed at a total undermining of those few rights which are appurtenant to a tenancy for term. An example of such an agreement has been included in the appendix for your examination.

Unlike the other areas of law considered *infra* and *supra*, the more that a tenant is aware of the state of the law, the less will be his willingness to employ the law. The landlord in most cases will be able to enforce a retaliatory eviction far faster than will a tenant be able to enforce a right. So soon as a hint of legal action is given, the landlord is in the position of making the tenant into a trespasser by way of serving a notice to quit effective prior to the legal action taking place. This is hardly equitable in the eyes of the poor, and not conducive towards great respect of the law which, in this area, seems to countenance only the best interests of the landlord.

(4) *Welfare Administration and the Poor*

The administration of welfare is another area where the poor may suffer as a result of ignorance of the law. Even in instances when this is not so, a recipient may be reluctant to press for his full rights out of fear of retaliatory disentanglements. It would appear that welfare officials can exert a considerable amount of pressure upon recipients as a result of having wide discretion over the question of granting assistance. An example are the examination procedures employed by the various departments to ensure that an applicant is in fact not obtaining support. One of the more controversial methods are midnight inspection raids of the premises of female recipients to ensure that "the man in the house rule" has not been violated. A second illustration are reports³⁶ of welfare authorities refusing to continue granting welfare to a deserted woman who will not swear an information against the spouse and bring an action in support.

(5) *Consultative and Preventative Law and the Poor*

As regards questions of property, the general use of a lawyer's talent to settle questions of disposal, real transfers, taxation questions, and so on, are a luxury exclusive of indigents. Once more the reasons for this are threefold: The inability of the indigent to characterize such problems as legal in character, their alienation from legal services, and the cost of such services. The situation is quite unlike the case of middle and upper income levels. Here the lawyer's function is more akin to a general family counsel. His services are sought in relation to a whole series of problems confronting family members. In the majority of instances litigation is not contemplated. In fact the lawyer's expertise is often evoked as a preventative measure against future court disputes. The indigent citizen, on the other hand, rarely comes into contact with the law except *after* the fact of being charged, or *after* his wages have been garnisheed, or *after* the bailiff has repossessed his property. In large measure Most Legal Aid Schemes are Remedial or Litigation Oriented and Do Not Afford the Preventative-Advisory services that are Readily Available to the High Income Levels.

III THE GENERATION OF JURISDICTION: THE COMMUNITY LEGAL CENTRE

The litigation-bias of current legal aid assistance is not a fault of itself. The numbers³⁷ who have made use of this service indicate a need that is obvious. But it is respectfully contended that the mere fact that a scheme such as Ontario's can be shown to have a statistical success is no proof of its ability to have satisfied the legal needs of provincial indigents. For the reasons outlined in the above section, it is submitted that legal aid for litigants is no more than one necessary component of a comprehensive scheme that is required in order to bring the full benefits of the law to the impoverished. Recommendations for innovations for an improved scheme would be basically sixfold:

- (1) the establishment of community legal aid centres
- (2) an active stance with respect to probing and attempting to solve the legal needs of the poor
- (3) a broader range of service offerings,
- (4) integration with existing community aid efforts,
- (5) evening service
- (6) eventual adoption of statutory provisions defining a broader range of duty with respect to serving legal problems of the poor.

Each of these suggested improvements are described in greater detail *infra*.

³⁶ *Deserted Wives on Welfare and the Decision to Charge the Husband*, Simon Fodden, Student, Osgoode Hall Law School (spring, 1968) unpublished.

³⁷ *supra* note 32.

1) *Community Legal Aid Centres*

The advantages of establishing community service outlets, in light of the preceding discussion, is as follows: **Firstly**, with legal assistance close at hand there is often a formidable transportation barrier facing indigents requiring legal aid is eliminated. **Secondly**, the time the lawyer will be less remote a figure, with his services becoming identifiable with local interests, and his expertise will seem that much more accessible. **Thirdly**, the community office will give first hand information-feedback as to the needs of the poor and the success of the legal assistance. From the point of view of the profession and the legal system as a whole, vis à vis the question of group alienation from the law, the benefits of this result are potentially enormous. **Fourthly**, a community legal centre brings a higher visibility to legal assistance and hopefully will stimulate a greater utilization of its potential.

2) *Active Posture of Legal Assistance*

Because ignorance of legal rights and remedies often pervades depressed areas, it is suggested that an expanded scheme must assume a more aggressive character in at least two respects. In the **First** case, efforts should be made to educate and counsel on a preventative basis as to legal rights even where there are no overtly identifiable legal problems. The mediums for such an educational campaign should not be in anyway limited. They should cover the entire gambit from mass communication to community seminars or briefings. Printed material such as has been included in the attached appendix with respect to tenant rights is perhaps a worthwhile technique. The creation of "Help wanted" columns such as appears in the *Toronto Daily Star*, and its equivalents in newspapers across Canada demonstrate the demand for such information (and, in addition, perhaps suggest that existing legal assistance is not comprehensive enough). **Secondly**, extensive advertising space and time should be devoted to informing indigents of the locale of available service in the various areas.

3) *A Broad Range of Service Offerings*

Widespread dissemination of information as to the availability of legal assistance in the community must be complemented by a growth over time of community confidence in the service. It is felt that this can only be achieved by granting it the ability to deal with a diversity of needs (viz: the five categories of legal interest discussed on p. 6 supra). Also, such centres should be staffed ideally with the most highly qualified practitioners from the profession and can be persuaded to undertake the tasks. They should not be manned exclusively or preponderately by students nor junior members of the bar. The former are concerned principally with educational benefits they can *extract* and not maximizing the number of landlord and tenant disputes litigated or

settled each year.³⁸ Further, exclusive use of students and junior practitioners may give an appearance of a 'second best charity service', and, it is suggested, *Appearance* may work a very real impact upon the success of localized assistance centres.

4) & 5) *Increased Office Hours and Service Coordination with other Community Organizations*

The fifth recommendation works hand in glove with creating greater local confidence as well as heightening local information about the new service. This concerns the integration of service functions between various welfare-oriented organizations servicing a locality in common. Some attempt should be made to ensure that each is aware of the other and that their functions are complementary. In many cases information exchanges, cross-referrals, and programming of complementary office hours, if not offices, and staff, will give a macrosystem benefit vis à vis community welfare operations as a whole.

6) *Statutory Expansion of the Duties of a Legal Aid Programme*

The sixth recommendation, that broader legal aid exist as a matter of right, is consistent with the position that a needless aura of charity will serve only to delete the worth and general efficiency of community programmes. If the society is to profess legal equality to be the fundamental premise of the Nation's laws, then steps should be taken to create broad legal assistance as a right appurtenant to citizenship, and not conditional upon financial status. Otherwise the law is indeed the "Sham" Health Minister Munro suggested³⁹

"I suggest that the law in Canada, for many of today's lawyers, has become a sham—as well as a shame to those outside the profession. I contend that instead of practicing law to defend the weaker members of one society from exploitation, instead of conceiving of the law as a bulwark against the rule of the jungle, many of us are using law to enable the rich to get richer, and the corrupt to become more powerful."⁴⁰

It is suggested that community-oriented legal assistance centres, legislatively empowered to actively represent the Nation's poor are the only apparent means of "Democratizing Justice" for it would seem to be the sole means by which the jurisdiction of law can be expanded so as to embrace the interests of the economically less fortunate.

³⁸Out of the total of 443 cases referred to the Osgoode Hall Law School Student Defender Programme, over the period September 4, 1968, to February 21, 1969, Landlord and Tenant cases accounted for a total of 31.5%.

³⁹Text of Address as reprinted by *Obiter Dicta*, September 30, 1969.

⁴⁰*Ibid*

IV PUBLIC OR PRIVATE CONTROL?

Broad legal assistance schemes entailing spatial decentralization of the sort envisaged by this brief has given rise to a certain amount of criticism: particularly from within the profession itself. Such a strong and often critical reaction is understandable in the sense that decentralism imports diseconomies upon professional control. It is often argued this will cause potential damage to the legal system. For example are inevitable difficulties over the controls of professional conduct, many of which are to the benefit of the public en masse.

On the other hand, some⁴¹ see the reduced internal professional control to be a step towards eliminating a frequent criticism of the law: namely that It is Ruled by an Antiquated Guild System too Introspective with Respect to its Own Form, Prestige, Salary Scale, and Power, and too Unresponsive Towards the Consumers' Needs in the Real World. Thus it is suggested⁴² that some intervening public pre-emption of the monopoly of control asserted by the various provincial law societies is merely the price "... of reenfranchising individuals with respect to the internal management of community affairs⁴³." Such an argument assumes, because of the unrepresentative nature of the profession, the Courts are unlikely to give broader community access to the protections of law: in particular to the underprivileged. At least one Canadian⁴⁴ commentator would appear to share this view:

"... the highest court in the land, the supreme court of Canada, has refused to emulate the United States Supreme Court by applying the so-called Canadian Bill of Rights to problems of the right to counsel so that the deprived accused would be acquitted automatically when due process was denied..."

Canadians have always tended to solve their problems other than by the direct approach to the courts in reliance on a constitutional document. Instead the country has looked to its civil service and the omnipresent Royal Commission or Departmental Committee⁴⁵."

Legislative enactment however does not stand as the uncontradicted solution towards making the legal system (and lawyers in particular) more sympathetic to the public interests⁴⁶. This follows for perhaps

three reasons. In the First case are Constitutional problems with respect to a standardized Nation-wide legal aid scheme to cover civil as well as criminal matters⁴⁷. The Second objection was most succinctly cited in the U.K. *Society of Labour Lawyers Subcommittee Report*.

"It is axiomatic that the rule of law can only be maintained by a judiciary which is independent of both the legislative and the executive. An independent judiciary in turn Presupposes Independent Solicitors Being Officers of the Court and not of the Executive. The Individual's Right to Independent Legal Advice is Therefore Fundamental to Freedom."^{48, 49}

In practical effect the argument suggests that a public scheme of legal assistance, unless given guaranteed independence (such as is ensured by the Law Society's administration of legal aid in Ontario) is untenable due to the priority of a system of "checks and balances" afforded by an independent legal system. The above-named U.K. report held to this position that this problem was surmountable. Recent U.S. experience with regard to state cancellations of the Office of Economic Opportunity's Legal Service Projects in retaliation for actions taken on behalf of citizens seeking welfare under the State programmes⁵⁰ would suggest that the problem is a serious one (not that professional representative capacity on behalf of indigent causes may well be inhibited via government action).

A Third, and final objection against resort to a publically-sponsored scheme of defenders is that, in at least the case of the Ontario Law Society's design control, and operation of the province's legal aid scheme, there is no a priori reason to assume that the Law Societies are not well capable of incorporating a more advanced community-oriented legal assistance scheme such as this brief has attempted to describe.

The only outstanding issue is whether there exists the impetus within the profession to effect such dramatic changes that this paper suggests are necessary in order to meet the needs of the economically deprived. It may prove necessary for example to alter professional ethics so as to accommodate the more active role required of lawyers in depressed areas. has been argued that the Canons of Ethics of the profession currently constrain behavior precipitous litigation even when in reference to gratuitous service. At issue in Ontario's case is the Law Society's Rules which in part, reads as follows:

⁴⁷pp. 159-160 *supra* note 31

⁴⁸p. 81 *supra* note 9

⁴⁹the emphasis is my own.

⁵⁰Time Magazine p. 72, *Poverty Law: Threat to Ombudsmen*, November 7, 1969.

⁴¹E.S. and J.C. Cahn, *What Price Justice: the Civilian Perspective Revisited*, Notre Dame lawyer

⁴²*Ibid*

⁴³p. 960, *ibid*

⁴⁴Professor G.E. Parker of Osgoode Hall Law School of York University.

⁴⁵*supra* note 30

⁴⁶Carlin and Howard in a recent U.C.L.A. Law Review Article noted that 70% of New York City's Lawyers attend, by and large, the needs of 10% of the city's population. Comparative Vancouver, Montreal, or Toronto statistics would be of interest in this regard.

Section 1 (4) "It is a crime against the State, therefore, highly non-professional in a lawyer, to stir up strife or litigation by seeking out defects in titles, claims for personal injury or other causes of action for the purpose of securing or endeavouring to secure a retainer to prosecute a claim therefore: or to pay or regard directly or indirectly any person, for the purpose of procuring him to be retained in his professional capacity."⁵¹

The precise meaning of Ruling One, section 1, sub-section (4) is somewhat obscure in that it appears to be directed against those who would stimulate causes of action for the primary purpose of remuneration, and at the same time can be construed to prevent the stirring up of strife where the lawyer may have no pecuniary interest. It is further an issue whether "the stirring up of strife" embraces the sort of educational programmes recommended in this brief and is therefore pre-emptory. It has been suggested that Ruling 18 provides a complete answer to this question.

Ruling 18 Touting Advertising and Attracting Business Unfairly

Notwithstanding anything contained in Ruling 1, no member of the Society or firm of members shall engage in any activity for the purpose of touting or advertising his practice or otherwise attracting clients unfairly.⁵²

Further at issue is Ruling One, Section Three, sub-section (3) which provides:

(3) "Whenever the controversy will admit of fair adjustment the client should be advised to 'avoid or to end the litigation'."⁵³

Does this prevent, for example, advising an indigent client to pursue his cause, in face of offers of settlement, when it appears to have value as a test case? In instances this would seem to necessitate a potential sacrificing of many in the interests of one, and undermining the objective of efficient legal assistance of the poor class. Further, would advice given by a lawyer to press the claim or cause of action in face of settlement offers be contrary to the prohibition against stirring up litigation in Ruling One, Section 1, sub-section (4) as well as Section 3, sub-section (3)?

There is also the question of the professional interests of lawyers who have established practices in poor areas. It has been argued⁵⁴ that they would find specialized legal assistance centers objectionable.⁵⁵ It

can, on the contrary, be argued that legal centres in their area would not only do such firms no harm, but be of financial advantage to them in several respects. **Firstly**, they would ease the pressure of the considerable number of charity cases that such firms assume and allow them to devote their energies to more lucrative tasks. **Secondly**, to the extent that such a community programme would heighten indigent awareness of his legal rights it might catalyze more business on behalf of clients than previously. **Thirdly**, the community offices would presumably not take on the causes of clients capable of paying for the service, who could still patronize local firms.

In summary, it is suggested that, apart from some problems regarding existing rulings of the various law societies, there would seem to be no serious professional objection, *prima facie*, to the concept of regionally located community legal aid centres. In fact there would seem to be very real advantages to the profession in terms of its declared obligations to the state:

"(the lawyer) owes a duty to the State, to maintain its integrity and its law and not to aid counsel, or assist any man to act in any way contrary to those laws."⁵⁶

As suggested at the onset of this paper one of the functions of the state is the furtherance⁵⁷ of the objective of equal treatment under our system of law; an object which would be well served by the scheme above described.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Community-oriented legal aid programmes would give rise to a number of problems. First, and foremost, active regional assistance centres would be expensive; much more expensive than even the most ambitious of current provincial legal aid efforts. Secondly, the new scheme would be labour-intensive and would no doubt over-tax the profession's labour supplies. Thus it is recommended that:

- (1) The federal government prepare a feasibility study of a 'legal care' system similar in theme to medicare under the Canada Assistance Plan
- (2) the various provincial law societies consider the means by which the professional labour supplies can be augmented
- (3) a joint federal-all province study be made of probable legal needs of indigent areas under an all-service providing legal aid scheme.

Insofar as the second recommendation is concerned two possibilities worth consideration are the possible creation of a system of lay advocates and a greater use of law students. In either case their role should be

⁵¹p. 6 *Professional Conduct Handbook*, published under the authority of convocation for the guidance of members of the Law Society of Upper Canada, Law Society of Upper Canada, Osgoode Hall, Toronto.

⁵²p. 43, *ibid*, amendments are proposed to make this ruling's effect more restrictive.

⁵³p. 7, *ibid*.

⁵⁴supra note 13

⁵⁵in the sense of causing lowering indigent retainers

⁵⁶p.5, supra note 51

⁵⁷by virtue of s.1 (a) *The Canadian Bill of Rights*, supra note 28 and the constitutional objectives spelled out in the *Constitutional White Paper*, supra note 1.

supportive. In the particular case of law students, their involvement can afford a very valuable clinical training experience of benefit to both themselves and the legal profession as a whole (ie: by way of improving the quality of legal education generally). However it is suggested that it would be an error to leave community-oriented legal aid to the initiative of law students alone. In the first place, owing to the severely constrained labour supply and curricular interests of this quarter of the profession, their involvement can be little more than 'tokenism'. In the second place, to do the needs of the poor justice the resources and skill of the profession as a whole are required.

As regards the third recommendation, it is suggested that the actual legal demands of Canada's poor to date remain empirically unknown. Even the most sophisticated of research designs will give little more than a very probabilistic estimate when applied to an actual survey. But for two reasons it is suggested that such an effort is necessary. In the first case, as a practical political consideration, it is probably necessary to offer some quantitative evidence that existing legal aid measures are only scratching the surface of the legal

needs of the poor, in order to build support for such a drastic revision of the character of the legal profession. Secondly it is necessary to have some working estimate of demand in order to properly design and structure the expanded scheme and fulfill the projected skill requirements of such a scheme.

As a final note it is suggested that a view of recent U.S. experience vis à vis urban disturbances, as well as perhaps the recent events in the city of Montreal, imply a demand for expeditious effort at the earliest opportunity. The law affords a means of translating many of the problems facing urban indigents into politically-acceptable solutions via our courts. Where the recourse to law is available it does much to decapitate the frustration which leads to inevitable violence which may not be so politically acceptable.

All of which is respectfully submitted,

Ian Alexander McDougall (Director: Community and Legal Aid Services Programme)

APPENDIX "D"

February 1970.

FROM: Special Senate Committee on Poverty.

FROM: National Council of Jewish Women of Canada,
Toronto Section,
4700 Bathurst Street,
Willowdale, Ontario.

On behalf of the Toronto Section, National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, it is my pleasure to express the appreciation of the organization for the encouragement received, to bring to the attention of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty the concern of this organization for the poor, who due to their circumstances, have special needs within the Community.

PREAMBLE

The National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, founded in 1893, with a membership of 5,500 women, organized in 13 sections across Canada is dedicated in the spirit of their faith, to furthering human welfare locally, nationally, and internationally through affiliation with the International Council of Jewish Women. Through an integrated program of education, service and social action, it provides essential services and stimulates and educates the individual and community towards their responsibility for participation through personal commitment.

National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto, has for the past six years been involved in service programs in the Lawrence Heights Community. These programs are educational as well as social and are for the benefit of children (pre-school to school age), teen agers and adults.

ABOUT THE LAWRENCE HEIGHTS COMMUNITY

Lawrence Heights—a low income housing development, was created in 1957 in the Township of North York, in Metropolitan Toronto. This community, constructed at the crossroads of Lawrence Avenue and the Spadina Expressway, should be considered as a segregated geographic unit. Access to the surrounding middle-class, single family dwelling community is limited by physical barriers—A major thoroughfare to the south, institutional buildings to the north, and to the east and west, a fence is the separating line. The Spadina Expressway divides the project into two fairly equal areas.

Ontario Housing Corporation administers the renting. Rent is set at approximately one third of the family's monthly income. Only families of low income are admitted, and priority goes to those with greatest need.

Population of the development is approximately 5,000 persons, 3,000 of whom are school age and pre-school age children. Almost 30% of the families are one-parent, mother-led and 20% to 40% of the families receive social welfare financial assistance. Average income is \$70.00 a week.

1. "The family problems found here are no different than can be found throughout the city but are more highly concentrated due to geographic segregation and population density. For some families their major struggle is that of survival because of their low income and the resulting burdens of debt and other accumulative family problems. A large number of families come from the inner city slum areas. Although their housing problem was solved, new problems were created, resulting from the loss of such things as familiar neighbourhoods, second-hand stores, easy access to hospital clinics and the corner pubs. Some complaints which come from the community itself were, and still are, "children are allowed to run wild," "parents do not care about their children" or "families on welfare spend their money on drink."

Residents of the neighbouring area and trades people visiting the community often see a negative image of the project and refer to the community as "The Jungle," "the camp," "poverty village." Such stigma makes the residents feel inferior and adds to the depressing hopeless feelings that are common attributes to alienation.

From the very inception of Lawrence Heights, a concerted effort was made under the leadership of the Social Planning Council of North York, to integrate all the health, welfare and recreation facilities of North York to provide the essential services for the residents and particularly the children.

The National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto Section, established a junior kindergarten program at Council House (4700 Bathurst St.) to help prepare these youngsters for the regular school program. We are taking the liberty of enclosing the brief on this pre-school program, which was drawn up in October 1965, and presented to the committee

on Aims and Objectives, Curriculum Division, Ontario Department of Education. (Enclosure #1)

The pre-school program still continues at Council House, but no longer with the children of the Lawrence Heights Community. At the end of the third year, the North York Board of Education, recognized the need and established a junior kindergarten at the Flemington Road School. At the present time there are 20 Jr. Kindergartens in North York and approximately the same number in Toronto. May we just add in passing that we were heartened to read in, "Living and Learning"—report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario recommended solutions 111 and 112 which read as follows:—

111. Permit School boards to establish pre-school programs in accordance with the need of their jurisdiction.

112. Require that all high density housing projects, pre-school and playground accommodation be provided by developers, the cost of such accommodation to be borne by them.

ABOUT THE FLEMINGTON ROAD COMMUNITY SCHOOL.

The Flemington Road Community School which houses most of the children in Lawrence Heights, was the first Community School in North York. It is sponsored by the North York Board of Education and the Department of Recreation.

Under the direction of the Social Service Consultant, the School has endeavoured to extend itself as a partner in Community development in the belief that the School and the resources it represents cannot be separated from the community.

The Community School concept is interpreted to include three main integrated functions:—

- * A. The Community centered Curriculum.
- * B. The Community centre Function.
- * C. The Community Service Function.
- * For further information on development and structure refer to enclosure #2.

National Council of Jewish Women has played an important role in assisting in the establishing of a day care centre in the Lawrence Heights Community.

From the beginning, the problem of day care has been demonstrated as having the highest priority. The problem of 270 single parent families is a particularly difficult one for children and parents in time of illness, family emergencies, essential visits to clinics, doctors, etc. It is too much to expect that neighbours with small children of their own will be able to shoulder this responsibility, although many do help out whenever possible. As we reported in a

sociological study on Lawrence Heights—when a parent is ill, it is usually the spouse or the children who do the home-making—this would explain significant amount of absenteeism from school, almost one quarter of them would keep their children home from school for this reason.

In the beginning, the service concentrated on the need of one-parent families where parent sharing is required. (e.g. alcoholic parent, emotionally or physically ill mother.)

Planning for the Day Care Centre started early in the Spring of 1968. A planning committee was formed of representatives of all interested groups and agencies—e.g. Lawrence Heights Family and Child Service, North York Parks and Recreation, Social Service Consultant, Supervisor Child Care (Metro Supervisor Day Nurseries (Provincial), National Council of Jewish Women, District Nurse, Yorkdale Vocational School, Mennonite Brethren Church.

Many months (and many meetings) later, the Lawrence Heights Day Care Centre was licenced as a six month Pilot Project, and opened its doors early in February, 1969.

As well as assisting in the planning of the Day Care Centre, National Council of Jewish Women, also were committed at the onset to assist in the staffing of the project with volunteers. It was our hope at this time that our volunteers would help in the training of community volunteers to eventually take over this service.

An evaluation of the Pilot Project at the end of June, 1969, confirmed the validity of the service and the planning committee recommended that the Day Care Centre apply for relicensing in the fall. The service has now been on-going for five months, with the maximum number of children in attendance almost every day.

ABOUT THE SERVICE

The Day Care Centre operates from 8:45 a.m. through 4:15 p.m., Monday through Friday. Mothers must fill out an application form in advance explaining their need for the service (priority is given to the most needy) children age 2-5 yrs., will be accepted for day care after examination by District Nurse. A maximum of 10 children per day are accepted. Fifty cents per day (or part of day) is the fee. A hot lunch is available to all children.

There is a qualified nursery school teacher (resident volunteer) in attendance at all times and she is assisted by part-time volunteers (all of whom have had previous orientation and training in this area).

The cost of operation is of course minimal, with no rent and no salaries; the main expenses are for equipment, telephone, substitute teacher, supplies

hot lunch is supplied to us at a cost of 45¢ per child.

The project is financed at present by a generous grant from a private service organization.

As we had anticipated, community volunteers have gradually replaced the volunteers from our organization and derive satisfaction and pride in helping to operate their own Day Care Centre.

In summation, National Council of Jewish Women involved in Service in many areas in the Lawrence Heights Community:—

1. In the establishing and operating of a Junior Kindergarten and Mothers' program.
2. In the Community School as Student Aids and as resource personnel for many of the interest groups.
3. In the planning and operation of the Lawrence Heights Day Care Centre.

Based on our study, research and experience, the National Council of Jewish Women of Canada, Toronto section respectfully recommends that:—

1. (a) The Federal Government expand its program for day care centres.
- (b) The Federal Government subsidize voluntary non-profit pre-school programs.

- (c) Priority be given to the establishment of therapeutic day care centres in needy areas.
2. (a) The use of volunteers be encouraged especially those volunteers indigenous to the community.
- (b) Facilities and resources within the community be explored and utilized.
3. Recognizing that the Senate Committee on Poverty has been Federally initiated and aware that Education is under Provincial jurisdiction:—

(a) The Federal Government encourage Provincial Departments of Education to institute pre-school programs for disadvantaged children within the school system.

(b) Community schools be an integral part of all communities, but particularly in areas of great need.

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APPENDIX "E"

BRIEF TO THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON POVERTY

Walter Pitman, M.P.P.

POVERTY

I think it is relevant to suggest that in the 60's, Canada was obsessed with the problem of economic growth. I am convinced that the 1970's will be a decade in which we concern ourselves with more just distribution of our wealth.

We realize now that in spite of our rising standard of living we have not seriously disturbed the social structure—those who dwelt in poverty in 1960—they and their children are still in poverty in the 1970's. We know that these people will be in poverty in 1980 unless we break the "poverty syndrome". We have successfully demolished the myth that a rising Gross National Product will somehow "dribble down" and improve the lot of those at the bottom of the economic level.

The other myth which I think has been dispelled is that education, interpreted in the narrow sense as almost as synonymous with schooling, will solve the problem. The 1960's has seen a massive expansion of educational opportunity. But in spite of greater availability of schooling, we find that those in poverty often have the least success in the early grades, and thus become the drop-outs who soon become the young unemployed. The school, its rules and regulations, its textbooks and materials, its teachers and their attitudes are simply inappropriate for producing a learning situation for a poor child. It is quite obvious that equal access to educational facilities is not equal opportunity. Even if the poor child is retained by the school system, his success, particularly in academic subjects, is often limited. He finds himself relegated to vocational courses which may well prepare him for work skills which will soon be obsolete.

We have put our faith in education as a means of solving society's problems. The race between "education or annihilation" is a false one. We can have education *and* annihilation, education *and* unemployment, education *and* poverty. We cannot expect the school to solve social problems—but it can provide a co-ordinating agency for this purpose.

Poverty can only be defeated if the lines between formal educational activity and the social efforts of the community are removed. Obviously a "Head

Start", or "Bootstrap" program involving a nurse, school experience, combined with special activities in the early grades of elementary school would be an advantage. But such narrowly educational thrust will not succeed until we knit the school into the efforts of the total community. The school has been viewed in isolation—interaction with community is rare and sporadic. As a result principals and teachers who have had little experience in understanding the poverty subculture, spend little time reaching out to parents, particularly those of the poor.

The school is regarded by poor parents not as a hope for the children, but a threat to the home. Parents of low income homes are the least likely to understand what is going on in the school, the nature of the course materials, and the changes in curriculum. The parents are the most reluctant to visit the school and speak to the teachers and principal, because for them the school is a place of humiliation and failure. The school has exacerbated the generation gap between parents and children, but in degree the low income parents are the worst off.

It has been the nature of the school system that much effort is put into educational programs—but little effort is put into engaging the parents in such program. Perhaps it is more than merely holding meetings or seminars, or workshops, but will demand participation. A program of providing mothers of low-income families with suitable training in order that they can carry out low skill activities in school classrooms, cafeterias, play-rooms, libraries, might be an effective way of knitting home and school together in the interest of the student. A small addition to the family finances for such service would be appropriate.

Before such programs could be successful and effective, teacher education courses would have to stress some understanding of and sensitivity to the problems facing those in poverty. One might hope that, in the Province of Ontario, where responsibility for teacher education is placed in the university, that the result might be that teacher candidates might have the opportunity to take courses in economics, psych-

psychology and sociology, with a special emphasis on the educational and social needs of low-income families.

The lack of services for emotionally disturbed children and those with learning disabilities in schools across Canada are more serious for the children of the poor for the simple reason that other compensations which are available to the well-to-do are non-existent for the low-income family.

One of the reasons making assistance to the poor less successful has been the considerable lack of co-ordination between the various agencies which come into contact with poor people for one reason or another. I am sure the Committee has heard harrowing tales of low-income families being passed from Family Counselling to Children's Aid, to Salvation Army to various authorities—each dealing only with one of the many problems facing the family, and each failing because of the multi-problem nature of the family's situation. The role of the school is often even more neglected than either the government or charitable agency. Too often the problems of the child who is poor are comprehended only in the most unsophisticated fashion.

The creation of the community school which is a centre for the parents and other adults, not only to engage in sports and recreation, but in the arts, theatre, and adult education in the evenings and on week-ends, is particularly important. It must be as well a place where tenant groups or any assembly of people who wish to initiate community action can gather. The school will thus become aligned with the problems of the community—and particularly those of the economically deprived. The children and parents of low-income families come to see the school as "their school", not the local outpost of the Establishment.

And surely the school and the social agency can co-ordinate their work more effectively. It means more than providing school psychologists and social workers, it means providing support not to a student from a poor family — but to the family as a unit. Many communities have co-ordinated their charitable agencies along with the municipal and provincial welfare services into a "problem family" approach. The school might provide the focus for identifying, isolating and assessing the family — as well as a place

where recreation, therapy and a spectrum of services could be made available. An office for "co-ordinated services" could be accommodated in the school itself. The statement that "The rich have money, and the poor have children" is not devoid of insight. The school has jurisdiction over a limited geographical area. The poor who do not have children will soon be identified and brought into any comprehensive program. The school building is perhaps the single edifice which represents the public interest in every community — it can become the vital force in our society. In an age where de-centralization of services for the purpose of providing more flexible, community-initiated and participatory emphasis is increasing, the school is unique and unparalleled both as an edifice and as an institution.

I am suggesting that the school as a narrow educational institution can do little to alleviate poverty in Canada. If the school becomes associated with the supportive activities of the total community, if it can change its program to accommodate the needs of low-income children and their parents, I think great strides can be made.

As the Committee will have realized, most of the recommendations contained in this brief involve provincial jurisdiction. However, the Federal Government has already shown its interest in education in its evident sense to include Manpower Training, support for university students, and a plethora of educational purposes. A national effort to end poverty will demand more than a new national welfare policy or a national guaranteed income. It will demand an infusion of national resources into the educational systems of each province to combat an evil which, if allowed to continue, will undermine not only our economic but our moral strength as well.

It is likely that the second major development of the 1970's will be that of fashioning our environment and ending the source of pollution. We have seen recent efforts to cut through constitutional niceties in this area. Education is enshrined in the B.N.A. Act as a provincial responsibility. However, unemployment and manpower re-training has probed the relevance of such single jurisdictional responsibility. The success with which we explore the flexibility of our constitution in the struggle to give a better life to those who today dwell in poverty will determine the quality of our national life.

APPENDIX "F"

BRIEF TO THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
BY
THE ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE

March, 1970

St. Christopher House is a neighbourhood centre that has been located in this building for over 50 years. Traditionally, St. Christopher House has reached out to help those in need of health, welfare, recreational and educational services through innovative programs such as clinics, camps, English classes, Music and Nursery schools, to mention only a few.

St. Christopher House draws its members from a broader geographical area than the two Urban Renewal areas that have been designated the Alexandra Park Urban Renewal Area and the Kensington Urban Renewal Areas.

The distance which members travel to receive services varies directly with the age of the members. This means that most children come from these two Urban Renewal areas, but teens and adults tend to come from a broader district.

Before the renewal took place, Alexandra Park was previously comprised of owner occupied housing, owned by middle-aged Ukrainian, Polish and other European families. Many of these homes included older European men as roomers and boarders. There were also small clusters of newly arrived Portuguese families. The tenants of that time made up about a quarter of the residents and were mainly second and third generation Canadians. That housing has now been replaced with over 500 units most of which is administered by the Ontario Housing Corporation. About 300 units are for Senior Citizens. While most of the family units are suitable for large family groupings, there are very few Portuguese or other immigrants who apply for occupancy in these new dwellings. There is probably a higher proportion of single parent families than existed previously. Furthermore, there has been a similar change in the ethnic origins of the older adults most of whom now reside in the Senior Citizen building.

The Kensington Area has a great variety of ethnic groups occupying the housing. There are remnants of the Ukrainian, Jewish and Italian groups that once occupied this area. The primary group that now resides are from the Azore Islands of Portugal. There are also signs of an increasing number of Chinese moving across from the east side of Spadina Avenue.

In both areas there has always been a noticeable number of Negro families. While the proportion has not changed noticeably for many years, the number of immigrants from the West Indies has increased within the last few years.

We wish to point out that in the past ten years, St. Christopher House has made a great effort, through Community development programs to encourage the neighbours to speak on their own behalf about their own problems. After all, some of them have been here almost as long as the agency and certainly longer than the Staff and Board members of the Agency.

Our agency brief, then, will focus upon the problem of poverty that have been brought by some of the neighbours to the Staff of St. Christopher House. It is important to note that these problems do not necessarily express the concerns of the total or even the majority of the residents of this area as we do not pretend to have had direct contact with all the residents living in our area.

We shall present our remarks under the following headings of a) immigrants, b) families, c) youth and d) the aged.

a) Immigrants

Of the 30 full-time staff in St. Christopher House, more than half have immigrated to Canada in their adult years. They have come from Britain, Egypt, Germany, Goa, Guyana, Jamaica, the Netherlands, Portugal, South Africa, The Ukraine, and the United States; presently two others are married to immigrants from Italy and Mexico. The remarks made herein, therefore, not only reflect upon the experiences of the people of our neighbourhood, but also upon those of our staff and their many immigrant friends.

The problems outlined below are encountered at any income level, but they are more upsetting to the immigrant in the low income area because he has more likely come to the country with fewer financial and language resources and often has a family to support immediately.

One of the greatest needs for immigrants is the improvement of information services of

Canadian Government in their land of origin. For too often, the immigrant is given a marvellous "sales pitch" on the wealth and opportunities in Canada without being informed of the accompanying problems that he will encounter.

The representatives of the various ethnic organization, who have experienced the effects of the inadequate information services, should be asked to help prepare information for pamphlets that should be given out through the Federal Immigration Department in their country of origin.

The Immigrant is not sufficiently informed of the relative high cost of living that accompanies higher wages. Nor is it clearly stated that his educational and employment standards will likely be down-graded; that employers will require that he have "Canadian experience" before he starts working at his trade. These requirements mean that he has to take employment at some lesser level until he has been able to complete the "up-grading" which can be anything ranging from English classes to a Master's degree in engineering. While most immigrants are able to maintain themselves and their families at a level of income with which they are satisfied, there are cases of hardship due to employment layoffs and illness.

In such cases, the financial resources that are available to immigrants who encounter hardships are from government sources. However, for a variety of complex reasons, the immigrant is reluctant to seek help from these Government offices. Furthermore, the interpreting services available in most public agencies are disgracefully inadequate. As a result, the local Churches, social agencies and to a great extent private businesses are turned to for advice and support. The fact that the first two receive little Government support in relation to their total expenses places a great burden upon them and limits considerably the amount of assistance they in turn may give. Moreover, the increased demands by immigrants causes some resentment from the non-immigrants who see a disproportionate amount of time being spent with them.

The case of Mr. "X" (see Appendix 'A') illustrates the type of unnecessary difficulties encountered by the immigrant (or for that matter the non-immigrant) because of inadequate information and co-ordination of government services.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. that the Department of Immigration take steps to improve the information services at their offices in foreign countries to ensure that prospective immigrants are informed of the difficulties they

will encounter as well as the wealth they may anticipate in Canada; that the Department gather the appropriate information from existing organizations that represent immigrants.

2. that the Federal Government takes steps to co-ordinate related Government social and educational services at least at the municipal and perhaps at the community level; the recommendations of the Winnipeg Social Service Audit regarding public "Community Health and Welfare Centres" have some merits;
3. that the various Governments increase tuition and living grants to immigrants to allow them to "survive" while they complete up-grading skills and training to enable them to obtain employment in the area of their competence;
4. that all levels of government improve their interpreting and translation services immediately using the many trained and competent immigrants now employed at much lower levels; that consideration be given to providing funds to churches and social agencies who now provide these services.

b) Families

The housing for large families in this area is basically good. The relocating of families into the public housing units was handled very well by the various governmental authorities. There are numerous problems in the regulations by the Ontario Housing Authority which may be discussed by the tenants themselves. One difficulty which we would like to raise is the restrictions on family earnings which limit the incentives of families who wish to increase their incomes to meet rising costs.

Let us take the experience of the family in public housing for instance, which is having difficulty living on father's income which is climbing slowly in comparison with the cost of living index. Perhaps mother is able to take a part-time job to supplement her husband's salary. Immediately the federal government takes a bit off for income tax, the provincial government takes its bit for extra rent and the municipality may get some for the costs of day care for one or two of the children. Neighbouring public housing mothers are not convenient for day care because if they accept payments, they too will have their rents raised. The amount that remains as disposable income turns out to be only a small proportion of the wages. The emotional pressure this places upon the family adds another element to the problem.

Compare this case with the family on higher income in a private apartment who takes the same steps towards increasing earnings. Increased income may be comparable, rent remains stable and baby-sitting might be found through a relative or neighbour that lives close by.

Certain aspects of this problem also apply when older teenagers who live in public housing unit get a job. We have known of situations where these young people have moved out of the home because it is cheaper for them to provide their own room and board than to pay it to their parents. Thus government regulations create family breakdown.

The statement that the "poor pay more" is a fact. The lack of surplus of fund prevent families from availing themselves of such "money-saving" equipment as sewing machines and freezers. Furthermore, the purchase of second hand electrical appliances and sub-standard clothing increases costs because repairs and replacement are more frequent than for expensive equipment.

The need for day care services for non-working mothers as well as for working mothers is necessary in areas of large families and dense population. Again, to compare with families of higher incomes there are no opportunities such as Settlement House programmes for mothers to get away from their families at regular interval. Such outlets of relief from the pressures of child rearing in our increasingly complex society are essential.

In some cases of larger families the eldest child is given the responsibility of looking after the younger family members while both parents work. This type of circumstance can put these elder youngster under great strain and add to family breakdown. Again, we have encountered experiences where the elder children have left school or home early in order to be relieved of such pressures.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

5. that the regulations of government authorities relating to working mothers and teens be co-ordinated and revised in such a way that those who wish to work can perceive an advantage in so doing;
6. that day care programs for non-working mothers and working mothers be set up in densely populated areas of low income families to relieve some of the increasing tensions of family; such centres might well be partially staffed by students from nursery education and child care courses.

c) Youth

When the public housing units for large families were constructed in Alexandra Park there were plans for the extension of the existing elementary school. Most of the new residents have now been living in the units for two years and some even for three years. Yet the extension to the building has not yet been started. The delay in such a development has placed a great deal of stress on the classrooms and the children in that school which now has over 1500 pupils enrolled.

The special needs of immigrant children who need to learn English at an early age and the children on low incomes where books and educational toys are a luxury should be foremost in the priorities of educational programs. Instead, there is only room for a few junior kindergarten class in the local elementary schools because of the shortage of space. This is another example of the lack of co-ordinated planning between the various governmental departments.

With the imposition of a "needs test" upon the parents of the St. Christopher House in order to comply with the requirements of the Canada Assistance Plan, it appeared that the Nursery School of St. Christopher House would also be seriously stifled. However, the solidarity between the staff and the nursery parents was instrumental in putting the nursery school back on a solid financial basis. We are still embarrassed to force the parents to submit to this very extensive test of their financial need as it interferes seriously with the establishment of warm, neighbourly relationships that has been a key to our service to the community.

There are also special needs related to education that our older children have in this community. Due to the fact that neither the parents nor the teens themselves are aware of the trend of future employment opportunities, there is a special need for guidance counselling and upgrading programs for these youngsters. The number of school guidance counsellors is very seriously lacking for our youngsters. There are certain cases where youngsters with at least an average ability have not even developed appropriate reading skills, let alone having learned a marketable trade. Such youngsters have little hope of being gainfully employed in our society.

The youthful immigrant, who is streamed into the technical trades and vocational courses where there is limited opportunity for switching up into academic courses as his language and other cultural skills develop, often drops out through frustration. The types of courses that have been developed in other countries which allow youngsters to undertake this upgrading without serious sacrifices on their part should be adopted in Canada.

Furthermore, in school the development of studies should take into consideration the differences in cultures and interests in different ethnic areas. It would seem more appropriate for example, for our students to study "the development of Italian leadership in Toronto union" rather than "the rise and fall of the Roman Empire".

The worship of affluence is reflected in the anti-social experiences of some youths with whom St. Christopher House has considerable contact. The essence of this experience is the effect of the constant pressure imposed upon our young "have-nots" to have more of what everyone else has. Every day our youngsters are deluged with mass media advertising which say:

"To succeed – you *must* dress sharp; wear the latest styles"

"To be a man – you *must* drive the fastest car"

"To live – you *must* experience the latest at the newest night spot"

"You *must* – because *everyone else does* – don't wait till you have the money... *get it now!*"

Nothing was ever mentioned in the advertisements about the penalty for car theft being 10 days or \$30.00 and that a conviction for this offence would prevent you from being bonded for life. Perhaps they ignored this because it was really intended "for the affluent only". Most affluent youth could test out a car legally, or if they did choose to "joy ride" they might never come to court and would most certainly pay the fine rather than spend 10 days in jail.

Even those youngsters who do achieve post-high school education sometimes have to continue to fight an up-hill battle to keep their heads above water – not academically, but financially. Take the case of the student on a government assistance income whose living allowance was terminated after reaching the 21st birthday. The only solution was to take a \$600/ year loan. Granted this is interest free for the first 6 months after graduation. However, can anyone imagine what a burden this loan will be after two years of under graduate studies and then another two or three years graduate work? Furthermore, what will be the student's standard of living during that period of study, especially in comparison with students who are enjoying life at university because both "dad" and the government are paying the bills. It would seem more appropriate to extend the government living allowance in such cases at least until graduation.

COMMENDATIONS:

that there be a better co-ordination of government plans in instances where the expansion of family housing units necessitates an equivalent expansion of local school buildings; such co-ordination should get particular attention in areas where "special needs" have been designated as such by existing legislation (in this case the "Inner City Schools");

8. that attention be given *immediately* to the improvement of guidance counselling and up-grading programs in areas of "special need";
9. that regulations governing public assistance and government grants to students of low incomes be examined and improved to ensure that all students who have the ability to undertake courses in higher education not only be enabled but, in fact be encouraged to do so;
10. that the system whereby students are assessed and placed in secondary school technical courses from which they have limited opportunity to switch to academic course be studied thoroughly; it would seem that revisions are needed both at grade 8 termination stage and at various stages of the secondary school levels.

d) The Aged

The circumstances of some of the aged from the point of view of income, housing, recreation, and emotional stability put them in the position of being the most needful in our community.

There are many pensioners living alone in single rooms on their inadequate 111.00 per month (See appendix 'B') with no cooking facilities other than a hot plate, no access to refrigerators or television sets and no close relative living nearby.

The anxieties raised by the uncertainty of not knowing how they will live from day to day, having limited social contacts and perhaps having to live on the third floor of a rooming house because rents are cheaper up there, lead to severe physical and mental breakdown.

There are two publicly owned buildings in the community. One high rise apartment in Alexandra Park and another hostel that originally housed war veterans exclusively. When the old people who lived in the rooming houses in Alexandra Park were relocated they were to get priority in the new high-rise apartment building. However, it seems there was a misunderstanding between the various governmental authorities on the assignment of apartments on this priority basis and the elderly then were not as fortunate as the families had been. Similarly, a few years ago when the hostel was taken over by metro from the Red Cross, several of the old soldiers that we knew moved out because the rent had been raised beyond their means.

What happens to old people who become ill for short periods of time, not to mention the person who suffers chronic illness which is even worse? There is no room for them in the hospitals or the nursing homes. There are no close

relatives to drop in on them to assist with food and other care. The home-maker services are lacking for emergency cases. In a few cases there is some aid from a fellow roomer or thoughtful land lady, but even they may be limited by their age or by the numbers of roomers living under similar circumstances in their buildings. More often their lack of care through minor illnesses leads to a chronic state of illness.

St. Christopher House has attempted to assist these people through a "Meals-on-Wheels" program for immobile clients and a small weekly drop-in-centre for mobile people. We have tried to get on-going government financing for the meals program, but so far have not found any existing legislation for which this qualifies. Although most of our "meal" clients have been referred to us by hospitals or Public Health Nurses we have been informed that in Provincial Home Care Programs "meals" are not considered as "treatment" in the same way "physical therapy" and other services are.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

11. that the Old Age Assistance benefits be increased more frequently and to more realistic levels which are going to allow those living entirely on these benefits; to have an adequate standard of living;
12. that the governmental housing, health and welfare services to the aged be expanded as rapidly as possible in large urban areas as these are the most needful persons in this community;
13. that the governments undertake funding of experimental and operative "meals" projects for the aged and handicapped that are now being developed by various churches and social agencies;

NEW BUILDING FOR ST. CHRISTOPHER HOUSE

For the past five years, St. Christopher House has endeavoured to replace our decaying old buildings with a more suitable new structure. The most ideal relocation was obviously one block away on the corner of Bathurst and Dundas Streets, in the Alexandra Park Urban Renewal Area. From the point of view of the Social Planning Council and all the elected representatives in our area, the need for a new building and the suggested re-location site were strongly endorsed. Originally, our Board of Directors was encouraged by this response and anticipated that government funds could be obtained to construct a building which could house a complex of social services, including a public library, a day care treatment centre, and other public offices such as health and welfare services, in addition to our own agency.

Since that time we have approached the City of Toronto who endorsed "in principle" the construction of the building as a recreation centre in 1966. Both the Board and the City were hopeful that the speed in the Legislature by Donald S. MacDonald on February 16, 1966 and the reply from Hon. J. Nicholson (Minister of Labour) might have indicated a change in legislation. However, by 1967, City funds were becoming more limited and our hopes that the Federal government would change its regulations to allow for payments through C.M.H.C. for recreation centres in Public Housing areas remained unfulfilled.

The City officials then indicated that if we were successful in obtaining some funds from other levels of government we would have a greater chance of obtaining municipal funds. We then had a meeting with two provincial ministers who indicated that building funds for those aspects of our program which served senior citizens could be financed by the Province, but municipal agreement would first have to be obtained.

This time we went back to the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto. They too, seemed interested in our cause but after some deliberation decided that "when the major portion of the financing of the building has been arranged" they would be pleased to reconsider the request for assistance. This was in January 1969.

Such an experience of being passed off by one level of government to another and back again without sound commitment for major funds has been extremely discouraging, particularly when everyone has agreed that the need is great and the project a valuable one to the whole community.

RECOMMENDATION:

We would hope that the need for co-ordination of services by the various levels of government, which have indicated in several instances within this bill might also be considered in cases where "community centres" are urgently required in densely populated urban areas. A better system of providing funds for all levels of government should be devised for community centres in a way similar to the system for funding construction of housing.

APPENDIX 'A'

Let us tell the story of one "superior human being" that sought our help last year. Mr. "X" had come to Canada to seek a higher standard of living, better health and happiness for his whole family. For several years he lived alone in this country, learning English and the welder's trade, after which he accumulated funds to bring his family to join him. Less than six months after his family arrived he was laid off and received only \$38.00 a week unemployment insurance.

and finally they were evicted from their rooming house. The Ontario Housing Corporation found them a apartment in a *west end suburb*. However, this new home was far from other families who spoke their native language. Mr. "X" called St. Christopher House for financial help because the Manpower Officer did not have supplementary assistance. When questioned the reason why the officer didn't inform Mr. "X" of the availability of municipal welfare assistance for such cases he replied that he was not authorized to do so because "that is another level of government." It is too bad, the officer related, that the Provincial training centres had trained too many welders. There are hundreds out looking for jobs at the time.

Four weeks later Mr. "X" had found his own job by hitch-hiking out west. When we enquired whether or not the federal government would pay for his family's passage to join him, we were informed by Manpower that there were jobs available in the region for welders (for example in the extreme *east-end-suburb*) and therefore they could not pay for the trip. By this time Mr. "X" had worked himself into a debt of hundreds of dollars. Fortunately, "his people" are overly generous with their friends and acquaintances, and thus are able to maintain hope and pride in their ethnic community. Isn't it a pity they come to be put to such hardship to survive. In spite of the fact that Mr. "X" has hung low in the presence of his countrymen, he deserves to hold it high in the presence of the more established generations of Canadians.

APPENDIX 'B'

Cent 'F' is an elderly man who has a very active mind but is crippled with arthritic and circulatory problems. Without home delivered meals, he would not be able to eat, because he cannot get out and has no one to look after him. In one month he was forced to move

four times, partially because an occasional disagreeable tendency he has, but mainly because of landlords who wanted more money or had been renting rooms until relatives arrived from overseas. This agency subsidizes the man for meal payment because his pension is insufficient to cover his expenses. Rent for his room in downtown Toronto is \$15.00 per week, and as well he must pay a debt for his wife's funeral, and pay for his taxis to and from the hospital since there is little other way he can move. As well he has personal needs, such as clothing, tobacco, stationery, and some medication although the latter is mostly paid for by welfare. His finances are therefore insufficient as shown below:

Basic monthly Income	79.00	
Guaranteed Income supplement*	32.00	
Total monthly income	\$ 111.00	
Expenditures: Rent	60.00	
Debts	20.00	
Taxis**	12.00	
Other	5.00	
Food	10.50	plus four for week-ends
	\$ 107.50	

If this man were charged the cost of the meals, he would have a negative income.

* Most pensioners receive this supplementary allowance but consider it to be a "welfare handout" rather than a right of income.

** This expense could have been paid for through services provided by the Dept of Public Health. However, as in many similar cases of the immobile aged, information on such extended services is not readily available.

APPENDIX "G"

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY
BRIEF TO THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON POVERTY

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THE ITALIAN IMMIGRANT

The Italian Immigrant is a proud and resourceful individual. He and his family have prospered and added to the economic and cultural life of our community such that today there are approximately 500,000 persons of Italian origin living in Ontario with more than 300,000 residing in Metro Toronto.

Poverty in the stereotyped sense does not exist to any degree in the Italian community. However, the needs of the immigrant are the same as others of the community with the exception that he has problems related to his transition from one environment to another and from one life style to another.

The present restrictions on immigrants as to waiting time to qualify for benefits of up to a year and more are prohibitive and the forms of investigation by social workers of the homes, finances, and even moral life of the applicant are degrading and an insult to the dignity of the individual.

In the case of the Italian immigrant any suggestion that he apply for welfare is disgusting and a blow to every ideal he upholds. This prehistoric and Victorian approach to the material and spiritual needs of the individual must be discarded and replaced with a single

positive program to raise the standard of living of residents and to provide the fulfillment of the promise which drew so many immigrants to Canada—that of land of opportunity, freedom, and protection of the rights of the individual in a society which endeavors to improve the lives of us all.

RECOMMENDATIONS

We respectfully suggest and recommend the following:

1. An evaluation and then co-ordination of the services being provided by government and private voluntary agencies to the public in the social welfare areas such that special local information assistance centres be established on a functional basis wherein an applicant may at one time receive all assistance required.
2. A program be started to encourage the spirit of legislation as well as the regulations on the part of staff of government agencies when dealing with the public with the policy of providing sufficient bilingual staff persons who can communicate in the language of the applicant. Forms that are in use should be printed in the language of the applicant as well as in English or French as the case may be.
3. A review be made of existing social legislation and programs of the various levels of government with a view to consolidating those services which provide for the financial welfare of the recipient together with a new program to assist the applicants to attain a minimum level of financial stability such that the individual may be encouraged to strive for an increased standard of living. We suggest a formula be devised, on a regional basis, whereby personal income can be encouraged and minimum incomes vary depending on individual circumstances, ability, opportunity and regional area conditions.
4. All receipts by an individual of all his source of annual income should be subject to income tax with the arrangement that an adequate provision for allowable deductions be made such that proper regional levels of income equal to the so-called poverty line be exempt from payment of income tax.

. Various incentive and training and retraining programs and allowances should be increased and expanded such that a national effort be made to reduce the numbers of unemployables who are so because of lack of skills, education, language, etc.

. Special considerations be given to those applicants who because of need may be able to receive supplemental income for as long as is necessary.

. A special task force be set up on a regional and local base to encourage those in the low income areas to improve their capacity to earn a higher income and to more actively encourage government and industry to locate and expand in those areas capable of maintaining such activity or to provide the necessary means to make possible the migration of workers and their families to those areas where employment is available.

. A complete scrapping of all the existing various assistance programs, including Unemployment Insurance, Workmen's Compensation, Welfare, most pensions, Allowances, baby bonuses, etc., etc. To be replaced by one federal agency with the power to set and establish the degrees of need on a regional and local level as a general standard where each resident of Canada regardless of origin would have the right to receive those funds necessary to sustain a dignity of the human spirit and without the present demeaning, degrading methods and attitudes that are presently in vogue.

HISTORY

THE ITALIAN IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY

The Italian Immigrant Aid Society is a non-profit organization working exclusively towards fitting Italian Immigrants into Canadian Life.

The Italian Immigrant Aid Society was formed in 1951 for the purpose of assisting immigrants who were coming from Italy to Toronto in the early post war years. In those early days thousands were helped to find relatives, jobs, a place to stay, and in general received financial, and other help in becoming a resident and a member of this community. Many problems have been encountered by new arrivals to Canada; difficulties with the language, customs, job classifications, etc. As the work of the Society continued to expand in those early years, the members of the Italian Community decided that a more permanent organization would be required to properly look after the new arrivals.

In 1956 an application was signed to obtain a charter from the Province of Ontario incorporating the society as a Charitable Organization. A Charter was granted on January 31, 1956.

The Society prospered because of the unselfish work of many volunteers, both men and women, who devo-

ted many thousands of hours to the work of the Society. Because of the lack of sufficient financing the society has not been able to do all the work that needs to be done. Contributions received from private individuals and businesses have supported the Society. All services of the Society are performed without any charge or fee.

The Society in the early years of its existence was led by very capable presidents and directors. The presidents of the Society were J.D. Carrier, 1953-56; Cav. J. Grittani Sr., 1956-58; L. Palermo, 1958-59; J. Mizzone, 1959-60; D. DeMonte, 1960-61; J. Paul, 1961-62; V.E. Bagnato, 1962-63 and Albert J. Vangelisti, C.A. from 1963 to 1969. Mr. D. Francescuti, is now President.

The Society is very proud of the fact that so many ladies in the Italian Community contributed significantly to assisting those requiring consideration and understanding. The Ladies Auxiliary of the Italian Immigrant Aid Society was formed in 1953, as an independent committee with a President and Executive. Leadership was provided by: Mrs. L. Bernard; Mrs. A. Teolis; Mrs. R.J. Grossi; Mrs. G. DeSpiri and Mrs. A. DiRocco each of whom served a two year term as President of the Ladies Auxiliary from 1953 to 1965.

The Society was re-organized in 1965 and a new super-board of directors was chosen to supervise the affairs of the society. The ladies of the Society were given greater representation of the Board of Directors and a new committee "The Women's Service Co-ordinating Committee" was set up to more fully utilize the talents of the ladies of the Society.

However, no matter how willing the members of the Society are to contribute their time and energies a proper office and location were required and permanent staff was required.

The Society offices are now located at 1174 St. Clair Ave., West at Dufferin Street, Toronto. The Society employs a full time paid administrator, Mrs. Arturo Scotti, who has been invaluable to the Society. All other members of the Society, including the President, Directors, Committee members, do not receive any payment for their services.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY
ORGANIZATION CHART

PRESIDENT
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE-BOARD OF DIRECTORS
ADMINISTRATOR

COMMITTEES

STANDING
COMMITTEES:

- Campaign Committee
- Membership Committee
- Women's Service Co-ordinating Committee
- Publicity Committee
- Nominating Committee

WORK OF COMMITTEES

CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE:

The members of this committee will be concerned with all social events of the Society including the Easter Monday, Dance, the annual tea, and the annual supper dance. This committee will also be concerned with the annual fund raising campaign and with whatever fund-raising events that may be required such as dances, bazaars, field days, etc.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE:

This committee will be concerned with volunteer recruitments and training, liaison with other groups and organizations, liaison with the Italian Youth Club and will be concerned with increasing the membership in the Society, of active and inactive members, of associate and of benefactors of the Society.

WOMEN'S SERVICE CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE:

Under this committee will be various sub-committees to look after interpreters, emergency assistance, home visiting, knitting, layettes, telephone committee, etc.

PUBLICITY COMMITTEE:

The work of this committee will be mainly concerned with the publicity of the Society itself, its work and its programs, publicity of the various events sponsored and organized by the Society and will be concerned with the dissemination of such information, etc. which will be of service to the Italian Community and could be considered to be in the field of education.

NOMINATING COMMITTEE:

This committee will be composed of the past presidents of the Society and of the Ladies' Auxiliary. Its main function will be to ascertain and provide personnel for the Board of Directors and other committees with the Society.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY
POLICIES

The Society, within the scope of its resources endeavours:-

1. TO assist Italian immigrants in finding employment;

2. TO assist the Italian immigrant from a moral point of view and to help him to familiarize himself with the languages, laws and customs of Canada;
3. TO enlighten Italian immigrants in the History, constitution and legislation of their foster land of Canada with the object of making them good Canadian citizens conscious of their rights and duties as such;
4. TO assist in every way possible the Italian immigrant who is a victim of an accident or of sickness;
5. TO give relief to unemployed and destitute Italian immigrants and their families
6. TO prepare Italian immigrants to assume citizenship and to integrate themselves in the economic and social life of Canada by favouring the knowledge of the laws and customs of Canada;
7. TO enter into any arrangements with any authorities, municipal, local or otherwise, that may seem conducive to the Corporations' objects, or any of them, and to obtain from any such authority any rights, privileges and concessions which the Corporation may think it desirable to obtain, and to carry out, exercise and comply with any such arrangements, rights, privileges and concessions.
8. TO provide whatever other services that may be requested

THE HEAD OFFICE of the Society is to be located in the City of Toronto and the work of the Society is to be carried on without the purpose of gain for its members and any profits or other accretions to the Corporation shall be used in promoting its programs:

The directors of the Society have realized the changes taking place in the Community and where possible changed the type of services to meet the current needs of the Italian Community. Other work in the areas of education, worker re-training etc. have been initiated and developed by other organizations with the funds to do so. These latter programs have been promoted in co-operation with the Province of Ontario.

As a member of the Social Planning Council of the Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto and the close co-operation with other agencies, the Society has access to information, professional assistance, and other services available to the Community. The respect earned with these agencies over a long period of time has made it possible for the Society to be of service to the Italian Immigrant who feels the need to confide his problems to an Italian speaking, Italian orientated social worker. We are pleased to have been able to assist 10's of thousands to adjust to life in this new country which in 1967, celebrated its 100th birthday as a nation—the brightest star of the growing nation

f the world—a land of opportunity, promise and
wards, in return for honest, sincere and oftentimes
ourageous efforts to succeed in this new land.

The needs of the present day community have
ranged from a basically alms-giving type of assistance
o a service type, counselling type, service in which the
eds other than basic necessities, are becoming of
reater importance. The social needs of our very large
alian Community are in many respects similar to the
cial needs of the entire Metropolitan Community.
he problems which concern the society in which we
ve invariably affect the Italian Community.

It is principally because of this change and the
ranges in policy of other agencies that the society
nsidered and adopted the following:

POLICY OF THE SOCIETY

In addition to the purposes and aims as outlined in
ur Charter the policy outlined and approved by the
oard of Directors is as follows:

1. To maintain an information and referral service.
2. To maintain and expand our interpreting services.
3. To maintain an active volunteer recruitment
id training program.
4. To maintain a translation and documentation
rvice.

ITALIAN IMMIGRANT AID SOCIETY STATISTICS OF SERVICES 1952-1969

TAFF

Interviews	71,000
Job Placements	8,100
Family and Juvenile Court Appearances	508
Workmen's Compensation Cases	750
Unemployment Insurance Cases	1,780
Magistrate Courts Cases	220
Metropolitan Police Cases	470
Interpreters	9,200 Hours

Emergency Food Parcels	700
Home Visits	420
Financial Help Cases	390
Special Cases	615
Board of Education Cases	320
Ontario Hospital Insurance Payments	190

INTERPRETERS: (Volunteers)

Services in Hospitals, Out Patient Clinics, Well Baby Clinics, Public Welfare, Board of Education, Home Visiting	40,000 Hours
Milk for needy children	24,000 Qts
Financial Help Cases	80
Layettes	500
Food Vouchers, Emergency & Christmas Baskets	750
Taxi Service to & from Hospitals, cases	60
Baby Carriages	6
New Clothes Distributed, cases	80
Used Clothes Distributed	15,000 Pcs

SURGICAL ARTICLES:

Spinal braces, dentures, glasses, wheel chairs, elastic stockings, abdominal support, colostomy bags, etc. Furniture supplied to families, cases	120
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REFERRALS TO LOCAL AGENCIES:

Visiting Homemakers Assoc., Catholic Children Aid Society, St. Elizabeth Nurses and Public Health Nurses, Catholic Family Services, St. Vincent de Paul, Mother's Allowance, Public Welfare, Old Age Pension, War Veteran's Pension, Family Allowances, Metro Housing Authority.	1,780 Cases
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APPENDIX "H"

"THE LOCKING IN OF WELFARE RECIPIENTS"

A brief compiled to illustrate how welfare recipients are locked into the Canadian Welfare System regardless of their desires to get off the wheel of poverty.

submitted by

The Students – Social Services
Course

Ryerson Polytechnical Institute
Toronto

for

Special Senate Committee
on

POVERTY

Wednesday, March 11, 1970

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Introduction

In October 1969 it was suggested that we as student Social Service Workers submit a brief to the Senate Committee on Poverty. As future Social Service workers it is naturally assumed that we will be especially concerned with "The Poor" and the problems of poverty.

All students were asked if they wished to participate; a few were not interested, some were very cynical feeling that nothing would be achieved by another report. Approximately 70 students initially decided to participate with varying degrees of cynicism, hope, and concern. One popular topic presented was a "Brief on Briefs" just to see what action had been taken on the recommendations of previous reports.

As welfare recipients seem to delineate a specific area of poverty we eventually chose the topic "The Lack of In of Welfare Recipients" (see Statement of Intent Appendix I). This topic itself emerged out of the frustration we as students feel when we study and work with Welfare Legislation and practice in Canada.

With few exceptions we have not, ourselves, experienced poverty. That is, the type of poverty we are concerned with, the type from which there seems to be no escape. As students we may suffer temporary economic difficulties but we have hope in the future for economic security, and the opportunity to choose, in other words power to control our own future.

We are students. We study the development of people as individual persons, we come to realize the fact that socio-economic deprivation has on people, especially when it is combined with discrimination against them, because they are poor in such a land of opportunity. We study the history of the industrial revolution and the development of poverty amid comparative affluence in a capitalistic society. We learn that attitudes towards the poor, from the 10th Century, have always been punitive, that those who could not work were always made to feel ashamed. That "cannot work" was usually interpreted as "will not work" even when proved otherwise. The most frightened statement that came out of that early period, was made as a result of another "Senate Committee on Poverty" in Belgium in 1526 "even those who have dissipated their fortunes must be relieved... they must not die of hunger, but they must feel its pains". Most of our poor have not had fortunes to dissipate, but often feel the "pains". Have things really progressed in the 20th Century?

The initial intent of the committee which was formed to present this brief, was to attempt to find out what, if any, features of our present welfare system were locking recipients in to that system. We hoped in this way to try to find keys to open up those

locks, and find a way of making welfare recipients self-supporting, at a humane and dignified level of existence.

The enormity of the problem of poverty overwhelmed us, and we found ourselves picking at areas of concern for further and deeper investigation, which have all been thoroughly investigated many, many times before. The areas selected were Assets and Income, Housing, Education, Attitudes of welfare recipients, attitudes of others towards welfare recipients, supportive services and vocational training, re-training and up-grading.

It soon became quite clear that we were rehashing old and well documented matters, finding out what was well known before we started. Since the problems of poverty have been studied for hundreds of years, this should have come as no surprise. We realized however, that discussion of problems, presentation of briefs, and years of study, have done nothing to alleviate the problems of poverty. This Special Senate Committee has been presented with facts and feelings on poverty, many of which have been presented repeatedly over the years.

We found that we were unable to offer any new facts. A feeling of futility permeated our meetings, futility which is the daily lot of the deprived poor, and we felt that it was like to just throw in the towel and let things go along as they are. We were refused assistance in contacting welfare recipients from two public agencies, and from one social action group for various reasons. Most interesting was the refusal from the social action group which is comprised of poor people in the Toronto area. Their feelings were that we could not represent them because we did not understand their problems. This conception which the poor have of the lack of understanding by the non-poor, is a further indication of the feelings of futility which are constantly with them.

You gentlemen have been made aware of some of the causes of poverty, the frustrations, humiliations, and killing of motivation through constant struggle for survival. Those facts which have not been presented to you can be found in the documentation of previous committees and studies.

The poor are obviously tired of being researched. Had they been removed from poverty as a result of previous research, this attitude of "Leave us alone" would not exist. Constant research and enquiries which have not alleviated the problem, only increase the feelings of futility, and widen the gap between the poor and those seeking to help them. The poor must be given positive proof of the desire and the ability of others to help before they can be expected to have faith in a system of improvement. This means that their total circumstances must be actually improved, not merely discussed.

A Income

The economic factor cannot be ignored. We cannot counsel people as to the best ways and best means to use their money if their income does not allow them freedom from worry to concentrate on other matters, or to carry out proposals for improvement of their situation. Poverty is essentially economic, and if we intend to eliminate poverty, we must be prepared to ensure that the poverty stricken have sufficient finances to improve their living conditions. Certainly this will not be possible without great expenditure, but if we are not prepared to pay, then we cannot say that we are prepared to help.

With this economic factor in mind, the following suggestions are put forth for your consideration:

(1) There should be a built in increase in Welfare and other Social Assistance Allowances, to coincide with increases in the cost of living.

(2) Increase in minimum wage—Government subsidies could be given to the small businesses which show that they would be unable to operate profitably by paying an increased minimum wage. These subsidies would bear the cost of the wage increase only.

(3) Enforcement of equal pay for women doing the same job as men, since many poor families are headed by women.

(4) Work incentive for the able-bodied in the form of retention of earnings over and above welfare, to the poverty level of income (as defined by the Economic Council of Canada) rather than the reduction of welfare allowance by the amount earned, which is now practiced.

As a result of questionnaires completed by welfare recipients for this brief, if was ascertained that all of those who were physically able to work, would in fact work to supplement their welfare allowance if they were permitted to do so.

We must accept that there are large numbers of people who will never be able to improve their economic situations through employment. The physically disabled, mentally retarded, aged, and unmotivated. These people are at the mercy of society in a capitalist, profit and production-oriented society. To date they have received little mercy. Let us accept the fact that they can not provide for themselves, and let us then provide for them in a meaningful way rather than maintaining them at an impoverished level. If they are not provided for, the poverty cycle can not be broken, and their children will in future years swell the ranks of the poor.

B Housing

The Housing Sub-Committee furnished their impressions for your perusal. The acute shortage of housing is a very important factor in the overcrowding of poverty ghettos. This shortage permits ridiculous

increases in rental or purchase costs, which are despairing even to the wealthy. One quarter of a family's income is a desirable maximum to be spent on accommodation. How many of the poor can find accommodation at that cost? Countless sums of money have been spent in housing reports, studies and surveys. Countless briefs have been submitted from private groups in Toronto alone. No one can claim to be ignorant of the housing situation. There is no further need for investigation. The cost of further investigations should be put towards action. In our research it is obvious that Government Rent Control is a necessity. The increasing cost of housing makes it the largest cost factor in everyone's budget, unless you are speaking of those fortunate enough to own their own homes. If something is not done other than further investigation, the escalation of poverty must continue at an even faster rate. Production of further statistics will serve no useful purpose. The municipal libraries have innumerable briefs and reports which are lying dormant. The time has come for positive action rather than a half-hearted attempt at the reshuffling of statistical reports.

C Education

Although it is generally accepted that education is a necessity for eventual self-support; the financial difficulties of the poor repeatedly create a barrier to obtaining high levels of education, even in our best education system. Poor parents see a much greater need for additional income from children's earnings than to have their children complete a high school education. Children in turn, are intent on buying for their own earnings those things which their parents have been unable to provide. Provision of the necessities would enable the child to remain in school.

D Attitudes

Our research into attitudes of others toward welfare recipients is attached hereto — Appendix II.

Summarizing the results of this research, it is clear that the middle class in general have little knowledge of the problems of the poor. They are, as a whole, mainly unconcerned about the poor, other than their feeling that the poor are a burden on society.

E Retraining

Only 10% of the welfare recipients interviewed have taken any retraining or upgrading. There were several reasons cited for this, e.g. physically or medically unemployable, lack of education, dependent children, "given the run around", "haven't got around to it".

It is our feeling that industry should be required to assist in the retraining process. This could be effected by legislation requiring all large businesses to hire

percentage of handicapped people, and also requiring that they have facilities for retraining people with handicaps. Retraining is only a useful weapon against poverty if after retraining the individual is able to earn enough to support himself. Retraining therefore must be coupled with the previous recommendation that earnings be supplemented to the poverty level by welfare, or the minimum wage be increased to a more realistic level.

Supportive Services

Our research into the area of supportive services showed that counselling was considered helpful by half of those interviewed, whereas only 14% of those interviewed actually received regular counselling when needed. It is considered by our group that training of welfare recipients in social service work would be advantageous both in providing employment for them, and from the point of view of their own experiences in this problem area. They would not only have the expertise from their own situations, but there would be more probability of the poor accepting these people, as one of their own who has made it.

It must be pointed out that our survey was small in size. The number of welfare recipients interviewed was twenty-one. Reluctance of agencies to offer assistance in enabling us to meet recipients was partly to blame for this, but also involved was our own feeling that sufficient research is not the answer to the problem of poverty. A copy of the questionnaire which was circulated, is attached hereto —Appendage 1.

Tabulated below are statistics of what we feel are the most relevant and useful questions put to the recipients.

Question #1

Do you feel that you will be able to get off Welfare eventually?

Yes	No	Don't Know
47%	33%	20%

Question #3

Which grade did you reach in school?

Not Shown	Grades 2 - 8	Grades 9 - 10
10%	35%	40%
Grades 11 - 12	More than Grade 12	
10%	5%	

Question #5

Have you received any upgrading or job training since being on welfare?

Yes	No
10%	90%

Question #13

Would you like to receive some upgrading or training?

Yes	No	Don't Know
79%	5%	16%

Question #14

Do you think that upgrading or training would help you get off welfare?

Yes	No	Don't Know
64%	24%	12%

Question #15

Do you feel that your children are getting enough education?

Yes	No	Don't Know
64%	36%	

Question #16

How important do you feel education is for your children?

Very Important	Important	Not Very Important
83%	17%	Nil

Question #17

How far do you think your children will go in school?

University	High School	Gr. 9	Don't Know
6%	33%	6%	55%

Question #18

How far would you like your children to go in school?

Grade 12	University	As far as possible
68%	16%	16%

Question #21

Does anyone from the Welfare Department talk over your problems with you?

Often	Sometimes	Never
16%	42%	42%

Question # 22

Would it help if you could talk to someone (more often)?

Yes	No	Don't Know
56%	19%	25%

Question # 23

If you got more money from welfare what would you do with it?

Clothing, Food	Pay Bills	Household Goods	Live Like Human Beings
76%	6%	12%	6%

Question # 24

Would getting more money help you get off welfare?

Yes	No	Don't Know
31%	31%	38%

Question # 25

If you could keep the money you earn and still receive money from welfare, would you work?

Part-time	Full-Time
92%	8%

Question # 28

How do they treat you at the Welfare Office?

Are helpful	Are Unhelpful	Don't Care	Other
44%	13%	35%	35%

Conclusion

Canada, a land of opportunity, freedom and equality. Is it? If a person has the hope and the will and the skill, yes, Canada is a land of challenge and opportunity. If a person is disabled, poor or disadvantaged—No.

This poverty amid affluence seems to be an inevitable consequence of a capitalist society. Opportunity to achieve status, money and power is based on competition, and achievement becomes easier the closer you start to the "top" and the closer you get to the "top". The "top" becomes farther and farther

away from the bottom requiring more education and more skill. Those at the bottom have little money, little hope and for practical purposes—no power. Those locked into poverty are using up their energy *merely for survival*. What hope is there to achieve?

You will find this feeling repeated over and over again in our brief because different students feeling the same way have written various parts of it. We ourselves have come to feel powerless in the face of the question of poverty, and our part in it as future social service workers. Does it always take a Revolution to change our attitudes and practices towards the poor? In our modern industrial society capable of producing abundance there are many socio-economic casualties. On democratic principles, these casualties of a system we deliberately sustain, must be provided for adequately. They have as much right as any other Canadian "to live like human beings" (a comment of one of our clients).

As student Social Service Workers we realize "truth" that a person has self respect only if he feels that he is treated with respect and dignity. Welfare recipients are not given the feeling of self respect in our Society. A responsible citizen does not develop out of a vacuum. A person has to be given security, hope and some opportunity for choice and decision before he develops a feeling of responsibility. We feel that Canada does not give her poor or their children this socio-economic base to become self respecting responsible citizens.

Gentlemen, we are not economists. We realize that we have recommended economic measures without providing a source of funds. We know that to provide money for the casualties at the bottom of our socio-economic system, it must come from the middle and the top. We know that there will be resistance from the very people who have the power to take political action. However, our philosophy is that human beings are of ultimate value and that Canadians we must be prepared to pay the price if they really wish to "liberate" the poor.

The age of cybernation has two promises. One, is the development of an increasing class of unemployed discriminated against because they do not work, a maintained at subsistence level by inadequate welfare measures. They will be unable to participate in the economy as producers or consumers. The other promise is the right of every citizen to live abundantly. Which promise will Canadians, including ourselves choose as their goal?

APPENDIX "I"

Submission to the Special
SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

by

SOS-Volunteer Action for Social Change
171 College Street,
Toronto 130, Ontario

Kenneth R. Murdoch-Executive Secretary
(Brief prepared by George H. Ford)

BRIEF TO
THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

- Definition and Introduction
- The Changing Nature of Community Groups
- I The Need for and Value of Indigenous Groups
- / The Distribution of Power in Our Society
- Two Fundamental Ideals of Social Change and Their Implications
- I The Future of Indigenous Groups: A Potential for Violence
- II A Proposal

SOS-VOLUNTEER ACTION
FOR SOCIAL CHANGE
BRIEF TO
THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

DEFINITION AND INTRODUCTION

Poverty is a function of the dispersion range in the distribution of both wealth and power in our society. Because it is a function of the *dispersion range* in the distribution of wealth and power, it is the relative, as well as the absolute, levels of wealth and power which are important. The dispersion must be (considerably) broadened as well as, or while, the base levels of wealth and power are raised. Also, the fact that poverty involves the distribution of both wealth *and* power means that it is not a material phenomena alone, but also a psychological and sociological phenomena as well. This means that some of the attributes of

poverty, particularly feelings of alienation, powerlessness and cynicism are found among the middle class. Indeed, it often appears that these attributes are a majority characteristic of our society. In short, poverty is part of, and a function of, the existing social order. Changes in the structures of society, rather than in the nature and extent of social services alone, are imperative if we are to seriously attempt to solve the 'poverty question'.

This is the view of poverty and of our society to which four years in the field of community action projects have brought us. In this brief we will focus our attention primarily on the question of the distribution of power, both because it is too often neglected and because we believe it is the key to any solution of the poverty question, indeed, to all social change. More specifically, we wish to discuss the rise, importance, implications, and future of indigenous groups. While this presentation will be mostly theoretical, it is grounded in, and grows out of our experience.

II THE CHANGING NATURE OF
COMMUNITY GROUPS

During the last four years, there has been a change in the nature of community and social action groups. In 1966 and 1967, such groups and the projects they initiated, tended to be centred around church-related, often ecumenical, groups or specific agencies and institutions serving 'the poor and dispossessed'. These were also the years of the Student Union for Peace Action organizing projects and the initiation of the Company of Young Canadians. By 1968, a new type

of group was clearly becoming a force. This was the adhoc group composed of professionals, concerned middle-class citizens, agency people, clergy and students. Such groups focused on a specific issue, or a specific community or a specific issue in a specific community. Despite affiliations and overlapping membership in some cases, they sought to remain independent of existing institutions and were often critical of them. Their orientation was to work directly with those they sought to serve. The Company struggled with the concept of community development; and the example of the anti-war, civil rights, and ghetto organizing in the United States was strong. Now another kind of group—the indigenous group—is becoming everywhere obvious. These groups are composed of the people whom previous projects were often meant to serve, but who were seldom fully involved in the formation, planning and implementation of the projects. They were more often acted on, or for, than acting. But today they are forming their own groups—whether an indigenous issue group centred on a specific issue such as welfare rights, or an indigenous community group centred on a specific geographic territory. Some of those people who previously formed the ad-hoc groups have begun to see their role as supportive and advisory to these indigenous groups because they have recognized that the direction and decision-making power of a project must be with those affected by it, i.e. the indigenous people. In short, this is a first, minimal attempt to redistribute power to those who have little or none.

III THE NEED FOR, AND VALUE OF, INDIGENOUS GROUPS

Let us now turn to an examination of the need for, and value of, such indigenous groups. In many ways, they are the direct outgrowth of the frustration and failure of service programs, agencies, and the state welfare apparatus to even sufficiently ameliorate—let alone eliminate—the problem of poverty. It is clear to us that short-term service projects are at best a stop-gap, 'band-aid' type of measure, and at worst an aid in creating and/or reinforcing the cynicism and alienation of those who 'benefit' from the project. To those on the receiving end, a service has been provided for a period, and then it is gone: they are responsible neither for its arrival nor its departure; and they can hardly do otherwise than doubt the sincerity of those who say they want to help, raise expectations and then leave. Nor are long-term service programs fully adequate or even desirable, for they subtly perpetuate a superior-inferior relationship by making benevolence rather than justice their basis. Further, the provision of benevolent assistance often makes it possible for the social order which creates the injustice to remain intact. Thus, we have clearly seen that social change is not achieved through social service alone.

In addition, such service programs in perpetuating a superior-inferior relationship create and/or reinforce

the feeling among those 'served' that they can no appreciably affect the conditions of their own lives through their own actions. They must wait for others to act on their behalf. So again, there develops helplessness, powerlessness, alienation and cynicism moderated of course, by benevolence. Even participation in the running and staffing of a program is insufficient, for their vehicle of participation, i.e. the program, is still dependent on others. Only when people initiate projects to meet their own needs, can they take over control and responsibility for existing projects, can those projects provide a sense of dignity and self-worth to those whose needs are being met. This sense of dignity and self-worth is crucial; it is as important, if not more so, than the meeting of material needs per se. Thus, the principle of indigenous control and responsibility (not just participation) must be incorporated into all social and welfare programs—private and public. In this way power over the programs which affect their material well-being is made possible for the poor.

IV THE DISTRIBUTION OF POWER IN OUR SOCIETY

To see that even this is a minimal redistribution of power, and to understand the great dispersion range of the distribution of power which necessitates severe structural change in our society, we must take a broader look at the decision-making process. Our rhetoric and theory tell us that perhaps the greatest number of decisions are made through the mechanism of the free market, in which all can participate on equal terms. But as any economic student can tell you, participation is only on equal terms if there is an equal distribution of wealth and resources. Moreover, the availability of information on which the market operates is not perfect—in fact, far from it; nor does the market consider social costs and benefits—i.e. external 'dis-economics and economics' of its decisions. And, most crucial of all, the market is increasingly free—and more dominated by large monopolies and oligopolies, all too frequently foreign controlled. In effect, information and decision-making affecting all—at some point, one particular group; at another point, some other group—have been moved behind closed doors into the corporate board rooms. Through corporate wealth and power, these decisions are implemented. The public—those affected by these decisions—have not even participation, let alone control and responsibility.

Similarly, governmental decisions at all levels are often formulated without public participation. Decisions at the provincial and federal level emerge from behind the closed doors of the civil service, the cabinet and the party caucus, into the open forum of Parliament where the outcome of verbal debate is inevitable. At times, particularly at the municipal level, decisions are 'mystified', as when they

huffled between committees; or when partial items, financial, or implementation decisions, are divorced from, and dealt with differently than, decisions on the principle at issue. In addition, various civil service departments are sometimes less than helpful in providing (public) information to citizen's groups either because of bureaucratic inertia or perceived vested interests in the proposed program(s). Briefly, decision-making—governmental, community, and corporate—has been separated from those it affects; it has become concentrated, yet obscured.

Our situation, then, verges on desperate. It is not simply poverty programs and welfare decisions which are divorced from those affected; rather it is all major decisions. A man is left with only the freedom to just within narrow limits to the environment created for him by a few others, and if he suffers material privation as well, he has even that freedom restricted.

TWO FUNDAMENTAL IDEALS OF SOCIAL CHANGE AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS

Thus, we believe the following two ideals to be fundamental in any attempt at social change, including any effort to eliminate poverty:

1. Self-determination: those affected by a decision or program must have control and responsibility for that decision or program.
2. A more equal distribution of wealth and power in our society: the dispersions must be considerably narrowed.

The implications of these ideals for government are clear. Resources—primarily money—must be made available to indigenous issue and community groups with minimum restrictions. Community development must be made the spearhead of the social welfare system; it should be noted here that community development is the antithesis of quantification, and its objectives are its outcome (coming from the people) not its beginning. Finally, all government programs, but especially social and welfare programs, must be decentralized so that those affected can assume control and responsibility as they gain experience in the art of decision-making themselves.

In respect to these implications, we see the federal government's 'fight' against inflation as an excuse to withhold resources, while at the same time further aggravating the poverty situation since general measures to fight inflation always fall on the marginal worker—the working poor. The trusteeship of the Company of Young Canadians, without anywhere near an adequate trial of its volunteer governing body, we see as a direct negation of self-determination, and in part as a blow against community development. Nor do we find the new National Advisory Council to the Minister of Health and Welfare, which includes some welfare and former welfare recipients, as much more

than (well-meaning?) tokenism. We have thus far seen no indication that the government is committed to the two fundamental ideals we believe necessary for the solution to the poverty problem.

VI THE FUTURE OF INDIGENOUS GROUPS: A POTENTIAL FOR VIOLENCE

Let us return now to the indigenous groups which we have seen as a vehicle of social change. We have noted their rise and examined their value. We believe that they are a permanent and increasingly important factor in our society. Thus, we shall close out this brief with some speculation into the future on some of the problems which we see arising, as well as a tentative proposal for their solution.

As indigenous groups grow in number and in strength, developing programs of their own to meet the needs of their members and making demands on governments, questions of recognition and legitimacy are bound to arise. Some of the groups may seek legal incorporation—becoming community corporations* or welfare rights corporations, etc.—as a partial attempt to achieve recognition and legitimization. With legal status, these groups can better undertake major fund-raising and program operations, and make binding contracts, all of which might be preliminary to negotiations with governments for control and responsibility over certain programs or their administration in certain communities. Nonetheless, even if such legal incorporation becomes the established pattern, the questions of recognition and legitimization will, on the whole, remain—for it is not recognition and legitimization as an equal corporate entity before the law (though legal powers are necessary to it) but recognition and legitimization by and for governments as a bargaining, representative and administrative unit for a group of people, which these indigenous groups seek. When we realize that the membership of some of these indigenous groups will be those segments of the populace who are marginal to our society, who feel themselves oppressed and exploited, and who through their organizations seek to channel their anger and frustration in what may to them seem like a desperation effort for change, then we can see the potential for explosion if even recognition and legitimacy are not forthcoming from the government, let alone a positive response to their demands. There is little doubt that many indigenous groups are militant, and that others will become so. It is not at all difficult to envisage civil strife and disorder, involving injury and/or death to persons and damage to property if the questions of recognition and legitimacy are not dealt with.

*See Milton Kotler, *Neighbourhood Government: The Logical Foundation of Political Life*. Bobbs-Merrill, New York, 1969

Let's take an example. Suppose we have an indigenous community group, incorporated as a community corporation. The membership of this group are all from a 'slum' area. Many are on welfare. They have begun a few programs, mostly recreational and social, which have strengthened their membership and unity but, of course, solved none of their basic problems. They demand from the municipal government not changes in the operation and administration of the city's welfare program, but control and responsibility for the administration of city welfare in their community. The city considers this a challenge to its power (which it is), and refuses to discuss the demand. In effect, the city refuses to recognize or give any legitimacy to this community corporation. The group organizes militant mass-actions to force recognition and negotiations on the demands—an occupation of the local welfare office plus mass informational picketing around the office, including their own 'self-defense' forces, and appeals to unions and the public for demonstrations of support. The city calls the police . . . Anything from scuffles, to a Chicago-like police riot, to a Sir George Williams 'rampage', to armed battle, would be possible.

Thus, the seriousness of the questions of recognition and legitimacy, we hope, is evident. But to further emphasize the point, it should also be noted that there is every possibility of inter-group tension and conflict when two or more indigenous groups attempt to operate in the same or overlapping areas without any defined methodology or mediation for solving the difficulties. Moreover, even without inter-group tension and conflict, this situation poses a dilemma for governments: with which group will they negotiate demands, to which group will they allocate program or poverty funds . . . and how to decide?

In all of this, we see parallels with the development of the labour movement. Community corporations are the equivalent of the first unions fighting for recognition, legitimacy, and a 'better-deal' contract from management, and legal status and rights under law. Civil service departments and governments take the place of management. Self-interest of civil servants, and bureaucratic inertia prevent recognition and negotiations, as did management self-interest. The possibilities for conflict parallel the actual conflict in labour history; and the inter-group difficulties also have their equivalents in union disputes over jurisdiction and raids.

VII A PROPOSAL

We also see the basis for a resolution of this entire situation in another labour parallel—the Labour Relations Act*. Such a legal framework applied to the

community or other indigenous groups would by its very existence recognize and give legitimacy to the right of people to organize. It would set out conditions under which a government or civil service department would have to recognize and negotiate with such groups. And it would provide an apparatus for solving jurisdictional type of disputes. In addition it would mediate contract disputes and grievance regarding contract obligations.

Involved in such a proposal and in the work of the Labour Relations Board's equivalent are several extremely difficult questions. Perhaps, foremost among these is the defining or appropriate 'bargaining units' within which organizing and recognition occur. For community groups, this means defining the geographic boundaries of the community: in effect, it is delineating the best geographic areas for indigenous neighbourhood or local government. This is a task of which the success of community groups will depend for they absolutely require a true community of interests if they are to function successfully. The definition of areas will necessitate consideration of great many factors then; the history of the city and its regions, its social, political and physical structure, and the pattern of social interactions in the city. These are factors we know too little about, particularly about their interactions. Thus, we would suggest that the Labour Relations Board's equivalent not arbitrarily define 'bargaining units', but rather question each representation it receives, working out an agreement with those making representations and mediating any disputes which arise between groups.

As for indigenous issue groups (such as welfare rights groups), definitional problems will be less difficult although the question of whether to grant recognition to sub-bargaining units may be troublesome. For example, it is easy to define the constituency of a welfare rights group, i.e. all those who receive welfare from the same source; but should you recognize two groups of welfare recipients who receive welfare from the same source but who are in different geographic areas or otherwise perceive their interest differently? Again a co-operation and mediation approach would seem most advisable.

Such an approach also seems suited to ironing out jurisdictional disputes between indigenous community and issue groups. Mediation, rather than arbitration recognition dispute matters seems most advisable; the refusal to recognize either group would force the parties involved to settle themselves.

On the matter of the percentage of persons in a bargaining unit who must have joined the group prior to a 'certification' vote being conducted, and the percentage support for the group required in that vote we have no real suggestions. We feel a thorough discussion of this question is necessary, but would suggest that the goal of such a discussion should be

*We have mainly been looking at the Ontario Labour Relations Act, but since we are not dealing with detail, this is of little importance now.

minimize the organizing effort without threatening majority rule in any unit.

It is our hope that if such a framework for organizing community and issue groups were provided before serious conflicts arise, organizing might thereby be spurred and such conflict resolved. Our proposal is a preliminary and very sketchy one. We recognize that it needs much study and discussion, and foremost it needs the response and further, fuller formulation by existing indigenous groups. It is them, as well as society at large, the proposal is meant to serve. They are the persons primarily affected by this proposal. Thus, they must have a strong say in its future. Moreover, we feel such participation, on a veto or majority basis, by such persons is imperative to ensure that any legal framework serves, rather than restricts or coopts, indigenous groups.

We thank you for the opportunity of presenting this brief. The distribution of power is a part of poverty; people are organizing to change it; they must be facilitated. All Power to the People!

APPENDIX

BACKGROUND ON SOS-VOLUNTEER

ACTION FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

SOS is a "people-resource" to community groups trying to effect change. It services community groups in the following ways:

- It provides a fieldworker to initiate discussions with groups to help them clarify direction and role in beginning community action;

- It sends teams of volunteers to a community to assist in the group's task, whether it be doing research or organizing and implementing a program;

- It may provide regional SOS committees or retained volunteers to help with an ongoing project after the summer.

SOS has chosen the voluntary approach to social action. It wants to be a vehicle whereby youth can put to use its energy and idealism in creative ways. It wants to give the young experiences in community work, to contribute to their education and to deepen and mature their social concern. It wants to provide a short-term resource to community groups concerned about a problem and needing an input of outside assistance to achieve their goals.

What was originally planned as an ecumenical Canadian Youth Assembly for Centennial Year, 1967, has become today's SOS.

The assembly idea came from a number of Christian groups and denominations, but was soon drastically altered to embrace community action when it was realized a youth assembly to celebrate Centennial Year was simply not enough. A nation-wide program of projects was fielded in summer 1968 and in summer 1969. The SOS of today is moving towards year-round engagement with issues, a natural growth from its original concept and name—"Summer of Service".

SOS organization consists of headquarters staff, a central committee, its sub-committees and regional committees. The Central Committee, composed of representatives of sponsoring groups and elected volunteers, oversees and co-ordinates all activities. It serves as the major go-between for the volunteer on the one hand and the sponsor on the other. Its sub-committees cover specific concerns such as publicity, selection and financing. Regional committees are becoming more and more significant in SOS' policy planning, recruitment of volunteers and project development.

SOS national staff is as follows: Executive Secretary, Ken Murdoch; an assistant, Vivien Kitchen; and a national fieldworker, Harvey Stevens. For the 1969 summer, fieldworkers were Harvey Stevens, and Edie Penner.

APPENDIX "J"

Brief Submitted to:
 The Special Senate Committee on Poverty,
 by
 Mr. Gesta Abols,
 President, Students' Administrative Council,
 of the
 University of Toronto.

March 11, 1970

The University of Toronto is Canada's largest English-speaking university. Almost 30,000 people live and work there each day. The university is situated on well over 100 acres of land in the heart of downtown Toronto.

This fact raises at once the basic problems to which we wish to address ourselves this afternoon: it is the old town and gown controversy, the relationship of the University to the physical and social environment in which it is located. It is a problem which is as old as the universities themselves, but for a variety of reasons this problem presents itself with new force today. Put very simply, the question is this: For whom does the University, any university exist? Official propaganda would have us believe that the University exists to create, preserve and pass on knowledge. But knowledge is not something which exists *in vacuo*; knowledge exists in particular cultural and social contexts and is created, preserved and handed on in these. Today, this context is one of privilege on the one hand and bondage on the other; wealth and poverty; power and powerlessness. These contrasts, of which a Committee such as yours is such a clear example, do exist, and, as your Committee must know, they cannot be wished away or white washed.

Students themselves are caught in the midst of this conflict; most frequently this is expressed in students' seeking power over their own lives and experiences in terms of what they want to learn and how they want to learn it. What has happened in universities across the world in recent years is only a foretaste of what will happen in societies as whole unless the conflicts we spoke of above are resolved and very quickly. The French Revolution of May 1968 is a clear warning; you will remember that even though it was sparked by students, it was the French worker who really carried it out.

But back to the University of Toronto. The University is in effect a small island of relative affluence surrounded by a sea of poverty in the City of Toronto. One of the critical needs in down-town Toronto is good, inexpensive housing. Yet the University, in order to satisfy its unsatiable hunger for more buildings, has in the past and proposes to do so again in the future tore down whole blocks of housing, with total and callous disregard for the lives of the people who are dislocated. We find it curious and disconcerting, to say the least, that in an official University publication, the University of Toronto News, February 1970, a photograph of the new 40 million dollar graduate Research Library which is under construction at this moment should bear the caption "All that concrete can't be wrong." But is it right? How will that library serve the community which has already destroyed? What is so sacro-sanct about the University and its works? One would not complain if the University were in effect an institution, which is open to use by the whole community. But it is not. Its buildings and facilities are not wholly closed to all except members of the university community. The university makes available its resources in a direct way to only a relatively small elite group in our society; business, industry, government, and the even smaller elite of students and professors. It is only after graduation that students of our universities begin to play some sort of service role in our society, and then usually only in a professional capacity on a fee-for-service basis.

There is another very important factor which should be mentioned here. The University trains people to become experts in their various fields; expert lawyers, teachers, social workers, doctors, politicians, even computer programmers, urban planners and bridge builders. What we are saying will apply by and large

fields: it is usually the expert who determines the need in an institution or community and thus decides what need should be met. To call this process paternalistic and imperialistic is putting it mildly. Really, if ever, are the people consulted whose needs are to be met as to what their needs, and desires and hopes and dreams are in fact. The medical profession is a perfect case in point: trained in our universities, the doctors go out and decide what the health needs of the community are. Then they act in their own fashion: at great costs, they closet themselves in expensive buildings in their offices and wait for the people to come. Should the process not rather be reversed? Should the doctors not establish themselves in the community where the people are and work there to prevent illness? And why should they define illness in strictly medical and biological terms? A not unemployment or poor housing the general imperialistic values of our society, the competitive spirit which is at the very heart of the educational system and therefore of the whole society just as much an illness? Yet does the medical faculty as a whole work on these problems? No, of course not. Instead they perform heart transplants and other extravagancies. This attitude is characteristic of the University as a whole. Students and professors who are these questions are described as radicals; and because they have been classified with this label, one attempts to shelve them. But of course this does not work any more. For students—some students, at least, are acutely aware of the contradictions and conflicts in our society. But this is largely because they themselves are subject to these contradictions: women are still second class citizens; the incredible sums of money which have poured into higher education in particular in the last decade or so have had no appreciable effect in resolving any of the contradictions we have mentioned; it has, however, made it possible for a few more students from the lower classes to realize the general dream for a "good education". The only effect this has, of course, is to increase the alienation between parents and their children and thus to heighten the contradictions and conflicts in society as a whole.

Where does the University fit into this picture? There are essentially two views of the role of a modern university in society. The first of these sees the University primarily as a *academic* institution rather than a *social* one. According to this view, the University is relatively detached from society by means of the principle of academic freedom and pursues its essentially academic interests with a spirit of serene detachment. The University has discharged its responsibilities when it teaches students, and when professors are engaged in the single-minded pursuit of the disciplines. "The University's relations with society are strictly at arms length; it sets or helps to set the conditions under which members of the outside community enter its halls for instruction, considers them under its jurisdiction as long as they

stay, sends them forth to take whatever posts in society they as graduates decide to take, and is content to influence society through the individuals it helps to form."¹

Yet an increasing number of students and faculty find the above description of the relationships of University and society highly unsatisfactory and inadequate. They see the University as in fact not being detached from society, but rather as an integral part of what in the United States is often called "Military-Industrial Complex". The University does not do its work in an intellectual or social vacuum. The University has very particular social, economic and political functions. As John Porter has pointed out in "The Vertical Mosaic" (Toronto, 1965), there are great inequalities among those attending the universities according to the occupational background of the family. The university is both an elite and a class institution: it trains the children of the social and economic elite to continue performing precisely that role.

To quote again from the *Report of the Commission on University Government*: "Outside, a large corporate university like ours plays a big role in the provincial and national political economy. We are not autonomous... The close connection between economic growth and the education industry has been made clear in recent studies of the Economic Council of Canada... The university's social role is also reflected in the research and consultatory work carried on by its professors. Here, the pull of the market is strongest;... Consultatory work is done for those elements in society that can afford to pay for it: government and corporation. Toronto's poor, the Indians of Northern Ontario, the unorganized, those who are not wealthy, cannot and do not take advantage of the academic's expertise".²

These two views of the university's place in society are probably irreconcilable. The time has come, perhaps, for having two kinds of universities: the critical, socially involved universities the so-called radicals want and the traditional, detached university of the dreams of most academics. This, of course, is a political decision; the question is whether the government is strong enough morally to have the kind of critical institution many of us are looking for.

In some ways, the critical university has already come into being without much publicity and fanfare. We are not referring to an institution like Rochdale College, even though it is a very radical educational experience. We are talking about some of the

¹ *Toward Community in University Government*: Report of the Commission on the Government of the University of Toronto, Toronto 1969, p. 7

² *ibid*, p. 8.

projects of the Students' Administrative Council at the University sponsors and supports financially. These projects and programs all indicate a direct involvement of university students and some faculty members in the Toronto community. The projects this year have ranged from the Stop Spadina-Save our City Coordinating Committee, a group dedicated to fighting the Spadina Expressway which threatens to cut our city in half, to the participation in the election campaign of a radical Toronto alderman, to a Birth Control Information Center which is open to the whole community, to Frontier College.³

All of these projects seek to involve students and staff from the University directly in the life of the community. It should be noted, that most of them are located in downtown Toronto and seek to serve disadvantaged people in these areas in very specific ways. Most of them are experimental and many of them are *ad hoc*; they can nevertheless be seen as a model of the kind of relationship which should obtain between a university and the community in which it lives. In addition, many students and faculty serve as volunteers and advisers in a wide variety of community groups and centers. Others do quite specific research at the request of communities as part of their academic work. At this point, an inter-disciplinary programme in urban studies is being developed which will consist mainly of supervised field work with existing community groups or social agencies. The relationship of the University to the city is thus beginning to change.

It may be objected that students and faculty in our universities have always been engaged in social service projects of various kinds. This is, of course, perfectly true. But never before has this been done because students have radically questioned existing social and educational institutions, or have wanted to develop alternate models. This, we would suggest, is a trend which will continue and which bodes well for the future.

³Appended is a list of some of these projects with a brief description.

APPENDIX

The following is a brief description of some of projects which the Students' Administrative Council at the University of Toronto either supports or sponsors.

- 1) *The Varsity Downtown Education Project* was started by the Students' Administrative Council in the summer of 1968. The project originally attempted to provide an enriched educational experience for underprivileged children in downtown Toronto for the summer. It is now operating all year and is staffed by a number of student volunteers.
- 2) *Daycare Center*: This project was begun last year by the Women's Liberation Movement at the University of Toronto. It is a day care center for infants which is intended to free mothers for other work. It is run on a co-operative basis.
- 3) *Frontier College*: This is a nation-wide organization which seeks to bring university students to remote areas of our country during the summer. The students work in places such as logging camps and seek to set up educational programmes among their fellow workers. This is rather important and quite an effective programme since workers in these remote areas often have little formal education or even much knowledge of the English language.
- 4) *S.H.O.U.T.*: This is a community based health organization which seeks to provide community health care in one of the poorest areas of the city. It involves both students and staff from the university as well as health workers from some of the city's hospitals.
- 5) *Pollution Probe* was started about a year ago in order to investigate and report on the causes and effects of various kinds of pollution in our environment. The programme initially involved students and staff from the University of Toronto; now a wide segment of the population of Toronto participate in it.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON
POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 28

THURSDAY, MARCH 12, 1970

WITNESSES:

Just Society: Welfare and Workmen's Compensation Committee: Mr. John Neveu, Chairman; Mr. Al. Baldwin, Member; Mr. W. McGeoghan, Member.

Just Society Movement: Mrs. Doris Power.

The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District: Mr. Patrick T. Hunt, Chairman, Committee on Poverty; Mr. Reuel S. Amdur, Planning Associate, Committee on Poverty; Dr. Frank E. Jones, Member of the Board of Directors.

APPENDICES:

"A"—Brief of the Just Society: Welfare and Compensation Committee.

"B"—Brief of The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator MacDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TORONTO, THURSDAY, March 12, 1970,
St. Lawrence Hall.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Carter, Cook, Everett, Fergusson, Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Sparrow.—(9)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

JUST SOCIETY: WELFARE AND WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION COMMITTEE:

Mr. John Neveu, Chairman;

Mr. Al. Baldwin, Member;

Mr. W. McGeoghan, Member.

JUST SOCIETY MOVEMENT:

Mrs. Doris Power.

THE SOCIAL PLANNING AND RESEARCH COUNCIL OF HAMILTON AND DISTRICT:

Mr. Patrick T. Hunt, Chairman, Committee on Poverty;

Mr. Reuel S. Amdur, Planning Associate, Committee on Poverty;

Dr. Frank E. Jones, Member of the Board of Directors.

FROM THE FLOOR:

A lady from Hamilton who refused to be identified;

Mrs. M. Campbell, Former Controller of the City of Toronto;

Mrs. Nina Herman, Social Worker;

Mr. J. S. Duncan, a citizen.

The following briefs were ordered to be printed:

"A"—Brief of the Just Society: Welfare and Compensation Committee;

"B"—Brief of The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District.

At 11.45 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, March 17, 1970, at 9.30 a.m. in Ottawa.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY EVIDENCE

Toronto, Thursday, March 12, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m. at The St. Lawrence Hall, Toronto.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I will call the meeting to order. Our first presentation is to be made by Mr. John Neveu, Chairman of the Welfare and Workmen's Compensation Committee of the Just Society. He will introduce his delegation.

Mr. John Neveu, Chairman, Welfare and Workmen's Compensation Committee, Just Society: Mr. Chairman, if I may make a comment before we start into the brief, I would like to pay my respects to the senators whom we have here today, Conservatives and Liberals who have been appointed. They are not an elected body and they do not even have to respect the Canadian flag or the Ensign in this hall, and we are speaking about Canadian poverty. I am rather ashamed myself, coming in here in the Province of Ontario, to find they do not have the Canadian flag or any identity as Canadians.

I would like to introduce Allen Baldwin.

The Chairman: We had that matter of the flag raised yesterday, and we were told that this hall is decorated with the flags of the period.

Mr. Neveu: The period is of the Ensign, and that is not even flying. I am an eighth generation Canadian, and that is why I fought it up.

Allan Baldwin is my assistant on my Compensation Committee, and I am sure you are all aware who he is. Bill McGeoghan is another assistant of mine on workmen's compensation. I also have some compensation recipients in the audience.

I would like to start out by saying that my purpose in coming here before your committee this morning is to present to you a

picture of what happens to people in our society when for one reason or other they are knocked out of conforming and silent citizens. The picture that I will present is based on a random selection of personal cases that have come to my attention since I have been collecting information on people who have been dissatisfied with the treatment they have received from the Workmen's Compensation Board.

I hope that my remarks will assist the senators in their quest to understand not only the actual conditions of poverty in our country but also how poverty is created, and that these remarks will further illustrate from the point of view of people who are up against the system what an individual has to put up with when he attempts to obtain his rightful assistance from institutions and agencies in our society.

As I mentioned, my remarks will be directed primarily about the operations of the Workmen's Compensation Board in Ontario. Let me state at the outset that I realize that this Board comes under the jurisdiction of the provincial government, but I feel certain that this will not prevent the senators from hearing me out for the broader implications of what I see happening are relevant to all areas of government action.

It is also worth noting by way of introduction that it would not alarm me if the senators are surprised that I should take issue with the Workmen's Compensation Board. I realize that the Workmen's Compensation Board has a reputation around the world for the efficiency and extent of coverage that it provides. It seems to me however, that such a reputation has been built on the opinions of politicians and Workmen's Compensation Board administrators and certainly not by consulting those workers in Ontario who have had the misfortune of doing business with the Board.

The first and major point that must be emphasized is that the workmen's compensation rather than alleviating and assisting the injured workman, actually acts as a creator of

poverty. Numerous are the examples of men, once productive and responsible citizens in the community who, through an accident in the workplace, are reduced to a situation of poverty and many are forced to go on public welfare to eke out an existence.

In this respect there is the question of the amount of pensions. Although it must be stressed that adjusting the amount of pensions will in no way solve the major problems of the workmen's compensation it is nevertheless a point which cannot be ignored. We think it is unfair that a ceiling of 75 per cent of \$7,000 has been placed on the amount of compensation. Why should a worker who has been able to earn in excess of \$7,000 a year, and who has contributed to the finances of the country on that basis, be deprived of remuneration once he has had an accident?

The situation is even worse if a worker is fatally injured. In assessing pensions for widows at \$125 a month with an additional \$50 allowance for each child, the Board has condemned the family of a worker killed on the job to a life of poverty. The only alternative for a widow in such a position is to find employment herself in order to maintain her family—and with the low wages paid to women this is not an easy task—or to re-marry in which case the Board need no longer provide her with a pension.

Apart from the size of fixed pensions, the Workmen's Compensation Board acts as a creator of poverty in the manner in which it assesses payments. Here many gross inequalities have come to my attention. I refer specifically to the case in Appendix A which I won't go into now.

In a similar vein, it is also interesting to take note of the decision handed down regarding Mr. Giuseppe Zuccaro (Appendix B), who while convalescing on doctor's orders was informed by the Board that his temporary compensation would be cut in half, presumably because of the fact that Mr. Zuccaro was recovering. In other words, the Board is penalizing a patient because he responds to treatment. This man in order to survive, has been forced to go on public welfare.

Much suffering is caused by the delay which injured workmen face in receiving payments. This is especially true when a man has been cut off his full compensation and has been allocated a pension for partial disability. In many cases, the man is unable to find new employment yet the Board expects him to live on a pension which is often less than 10

per cent of his previous earnings. Even if the worker decides to appeal the Board's decision he is forced to go on welfare in order to live.

The length of the appeals process subjects the workman to even further hardship. The policy that the Board follows is to provide nothing until the disability has been established and the responsibility lies with the worker to do this. In other words, the workman is judged guilty until he can prove his innocence. We feel that the workman requires more protection and that he should be entitled to his full compensation until his disability pension has been established to his satisfaction, or until the appeal process has been completed.

What is most important about all these points is that the injured workman has little or no say in these decisions and when he is informed of them no reasons are given. It is this type of a silent wall of bureaucracy that faces not only the injured workman but all the poor of Canada in their relations with government and government agencies.

This leads one to take a closer look at the attitude of the Workmen's Compensation Board. Although "general outlook" is a vague subject and certainly difficult to define, nevertheless let me point out that once you come up against the Board you realize in short order that it is also very, very real.

The most concrete example of this attitude is the administration of the Workmen's Compensation Board Hospital itself. Protests have already been made and have received coverage in the media against the manner in which men and women are treated at the hospital. No longer are they considered responsible adult human beings but instead they are subjected to a semi-military type existence in which they must sign in and sign out and bring notes and in which a crude form of "behave or we will deduct one half day compensation" coercion exists.

This attitude however leads to a more serious criticism of the attitude of the Board for it points to a generally accepted notion that every claimant before the Board is, if not a fraud, then at least a very real potential fraud. Men who have worked a lifetime to earn a living and provide for their families and have generously paid their way through society suddenly become suspect once they have been injured. This aspect of the entire problem cannot be overlooked for it is often the case that this situation is more difficult to bear than the actual physical injury and

when one applies it to the wider operation of poverty it has even more importance. The generally punitive attitude of welfare workers and administrators and even of society at large towards the victims of an industrialized economy is unjustifiable.

It is not difficult to see that this is precisely an employer's attitude and we wish to point out that the Board accepts in its operations the point of view and values of the employer. In other words, a man's value lies in his ability to participate as a productive member of industrial society; once he loses that ability when he is no longer of value and is in effect a burden. Although it may be distasteful for you Senators to come to grips with this fact, I assure you, that it is not until you do so that you will begin to understand poverty in our society.

It is also quite evident to me that the Board is very sensitive about having its position questioned. As you know, I have been attempting to organize for the past six months those injured workers who are not satisfied with the decisions of the Board. The response has not raised my opinion about the quality of job that the Board is doing. In this brief time, I have come in contact with over 700 workers and I have begun to document almost 200 specific cases of injustice. What happens when people attempt to organize and fight their rights? The answer is all too obvious. Only last week, I was ordered off the grounds of the Workmen's Compensation Board Hospital while visiting friends.

I should think that the senators of our country should be very concerned at the lack of freedom to dissent and appeal that exists, as in this case, especially because it is the powerless poor who are complaining.

I cannot read the whole brief, but I will go to another section on manpower. I feel Manpower also subsidizes industry.

We realize that given the nature of our judicial system it would be too expensive and too lengthy a process for an individual worker to appeal through the courts. However, we do feel that the situation could be made more just if the appeal procedure was taken out of the hands of the Board and given to an independent authority. We also feel that working men should be included in the composition of such an authority.

I am sure the question in your minds right now is "what about the trade unions?" It is true that many unions have employees who work full time on compensation cases and for

the most part we have no quarrel with their actions. However, it is also quite obvious that the trade unions are quite comfortable with the way in which the Workmen's Compensation Board operates and are unwilling to use their economic and political strength to alter the situation. It is one of those areas in which the position of the employers, the trade union leadership and the government are particularly in harmony. On the whole, the trade unions have been unsympathetic to our appeals. One unfortunate explanation for this stems from the fact that the worker who is permanently disabled is no longer a union member and therefore he is no longer contributing dues. There seems to be a direct relation between the amount of assistance one receives and the amount of power one has; the trade unions respond to this principle the same as every other institution in our society. This of course only magnifies the problem for those who are without access to power.

Another important issue which needs to be raised is the whole question of rehabilitation. At present, the Workmen's Compensation Board limits its scope of action to physical rehabilitation—i.e. it will attempt to heal the injury and assist the patient to recover the use of his limbs etc.—but it does not include retraining a worker who has received a permanent disability to find gainful employment in some other occupation. To receive this assistance he is turned over to another government agency—mainly that of Manpower. We think this is unfair.

It should be the responsibility of the employer to ensure that an employee injured in his employ is rehabilitated. As in the case of a workmen's compensation pensioner who is forced to go on public welfare, this is another example of a matter that should be financed by the employer instead of being shifted onto the shoulder of the general taxpayer. We have noticed that the Workmen's Compensation Board has a habit of protecting the funds of the employer at the expense not only of the claimant but also of the public.

But the problem of rehabilitation goes further than this. What becomes painfully obvious when one considers the problem—but what continually escapes the Board—is the hardship faced by those who suffer a permanent, partial disability. It does not take much of an imagination to realize that a steeplejack who is 10 per cent disabled in one leg, is 100 per cent disabled as a steeplejack. We feel that this is the responsibility of the employer to find employment for the partially disabled

worker. As the situation exists now, the employer can wash his hands of responsibility merely by stating that "it is economically unsound" to rehire such an employee. But it is equally evident that no one else will hire a disabled man either. Once again it is clear that the Workmen's Compensation Board is actually creating poverty. We feel that a fair solution to this problem is to follow the principle that a man should receive his full compensation until he has been rehabilitated to his earning power at the time of his accident. The responsibility to see that this is done lies with the employer through the Workmen's Compensation Board—not with other governmental agencies.

A further point which must be discussed is the role that the medical profession plays in this process. Too often it has been realized by patients that their own doctor is unwilling to stand up to the Board to defend his diagnosis. In other cases, it is obvious that the Board has intervened rather dramatically to discontinue or prevent treatment that has been prescribed. I will not go into this. I want to get into manpower.

This is how poverty is created; this is where crime begins.

It would be completely erroneous to leave the impression that problems such as the Workmen's Compensation Board can be solved by making a few adjustments in the amount of pensions or in the administrative procedures of the Board. Our criticisms cannot end at these points but must include a criticism of the very structure of the Board. The motivation behind many varied forms of protest in Canada today—from tenant's rights to pollution committees, from welfare recipients to adversaries of expressways—come from the realization that people have no control over decisions that vitally affect their lives and the process by which such decisions are made. Nowhere is this more true than with the Workmen's Compensation Board.

Therefore, we recommend that the only meaningful solution to this situation is that the people who are affected by the Workmen's Compensation Board most directly—i.e. the injured workman—have a considerable and effective voice in the operation of the Board. To do any less would be to evade the issue.

In order that the members of this committee might have an opportunity to question our position and proposals as well as to get a more detailed picture of the operations of

the Workmen's Compensation Board, a number of injured workmen will be present along with myself, to answer questions and to give a first-hand account of our situation.

I have specific recommendations written here. The recommendations are:

That workers, and especially injured workers, have a significant say in the decision-making process of the Workmen's Compensation Board;

That the principle be established that an injured workman receive 100 per cent compensation until he is rehabilitated to his earning power that he had at the time of the accident; and that the responsibility for rehabilitating an injured workman and for securing employment for a workman with partial disability, rests with the employer through the workman's compensation;

That the workman be entitled to know reasons for the decisions of the Workmen's Compensation Board; this right to be protected requiring the Compensation Board to open its files upon the petition of the workers.

Also we are making proposals that the Workmen's Compensation Board be responsible for the full rehabilitation of that person and not Manpower, because Manpower does not rehabilitate the man to be competitive, a finished product. It denies the worker the right of rehabilitating him to be competitive in the field.

What happens, for instance, in many cases is that you finish one course and when you go to seek employment in that course the employer says you are not qualified. If you want any specific trades, I can give them to you. Welding is a course that takes more than nine weeks—ten weeks to learn; and our labour boards do not recognize our federal subsidized schools' certificates.

Another thing is that if you take an academic course you cannot go beyond Grade 12. If we are going to rehabilitate Canadians, we must put them back into a competitive field, we must take a realistic view of this, rather than spending millions and millions of dollars just alleviating the unemployment by putting them in schools temporarily, and when they finish their courses they are back on welfare. I think the government have been the biggest creators of poverty, bigger than anyone else.

I would like Al Baldwin to add a few words, because he has done a lot of work in it.

Mr. Allen Baldwin: I cannot add much to what John has already said, outside of the fact that I myself have had a lot of dealings with the Workmen's Compensation Board since 1964.

I have lost my home, my farm. My wife is out to work and so forth. I am still in a body cast. I feel that I am really scared. That is one of the reasons I went into the Legislature building that day and got carried out; it was to emphasize how serious this thing is. If the Ontario Government has no way of looking after its injured workers, then I think it is up to the federal government to take a stand and do something about it. That is all I have to add.

The Chairman: I have known Al Baldwin all my life, and that is the fewest words you ever uttered at any one time.

Mr. Neveu: Would you like to say something, Bill?

Mr. William McGeoghan: My name is William McGeoghan. I have been on compensation for the last ten months; I have been in the Downsview Hospital for the Workmen's Compensation Board for three months. I do not think the way they operate the hospital and the doctors and the whole organization, what they are doing a very good job. You cannot speak to the doctor; you cannot speak to the head of the hospital, no matter what our trouble is. No-one will listen to you. They will tell you, when you speak, to shut up or to hear what they have to say and will not listen to what you have to say. That is what I have found myself.

I was sent home a week and a half ago. I was told by my doctor, the rehabilitation officer there, that I was going to get an easier job with my company, and they would make up the difference in the wages. When I came to my company, they told me that they had never said such a thing; they had no light work, they could not give me light work. The only thing they could suggest was to go to Manpower and get retraining.

I went to Manpower and Manpower told me they could do nothing until the Workmen's Compensation Board does something about its first. I have been waiting now for three weeks and they have never said anything to me since. They have cut my money down from \$80 a week to \$40 a week. I have four

Mr. Baldwin: I would like to add one more thing. I think there could be some kind of

liaison between the federal government, Manpower and different agencies, because when a man is hurt and he goes to Manpower he gets the same run-around as this gentleman just explained. We cannot do anything with Manpower until the Workmen's Compensation Board settles. This is strictly a run-around. Meantime people are starving to death.

John and I have taken many a family and going to bring them down to the Board or even Manpower and say "Will you make up your mind? In the meantime you are going to have this family to live with". Then they go and do something, but how about the person who is not that aggressive?

The Chairman: Senator Carter, you were going to ask a question.

Senator Carter: I was going to ask a question of Mr. Neveu who has had the documents in a lot of cases. You have an appeal board. Have you done any research as to what the results of the appeals have been? How many appeals have been successful, 50 per cent, 30 per cent?

Mr. Neveu: In our cases, the ones I have handled, I would say a hundred out of a hundred we gained not full compensation but we made some gains in the appeals that we have processed.

In many instances it is lack of communication, lack of interest of the rehabilitation officer to go out and see these people; because in Northern Ontario you have many uneducated people who are French-Canadian—and there are Anglo-Saxons, too, that are not well educated. They get their children to write letters to the Board, fill up their forms, and you get one child interpreting it one way and another interpreting it in another way. This confuses the Board. You should not have this confusion, but I think that the doctor's report should explain it well enough that you are entitled to it. While you are going through all the process of appeals, which is a prolonged thing that lasts three or four up to eighteen months, you are on welfare. When I say "Welfare", it is paid by the workers who are working and the taxpayers of the municipality, and they are subsidizing industry while they are doing this. The federal government is also subsidizing through the tax payments that you receive from us, returning them back to the province. For instance, in disabled pensions, disability pensions, the man, like myself, tomorrow morning can make application to the province and I get a

disability pension. I do not want a disability pension. I do not even want the \$36 a month that they are giving. I want rehabilitation that will put me back wholly independent with dignity in my community. I lost my home, I lost the furniture. Allen lost his farm. There are many people, there are men sitting out there who were subjected to cruelty, even malicious treatment by a doctor. I have pictures here. There is the person sitting right there. He has lost his home. Who knows what this man is going to get for a pension? He has worked nineteen years for a firm. He can no longer go back, and if you look at this man he has been cut off and injustices have been done to him. To prove that he has no feeling in his lower part of his body, they have exposed with him with a needle. We have got the pictures. These things are very vital. The appeal systems...

The Chairman: The question is how many?

Mr. Neveu: ...are not very favourable.

The Chairman: But you said a hundred...

Mr. Neveu: In our cases as individual cases, yes, it has been favourable.

Senator Carter: You went off on a long spiel there, when the simple question I asked was what percentage of appeals were successful? Were 50 per cent successful?

Mr. Neveu: Ninety per cent of our appeals have been successful.

Senator Carter: Ninety per cent of your appeals?

Mr. Neveu: Yes.

Senator Carter: Does that not indicate to the Board, when 90 per cent of the appeals are successful, that there must be something wrong with their initial decision?

Mr. Baldwin: Sure does.

Mr. Neveu: It does, but they are not willing to concede this. You see, when I fight a case with the Board, I bring an appeal, bring the documentation up, they say: "You have not won anything. This man has been entitled to this. It is an error." There was a seventeen-year-old error where a man lost five fingers, went back to the firm and is entitled to a pension—seventeen years ago. Now he has got laid off, because the company phased out the operation and laid him off. So he came to my meeting and he said, "They told me I was entitled to something and I never got it in

1952" I approached the Board. They said he is entitled to a pension. I said, "And you knew that seventeen years ago." How long must you be subjected to welfare because of these human errors?

Senator Carter: I would like to ask two more questions, and I would like the answers to be fairly short because the other senators want to ask questions, too. When a person gets workmen's compensation and it is not enough for his needs, does that person have difficulty getting a supplement from the Canada Assistance Plan or some other?

Mr. Neveu: He immediately goes to welfare, there is no problem getting it from welfare. You must sign forms that if you do get any money from the Board it is returned back to the welfare agency.

Senator Carter: If he gets money from the Board he pays it back?

The Chairman: Additional money to what he has declared. If they should raise it from 20 per cent to 30 per cent, he must declare it.

Senator Carter: Yes.

Mr. Neveu: Say you go on compensation tomorrow and you receive compensation; then you are cut off. Then you come on to welfare, but you must sign a form that states that any money paid from the day you take it until the appeal comes through, you must pay this back.

Senator Carter: When a person gets compensation and he has to go to welfare to supplement this compensation because the compensation is too low, do you think the fact that the federal government shares half of that cost of welfare tends to keep the initial payments down, keep the workmen's scale low?

Mr. Neveu: Yes, I would say it does.

Mr. Baldwin: I would say so.

Mr. Neveu: Yes, very much so. You find in many instances. Like, I am on partial pension I get \$36 a month subsidized by welfare. I get \$264 welfare. I have a family of five children. That is seven of us. We get \$274 plus \$36, is \$290 a month.

Senator Carter: I have had a lot of experience with veterans' pensions, and some of your complaints are very similar. We get the same complaints on some disability rates and

assessments, and that is fairly common. On the other hand, the percentage of successful appeals is fairly low because the initial decisions of the Pension Board are usually pretty good.

Have you made any comparison with the rates paid and the method of assessment as compared with veterans that you know, the veterans' pension?

Mr. Baldwin: I think it should be, sir.

Senator Carter: Pardon? I am talking about a person with a similar injury, and an old veteran who has got 50 per cent disability because his arm has gone or his fingers are gone, compared with a person who is injured in industry with the same type of injury: does he get anything comparable to the same disability rate?

Mr. Neveu: Yes, I will say yes, for the simple reason—I don't know if you senators are aware that many of the people sitting on the Compensation Board come from D.V.A. branch and have been through the veterans' pensions and, having done such a good job with those people, they are going to do such a good job on us. We are working for production and this is what has happened.

Senator Carter: I do not quite follow.

Mr. Neveu: You did not get that? I will give it to you real nice and straight, that I would say 65 per cent of the management of the Workmen's Compensation Board have worked for the government on veterans' pensions, and they have done such a good job with the veterans of Canada that they are now working on the workers of Canada to deprive us of our rights to fair compensation.

Senator Pearson: I just want to ask a question of Mr. Neveu. Having worked all my life as an independent man and not working for anybody else, this Workmen's Compensation Board is a new thing to me. I know of it, but have never had any direct contact with it.

The first question I would like to ask is: who supplies the funds for this workmen's compensation?

Mr. Neveu: The employer does, but in turn the consumer pays for it.

Senator Pearson: The employer does.

Mr. Neveu: Initially.

The Chairman: On his payroll.

Mr. Neveu: On his payroll.

Senator Pearson: It is a deduction from your wages, is it?

Mr. Neveu: No—yes, that is right, deduction from our payroll per hundred. I believe it is 14 cents or \$14 per hundred payroll.

Senator Pearson: So that builds up to insurance.

Mr. Neveu: Yes, it is insurance.

Mr. Baldwin: It is an insurance company.

Mr. Neveu: It was initiated to be protection for employees. Initially in 1895 it was established. 1950 it came into power. They wanted it and they got it. It was initially protection for the employees, but rather than getting into protection for employees it is now gone back and it is protection of employers. That is what they should call it—employers' protection act, not employees' protection act.

Senator Pearson: Another question. Due to the inflation that we have today, do you get an increase in your compensation as compared with, say, two years ago?

Mr. Neveu: They gave us a token increase I think about a year ago. The increase was so little that nobody noticed it.

The Chairman: What percentage?

Mr. Baldwin: They raised it from \$6,000 to \$7,000. When you are hurt you get 75 per cent wages up to \$7,000. Like, I make \$15 to \$16 thousand and still don't reach it.

The Chairman: You say 75 per cent of that. Has that been due to the increased cost of living or inflation; has the percentage been raised?

Mr. Baldwin: No, I would say no, because the protest and screaming and hollering from the recipients when they raised it to \$7,000 from \$6,000 and you get 75 per cent, I do not think was due to inflation. We were not talking about inflation.

Mr. Neveu: We do not know the exact figure, what the increase of percentage was, but it was minimal. It certainly does not come up with the cost of living today.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to ask Mr. Neveu a question. On page 2 he refers to the situation when a worker is fatally injured, and he stated the amount that is allowed,

which I presume is right. I am not familiar with the Ontario Workmen's Compensation Act. All I want to ask is: what compensation do you suggest should be allowed to the widow and children in the case of a worker who is fatally injured, or have you any suggestion?

Mr. Neveu: The thing is that when a workman is killed on the job his family is burdened with the funeral expenses. They allow \$400, and you are well aware that \$400 today barely buys the plot, let alone the funeral service, the coffin and everything else that goes with it. The rest is a burden on the family of about another \$400 or \$500, which the family has to pay. I think the responsibility should be of the Compensation Board. It is inadequate.

Another thing, it is \$50 per child per month, plus \$125 for the mother.

The Chairman: That is the allowance?

Mr. Neveu: That is the allowances.

Senator Fergusson: That is what I was enquiring about.

Mr. Neveu: That allowance alone is a much better allowance than you get on comparable family benefits in Ontario.

Senator Fergusson: It is better.

Mr. Neveu: Oh, yes. You figure, if you have got five children that is \$250 plus \$125, which is \$375 a month.

Senator Fergusson: I gathered from your statement here that you did not think it was enough.

Mr. Neveu: Well, I do not think anything is enough today with the rise of costs.

Senator Fergusson: Have you any suggestion of how much it should be?

Mr. Neveu: I think the mother who takes over the burden when her husband dies, I think it should be raised to at least \$200, and then bring it up to the cost of living level, so that the family is as close as possible to when the husband was alive with his earning power, the standard of living that they were comfortable when he was living.

Senator Fergusson: And it should escalate with the rise in the cost of living.

Mr. Neveu: Certainly, it is only fair.

The Chairman: Is there a lump sum paid?

Mr. Neveu: From the Board?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Neveu: No, this is a pension.

The Chairman: There is no lump sum at all at any time?

Mr. Neveu: There is a lump sum at one time. If she marries, then she would be entitled to two years of what she was getting in a lump sum, that is all.

The Chairman: Not on death?

Mr. Neveu: No.

Senator Inman: If the widow remarries, do the children lose their allowances?

Mr. Neveu: No, not until they reach the age of eighteen years and they do not change their name; they are protected that way.

The Chairman: Do we understand you clearly to say that these allowances that you are talking about have not been changed within recent years, say three years? The cost of living has gone up in the past three years about 12 per cent. In the course of that time there has been no raise at all or an insignificant raise?

Mr. Neveu: No significant raise. Minimal changes have been made, they raised it from \$6,000 to \$7,000 maximum.

The Chairman: That does not change the percentage rate; it does not help the people who are on \$6,000.

Mr. Neveu: No, because the largest portion of your working people never reach \$7,000.

The Chairman: What you are saying, it has not changed.

Mr. Neveu: It has not changed.

The Chairman: One more question. Does the Workmen's Compensation Board buy services from the Manpower people, do you know?

Mr. Neveu: Yes, they do buy certain programs.

The Chairman: Programs from Manpower?

Mr. Neveu: Right, which they have to give a means test, aptitude test to certify before they will spend any money on you.

The Chairman: Before the Compensation Board will spend any money?

Mr. Neveu: Yes.

The Chairman: But there is access to rehabilitation if they want it?

Mr. Neveu: No, not rehabilitation in the sense of what rehabilitation might be.

The Chairman: Let me get the question. Rehabilitation for the person is available if the Compensation Board buys it for them; Manpower will do the rehabilitation for the individual if the Compensation Board will say?

Mr. Baldwin: No.

The Chairman: I asked you the question to begin with whether Manpower services were being bought by the Compensation Board and you say "yes".

Mr. Neveu: Yes, they are.

Mr. Baldwin: To a point. It all depends. This is the bureaucracy we are trying to explain to you. By the time Manpower sends you back to the Compensation Board, and if your education is nil and he wants to be a bulldozer operator or something like that, they do not have this kind of stuff. If he wants to be a crane operator or go in an office or learn a machine, he can't do this.

Mr. Neveu: And your government does not train a man as a bulldozer operator or crane operator. You do not have this because it requires—I have worked since I was fourteen years old. I have a complete journeyman's in structural steel work, lay-out work, and everything. Manpower cannot give a man this training. I can also operate a bulldozer.

The Chairman: That is pretty specialized training.

Mr. Neveu: It is construction.

The Chairman: It is construction, but very specialized. You are a crane operator. They cannot give that sort of training to anybody.

Mr. Baldwin: No, takes two years; you have to be apprenticed two years and they won't pay for it.

The Chairman: It is very specialized work. How long did it take you to learn?

Mr. Baldwin: Two years. That is the rule before you get your ticket, you apprentice two years.

The Chairman: Then you can immediately go to work?

Mr. Baldwin: Yes.

Mr. Neveu: Provided you have money to pay your initiation into the union. Here is another thing. My union is \$300 to get in, and it is not on the instalment plan. It is not "work now and pay later" but it is "pay now or do not work".

Mr. Baldwin: I think we are losing track of one thing that I would like to ask the senator.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Mr. Baldwin: A man is working, and he owns his home and he is paying his mortgage, paying his bills. All of a sudden he is hurt on the job, and then as soon as he is hurt on the job—like me, I have a two-foot scar down my back in three operations. As soon as I take my shirt off, no employer wants me. Am I entitled to live as I have been living, or should I just become a nothing overnight because I was hurt on the job? This I would like somebody to answer, please, for me.

The Chairman: You are entitled to a decent living.

Mr. Baldwin: Do I have to go on welfare? Welfare will not pay for my home.

The Chairman: There is a responsibility on the Compensation Board, which was established for the purpose of putting you in such a position that until such time as you are able to return to the work you were doing, you continue to be maintained at the standard that you are accustomed to. That was the theory of the Compensation Board.

Mr. Baldwin: It is not working that way.

Mr. Neveu: At one time this was the finest plan in North America and the world, you could say, because they were selling it all over the world and many provinces, such as New Brunswick, have a liability clause, but they have other loopholes. They have adapted certain sections of our Compensation Act. A Commissioner came from Vancouver here to look at our tribunal system, and he said he would never endorse the tribunal system in B.C. as long as he had breath in his body; grabbed the airplane and went home. That is Commissioner Stiles.

The Chairman: Workmen's Compensation was a real flower at the beginning of the century when introduced by Meredith. It was the first of its kind. The trouble is it has not been maintained and adequately brought up to date, as you point out. That happens to a lot of plans.

Mr. Neveu: Manpower is the same thing.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, there is one thing I would like to say while we are discussing this. I certainly do not know anything about the people who administer the Workmen's Compensation Act in Ontario. I come from New Brunswick, and I think it would be very inappropriate for me to comment on how they administer it. Besides, we are not having their side of the question at all. I have great sympathy with the people who have had difficulties themselves.

On page 4 you make the statement:

It is this type of a silent wall of bureaucracy that faces not only the injured workman but all the poor of Canada in their relationships with government and government agencies

I take exception to that, and I think I have a right to do that because of my own personal experience. For a number of years I administered a federal department in the province of New Brunswick, I was head of that department, and I can tell you that the poor people got just as much attention, in many cases more attention, from our department as people who tried to push us around because they were more important. We had some of them too and they got very little attention.

I can tell you particularly of one case that I discovered, which I thought had been decided wrongly. At great personal inconvenience I investigated it. I even gave up one of my holiday terms to be sure to get at the basis of it. Finally I got a decision favouring the poor person who had applied, and they got a large settlement.

The people I worked with were very interested. I might say that nobody even said "thank you" to me for doing it. I know from my personal experience that this generalization about all civil servants is just not true. There are many dedicated civil servants.

Mr. Neveu: There are many dedicated civil servants. We are not saying it is the civil servants. It is the legislative acts that they are bound by.

The Chairman: You are not saying anything good about us either. Go ahead.

Mr. Neveu: I was saying about Manpower. I worked for twenty-three years and I contributed all my life into Manpower, which was unemployment insurance when I started at the age of fourteen. At sixteen I was working in a shipyard on corvettes. I paid into this. I never went to Manpower. I collected once for two weeks, unemployment insurance in my lifetime.

I had an unfortunate accident, which is a minor accident; I fell 65 feet. I split my eye and my chin and I went back to work two weeks later. Here is a very minor accident which comes into a permanent disability. I never asked for a pension. All I ask is to be rehabilitated into something else in which I can make \$125, though I used to make \$400 a week previously. All I want is something to make myself independent. I asked them for \$3,000 to maintain my family while I was rehabilitating myself and keep their pension and they rejected me. They said the program I was going to undertake was too expensive. That is kind of degrading for me. Manpower certainly does not retain anybody to be competitive in the field. I have been told by the general manager of Manpower that it would cost too much money to retrain people to be competitive.

The Chairman: Have you any further questions?

Senator Carter: I was going to ask one last question. You say here that the unions are not very much interested in your complaints; at least, they do not seem to be interested in fighting your battles. Is there any reason for that?

Mr. Neveu: Unions are fighting battles every day, they are fighting them like we are in individual cases. They have full compensation committees; but they are not the power and the tool that could make these changes. These are immediate changes that they could do this Act if they used this power. They have not been willing to do this. Unions are very comfortable collecting \$10 a month, but when it comes right down to the grass roots who decides these policies? It is not the workers, the grass roots who decide policies and what action should be taken against this Act, change it. They have made many briefs, mine, you, and submitted them to the Minister of Labour and they have just been ignored.

Senator Carter: You cite one case here where a person got injured, and when they imputed his compensation they took into consideration his leave so that his average for the three or four weeks went down because they included weeks when he was not working. Surely that is the cause of the wording in the Act, that instead of "Working weeks" somebody said "Weeks". Surely the unions, I would think, would say: "Here is something that is a technicality that obviously should be changed". Why are not the unions fighting this? They meet with the government once at least a year. Surely they could point out this simple change that needs to be made. Why is it not being done?

Mr. Neveu: I do not know. They are not using their power. To me, when you are making this, and I have been looking at this and this is what I have been saying, that this is merely a technicality. They said: "Well, would you be willing to contribute to this?" I said that if it meant full compensation, I would put \$2 a week in it, which would be \$50 a month, sure I would be willing to, because I knew when I am hurt I would be drawing so much full compensation until I am rehabilitated. They said that again you are running the risk of being like a welfare recipient: he would not want to go back to work because he is drawing too much money. Tell me that is a lie; that is middle-class thinking.

Senator Carter: That is not the question.

Mr. Neveu: It is a technicality.

The Chairman: No, the question was why the unions had not engrossed themselves in this: to assist you, if what you say is an obvious injustice. That is the question. You can either answer it or you do not know.

Mr. Neveu: They have been very silent; they have been doing this but it is very silent. The brief says, they have made concessions to the government; "We will leave you alone and you leave us alone". We are satisfied that is the way things are going.

The Chairman: Thank you. I have the people from Hamilton and I have Mrs. Polgar here. Thank you for coming up. The Manpower aspect of it has come before us on many occasions, and we intend to pay particular attention to the point you make.

Mr. Neveu: The point has been made before but we have not been to grips with it seriously.

The Chairman: No, the point has been made by other people.

Mr. Neveu: May I ask one question?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Neveu: After you have travelled all through Canada and you have spent a great deal of money, what do you believe you will accomplish that you do not already know of the needs of the people?

The Chairman: All I can tell you is that we are spending less money than anybody would anticipate, because whether we are here or whether we are in Ottawa our salaries go on. You must realize we hope to be a very effective committee. We hope to make recommendations that will appeal to the Canadian people and appeal to the Government of Canada in bringing in legislation that will alleviate and to a great extent eradicate poverty. We are quite confident.

Mr. Neveu: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Is Mrs. Polgar here?

Mrs. Doris Power: My name is Doris Power and I am representing the Just Society.

The Chairman: Mrs. Polgar arranged to be here. Come right up.

Mrs. Power: We have a statement to make to the senators and to the public here today.

We have a new fashion in the land of Canada: we have discovered the poor. Our thought, research and action are more and more focused on the poor and on poverty. We talk about them, study them, describe them, get angry at them, and we even send around Senate Committees to search for answers, and the answers seem so hard to come by. Our hard-working public servants travel laboriously from city to city and from village to village. They set up shop in schoolhouses or halls like this still quaint with the regal flavour of an empire in demise, and they look for answers to the problems. They listen to poor people, social workers, club women, do-gooders, and do-badders. They listen and the answers seem to escape them.

What a strange malady this thing called poverty! Yet all the people who participate in

this ritual, they come and they read briefs—some of them are not so brief; they decry inequity or attack the poor or suggest education or rehabilitation or sterilization or isolation, and the senators listen and nod their heads and ask questions, and somehow there are no answers. Just suggestions—like the guaranteed annual income or more money for older people or a better education. The senators tell us to appreciate the great effort they are making in our interests; be sure that they have our best interests at heart.

Let us stop kidding each other; let us not play games with each other, and let us end this ritual; end the string of briefs and questions. We of the Just Society movement decry this cynical game. We know there are large corporations raping our land, polluting our air and laying off thousands of workers in one fell swoop when their profits dipped somewhat.

We ask: what is the answer to this thing called poverty, how can we find it? We know there are thousands and thousands of people at the mercy of land developers and unscrupulous slum landlords, who are prey, just as the chicken is prey to the hawk or the rabbit is prey to the mountain lion. And we keep on asking: Why is there poverty? Why is housing so bad?

We know that there is a vast amount of wealth in the hands of a few; we know that 45 per cent of the income is grabbed by less than 5 or 10 per cent of the population in this country, and we cannot understand why there is not enough to go around. We know that the immense wealth and the natural resources are in the hands of private individuals, many of them in a foreign land, while our own people starve—and we cannot understand why there is not enough to go around.

We demand that this farce stop. We demand that if this committee wishes to study anything, it should study wealth, not poverty. We demand that the committee study the nature of oppression in this country, not the oppressed.

There are answers to poverty. You refuse to ask the right questions, and until you do you will not get the right answers, only more deceit.

This view of your function is shared by the members of the Just Society movement. Your committee has no sanction in our eyes and no value until it starts to ask the right questions; until it brings the owners of the mining companies and the automobile companies and the

growing list of American subsidiaries here ask them how they contribute to poverty in Canada.

It is for this reason that the Just Society movement has submitted no formal brief to this committee. We record our protest in these words.

It needs to be pointed out, however, that we are a democratic organization. It is for this reason that you heard from one of our members concerning one small facet of this life—inequity and oppression that we face. He and his committee members made the decision to present their brief. They are nonetheless in accord with our overall feeling.

I might add that we are people committed to action. We want change. Reform is not acceptable to us, and we will not legitimize this type of social bullshit!

The Chairman: Will the Hamilton group come forward. Our next presentation is to be made by the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District. On my immediate right is Reuel S. Amdur, planning associate. Next to him is Mr. Patrick T. Hunt who is a senior partner and executive of the national public accounting firm of MacGillivray and Company. Next to him is Dr. Frank E. Jones, Chairman of the Research Advisory Committee of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District, professor of sociology at McMaster University. Mr. Hunt will begin to discuss the brief.

Mr. Patrick T. Hunt, F.C.A. (Chairman, Poverty Committee and Treasurer of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District): Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and honourable senators. I would like also to indicate that there are other members of our delegation here in the audience, notably Mr. Donald Cannon, president of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District; Mr. E. Pennington, Executive director of the Council; Mr. Robert Arnold, research associate. There are other members of the policy committee in the audience.

Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, on behalf of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District, I thank you for this opportunity to appear before you. We hope the brief will make a significant contribution towards achieving your objectives in finding and elucidating the problems of poverty in Canada.

Before addressing myself to the contents of my submission, I propose to devote a minute or two to explain the structure of the organization in regard to the brief.

First I refer to page iii of our brief. Here is the list of the Board of Directors of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District. These people are elected or appointed by the citizens of the Hamilton district by virtue of their involvement in specific social services, or because they are concerned generally with the scope and quality of social services in the Hamilton district.

An executive Committee is elected annually which carries out the policies of the board, utilizing professional staff employed by the Council.

The basic objectives of the Council are indicated on page 61. In brief they are research, coordination of existing services and planning social welfare services in Hamilton and district.

This Board resolved to make a submission, at the invitation of the Senate Committee, and assigned to it the highest priority.

I now refer to the previous page (ii) wherein are listed the members of the Committee on Poverty. Most of these people are involved in poverty—all of them are involved in poverty in some way or another. There are no members of the committee who have been stricken by the disease. The only person who has not been involved to any great extent is myself, the chairman, and I assumed a neutral role as chairman of the committee since my experience of poverty has not exceeded that of the average citizen.

In considering the approach to our work, we were confronted with two major constraints, that of available time and available staff. We were forced to decide between the broad all inclusive approach to this extensive and very complex problem of poverty, or concentration on specific aspects. We chose the latter. Why? Because we felt that the broader approach would produce superficial and inconclusive results, while the in-depth study of the specific aspects of poverty would produce more reliable results.

I refer you to the table of contents in our brief at page iv, wherein the selected areas of study are indicated. First of all, chapter 1 was "A Working Definition of Poverty". It was necessary for us to define poverty for our purposes so that we could come to grips with the problem. Chapter 2 deals with some general characteristics of poverty in Hamilton.

Chapter 3 is selected approaches to improving living standards of the poor in Hamilton and district, dealing specifically with public assisted housing. Chapter 4 deals with the role of social planning councils in dealing with poverty.

Unfortunately, Mr. Chairman, the timing of your visit to Toronto is somewhat premature for us. A significant and vital part of our brief is missing. It concerns a survey of some two hundred low income families. While the information from the survey is in and is in the process of collation with the use of the computer, we are a week or two from completing the study and drawing conclusions.

From the advance information that we have received relative to the hearings of the Senate Committee, we understand that you are most anxious to receive first-hand knowledge from people who are poor. We sincerely hope that you will find it possible for us to meet you again to present this very important supplement to our brief.

At page 1 of our brief in the introduction, we have defined the region about which we are talking. It is Hamilton and district, comprising the Hamilton Metropolitan area of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, simply consisting of the City of Hamilton, Wentworth County and the Town of Burlington. It also indicates the importance of a study of the poverty problems in this area and an overall study of the problems of poverty in Canada. It is an area of a high level of economic activity; and it is evidence that such a high level of activity, important as it is, is not by itself the total solution to the problems of poverty.

The poverty existing in Hamilton is the poverty of a modern industrial city, the kind of poverty we can expect in other areas that are in the process of beginning to industrialize.

We then feel, Mr. Chairman and senators, that this is a most important area for us to discuss in the overall context of poverty, because it will give indications of future poverty in other areas of Canada.

Our recommendations, contained on pages (v) to (vii) of the brief are as follows:

The recommendations contained in this brief focus primarily on means which will improve conditions for those in poverty. We urge that governments at all levels explore through research and trial projects the means for eliminating poverty in Canada. All Canadians in need

should receive the kind of help necessary to bring them beyond the poverty level through an uncomplicated mechanism that does not infringe on the dignity of the recipient.

SOCIAL WELFARE

1. Public assistance grants should not be below the poverty line, and there should be work incentives beyond the poverty line. At least until such time as grants are raised to the poverty line, additional money for public assistance is probably best spent in increasing the size of grants rather than in improving casework services. In no case should receipt of public assistance be dependent upon willingness to accept casework help.

2. The Province of Ontario should cease looking at social welfare as a program for community casualties only. It should adopt legislation making possible programs such as information services and other services for the entire community.

3. The Province of Ontario should pass legislation making it possible for the Province to take advantage of the Canada Assistance Plan in supplementing the income of those fully employed in jobs paying less than public assistance. It should also increase the amount that single parents receiving assistance and wishing to work may keep.

4. Public assistance programs at all levels should involve citizen committees and advisory boards on which representatives of recipients are included, and these programs should aim at increasing public appreciation for and understanding of public assistance through providing "community leaders" with opportunities to learn more about public assistance, through use of a program including going on home visits, with the consent of the clients.

5. All public assistance in Ontario should be provided through a single Provincial Department of Social and Family Services or through regional agencies with all operating functions, operating under regulations set down by a Provincial Department. There should be an adequate number of branch offices for accessibility, and public assistance workers throughout the area should be assigned caseloads in accordance with the degree and type of their training and experience. Scholar-

ship help and leaves of absence should be available for public welfare staff wishing educational advancement and capable of utilizing it.

6. Various practices which tend to degrade recipients, such as taking licenses away, paying rent directly to landlords, holding interviews under unfavorable conditions, and asking recipients to be available for home visits over extended periods of time, should be eliminated whenever they occur. Control of client expenditure of money is appropriate only when the client is incapable of handling his money.

7. There should be programs to provide basic adult education for rehabilitation persons who are not able to read or write at a minimally adequate level or who lack basic arithmetic skills.

8. There is need for more Canadian research in and by public assistance agencies.

HOUSING

9. The Federal Government should gather data about housing on a regular basis in central cities, metropolitan areas and provinces. The data should provide information about vacancy rates and quality of dwelling units, from a sample of dwelling units, occupied and vacant, rental and otherwise.

10. The Federal Government should cease using housing as an economic regulator.

11. Appropriate levels of government should provide much more public housing and should take measures to increase the quantity of housing. Quantity of housing can be increased through more non-profit and cooperative construction and renovation made possible by low interest and non-interest long-term loans, loan guarantees, and grants. Stringent measures to counteract the inflation in land costs can be expected to increase quantity of housing even further.

12. Locally, a single department should be responsible for receipt of complaints related to quality of housing.

13. Quality of housing should be upgraded, using such approaches as tax holidays for improvement of substandard dwelling units and municipal trusteeship of substandard units.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCILS

14. As most programs require some degree of adaptation to local conditions, the Government should be aware of the social planning councils as a major resource in making these adaptations. The Government should take steps to make it possible for social planning councils to obtain Federal funds to carry out demonstration projects and to provide a continuing source for the kind of research information which they are in a unique position to supply.

15. Other social planning councils and voluntary agencies generally should become involved in assisting the organization of low-income citizen groups and in involving them more fully in existing organizations.

Dealing with a working definition of poverty, may I refer you to page 9 of our submission, wherein we have developed poverty lines for Hamilton in 1969 by family size. For example, we have established \$2,200 as being the poverty line for a single person; \$4,800 for a four-person family; \$7,700 for an eight-person family—after adjustments for family allowances and income tax.

Our report says to you, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, that we are able to conclude from our studies with a reasonable degree of certainty that, compared with Canada and with Ontario, Metro Hamilton is more fortunate in that its percentage of families in poverty is lower, its income levels are higher, its income distribution is more compact, indicating a lesser proclivity to poverty. The percentage of families in poverty has declined between 1961 and 1969 from 19 per cent to 13 per cent of families, or in absolute numbers from 19 thousand to between 15 and 17 thousand. The tendency to poverty increases rapidly with family size to over 50 per cent for families of eight, notwithstanding which three-quarters of the families in poverty consist of five persons or less. The preponderance of families in poverty about two in three include a wage earner.

Poor families tend to live in specified areas of the Hamilton district, and the correlation is demonstrated between the extent of poverty and the degree of juvenile delinquency in these areas.

Mr. Chairman, I would refer you to page 21 of our brief, wherein we have indicated some policy implications emanating from some of

the comments in our brief. The first one is relative to retired couples. Close to 20 per cent of the poor families in Metropolitan Hamilton appear to be retired couples. The implication is that since one cannot expect retired couples to obtain employment, poverty in this group must be primarily dealt with through income support programs. We were very gratified to see in the press yesterday that there is some suggestion that the guaranteed annual income supplement for aged persons might be increased. The increase suggested in the report would bring the retired couple up to the poverty lines we suggest within \$200. We would hope that the \$500 allowance which is available for income tax purposes to people over 70 would become available to people of 65 to 70, which is not the case at the moment.

The second policy implication is on page 23. The percentage of poverty increases rapidly with family size, rising to over 50 per cent in eight or more person families. The implication here is a need for very careful consideration of more adequate birth control programs, bearing in mind that they must be acceptable to those they are attempting to serve.

The third implication is an important one, relative to the geographical distribution of the poor. It is often said that in our kind of society the poor are invisible. This partially reflects their concentration in areas where middle and upper income people are relatively few. In terms of policy, what this is liable to mean is that the people who exercise a dominant influence will have little contact with poverty and, accordingly, will fail to see it as an important issue. This raises the question of how to develop an awareness of poverty among middle class groups.

Mr. Chairman, we also discovered, without searching too hard, that a stigma is attached to poverty. The rest of society regards the poor with a strong element of suspicion. We are sure that the matter of public attitudes towards the poor has been presented in other briefs to you. It bears repeating, however, since the condition is obvious to the most casual observer. It is a major obstacle in developing plans and programs to deal with poverty effectively, since governments tend to react to public opinion.

We also found that housing is in short supply in Hamilton district and with the high cost of land rents are commensurately high, and inadequate sub-par housing is claiming premium rents in consequence.

I will now speak to our recommendations on pages (v), (vi) and (vii), which are directed

to all levels of government. The implication contained there is that on-going research sponsored and carried on by the government should be directed to establishing new forms of public assistance. It was outside the scope of our possibility, having the restrictions of time and also of data, to make an in-depth study of other forms of public assistance. In any event, Mr. Chairman, we feel that this is the government's role. They have the information, they know the priorities within the other problems in the country. They know the extent of the economy and the ability of the economy to meet any proposed plan. We are most anxious to indicate that an on-going system of research should be conducted to find better ways of meeting public assistance.

It was not the primary purpose of our Council in authorizing the preparation of this brief, to plead the cause of the poor. It was a research project designed within the constrictions of the available time and the available data, to determine the fact. The facts determined within these constrictions indicate, however, that positive planning is urgently needed to alleviate the plight of the poor; for while the structure and characteristics of poverty in Hamilton and district compare favourably with Canada and Ontario, the fact remains that the number of poor families in Hamilton and district who are struggling below the poverty lines is estimated to be somewhere between 15 thousand and 16 thousand. Notwithstanding the economic affluence of our region, we are only able to portray a gruesome picture of poverty within it, and we can assume that the picture which depicts the conditions in the rest of Canada is even more gruesome.

When the results of our survey of low income families are collated and we have drawn our conclusions, we expect to throw more light on the specific problems of the poor.

On behalf of the Council, I reiterate our hope that you will permit us to communicate to you the findings of the survey. For our part, we would be prepared to meet with you in Ottawa if need be.

In closing, Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, I can do no better than repeat the sentiments of our Council as expressed in the last paragraph of our introduction on page 2. It is our fervent hope that the interest of the Special Senate Committee and the efforts of those who have made submissions to you, will have impact beyond research and reports into areas of new policy and its

implementation. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: I cannot help but comment that there is a group of very young people in the audience who have had an exceptional opportunity to hear one of the very best briefs, presented in an excellent manner. This is a real treat that you have had this morning, and I want to call your attention to it, Senator Pearson.

Senator Pearson: Referring to housing in your recommendations, I wonder if it is possible for you to answer this question. How many vacant units are there in Hamilton, and are these units privately owned or are some of them public housing?

Mr. Hunt: Senator Pearson, I will refer this question to Mr. Amdur, who was instrumental in preparing the report relative to housing.

Mr. Reuel S. Amdur (Planning Associate, The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District): One of the problems that we face in doing this study is that there is no place in which there is detailed information about the extent of the vacancy rate.

On page 49, in the discussion of the summary of the housing situation, we have a vacancy rate for Hamilton in May 1968 in single detached houses, for rent or sale, of 1.3 per cent; in apartments where there are six or more units, the vacancy rate for rentals was 1.3 per cent in 1969.

One of the concerns that we came to in this report is that the reporting of vacancies and of housing conditions is really inadequate and that there was a need for improvement here.

With regard to public housing, Hamilton is blessed with a fairly good situation as far as the number of units of public housing is concerned, compared to other areas of Canada, but in absolute terms I do not think that the situation could be described as good.

If you look at table VIII on page 46, you will see the number of units administered by the Hamilton Housing Authority, which totalled 1,693. This is for family housing, and the waiting list is almost as large as the number of units, with planned construction for 1970 being 387 units.

On the preceding page there is a discussion of senior citizen units. There were 803 units in 1969, with an additional 594 scheduled for

struction. The waiting list as of October 1st, 1969, was 1,237 for bachelor apartments and 306 couples.

Senator Pearson: I do not suppose you can answer this other point. What are the conditions of the vacant units? Are they habitable or getting down to the point where they are going to be destroyed?

Mr. Amdur: There are two comments on this. We have to have some more detailed information on this from the survey. The other comment I would make is that from the information we have, the housing available for the poor families is frequently not very good. Again, we suffer from the problem of a lack of standard, regular gathering of data on this subject; but one person on our poverty committee who had at one point worked for the Hamilton Public Welfare Department, indicated that some place between a third and a fourth of the houses that she went into suffered serious deficiencies. Some place in the brief, though I do not have the page number at my fingertips, one of the city aldermen, Alderman Scanlon, reported that he could think, without any difficulty, of a thousand units of low income housing—not public housing but low income housing—which, if he were to turn them into the Hamilton and Wentworth Health Unit, would have to be evacuated, but he does not do so because there are not other units in which to place these families.

Senator Pearson: It would seem to me, then, that there is a definite and great need for a proper survey of all housing as it comes on the market for sale and for rent, so that you will know just exactly where you stood in the city.

Mr. Amdur: I would think that beyond that there is a need for a periodic census of housing, according to quality and according to status, whether it is vacant or occupied.

Senator Pearson: So that the City or the welfare organization who takes charge of this housing would be able to spot right away whether there is a house or vacant unit to be built and its condition?

Mr. Amdur: I think we are talking about two different things. I am talking about gathering information on the condition generally. You are talking about the problems faced by the individual person in finding a decent place, and dealing with the problems of individual enforcement, and I think certainly

there is a reason for that. I think what I am suggesting is perhaps easier.

Senator Pearson: Thank you very much.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, recommendation number 3 is:

the Province of Ontario should pass legislation making it possible for the province to take advantage of the Canada Assistance Plan in supplementing the incomes of those fully employed in jobs paying less than public assistance.

Is there any special reason for saying that legislation is required? My understanding of it is that legislation is not required. I would like to ask Mr. Hunt or any of his associates whether they are aware that some poor provinces are already doing this?

The Chairman: Senator Carter, they take your word for it. They are not lawyers. He thought that the municipalities would require legislation by the Ontario Legislature, but I have just wised him up, and he knows now. Your question was: why is it not in effect in Ontario when it is in effect in many other provinces?

Senator Carter: Yes.

The Chairman: The answer is it could be, I think, that is all.

Mr. Hunt: I think you have answered the question, Mr. Chairman. Probably we are mistaken on that. The fact of the matter is the province is not operating under that particular legislation, and the moneys which could be available to meet a need are not there.

Senator Carter: On page 9 you have a table of poverty lines for families of various sizes. That table, if I understand your brief correctly, was compiled by taking the food budget of the provincial or municipal department as 70 per cent and then expanding it up to 100 per cent. Is that how that table was compiled?

Mr. Hunt: Dr. Jones can answer this question more specifically, senator, but I think I can answer that one, that three elements of cost between food, clothing and housing, were determined from various sources, and you are right that the Hamilton Public Welfare Department is the information relative to food and clothing; then 10/7ths of that figure was calculated to extend the figures; then certain other adjustments for family allow-

ance and income tax were calculated. Dr. Jones, would you care to enlarge upon that?

Dr. Frank E. Jones (Chairman of the Research Advisory Committee of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District): I think the only thing I can add is that we did do exactly what Mr. Hunt said: we took the judgment of the Welfare Department in reaching a decision. When the Economic Council of Canada devised its poverty lines for the country, they used a survey that had been done by the Bureau of Statistics for 1957, I think it was. We wanted to have more up-to-date costs.

In trying to define poverty levels in money terms, since this is arbitrary, we took a position similar to that of the Economic Council and said that if the minimal amount of money that people have to spend for housing and food and clothing equals 70 per cent of their income, they are in poverty. Then we took the amount of money that the Welfare Department suggested in terms of their standard allowances and they might very well be an under-estimate.

Senator Carter: That is my next question. To what extent did you examine these food and clothing allowances and compare them with the actual prices that prevail in Hamilton?

Dr. Jones: I do not think we did that, but what we are doing now is that we are carrying out a survey of approximately 200 families, and at least 60 per cent of those are below the hard poverty lines as we have defined them. We are asking them detailed questions about expenditures of various sorts, so that we will have a better basis for assessing these poverty lines than we now have. At this point we thought the best judgment was to ask the Welfare Department's recommendations.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I just have a short question. I am sorry, I have to leave, but I would like to have the opportunity to raise it. I would like to say to the Committee that from my friend in Hamilton I learned that your Committee on poverty was devoting a great deal of time and effort to preparing a brief for our Committee. I certainly think, from the brief you have presented, that the time is well spent, and that it is going to be most useful to us. I have read the section on housing, and I know it is going to be extremely useful, because the information you have given us is very good. There is one

thing I would like you to elaborate on, however, and that is recommendation 12 under "Housing":

Locally, a single department should be responsible for receipt of complaints relative to quality of housing

Would you elaborate on that a little?

Mr. Hunt: Yes, I will ask Mr. Amdur to reply to that.

Mr. Amdur: Currently there are several places that enforce legislation or by-laws regarding housing. For example, the fire department is concerned with fire hazards, the health department is concerned with some kinds of considerations; the building department is concerned with others. These are within the City of Hamilton.

In Wentworth County, again, the Hamilton Wentworth Health Unit might be involved. Each municipality has its own building department with its own regulations. Burlington has a different operation because they are currently in Halton County, so they are affected by another county as well as local jurisdictions. The whole thing can be exceedingly confusing, especially to a person who may not be particularly knowledgeable about where to go with problems.

Senator Fergusson: This is a wider field than I had taken from your recommendation. I thought you meant that instead of having supervisors in certain places to whom you could make complaints, there would be one central place.

Mr. Amdur: No, I think the important thing is that there be one place to put a complaint into. If you feel that your place is unsafe because of the stairs, I would think you might call the same place as you would call if you were afraid your boiler was going to blow up.

Senator Carter: In your first recommendation on page (v) you say:

Public assistance grants should not be below the poverty line, and there should be work incentives beyond the poverty line

The more I think about this, the more I am beginning to agree with it, but how would you prefer these incentives to be calculated? Would you prefer that the incentive be a percentage of earnings, on a percentage basis or on a flat rate basis? Have you given any thought to that?

Mr. Hunt: No, we have not given any thought in Committee. Each of us, I daresay, as our own independent thoughts. I would like to say, relative to the question of incentives, one member of our Committee who is in poverty has all the incentive in the world to do part time work, but in actual fact to do so would mean she would be worse off than she is under the present program.

So we are committed to that principle, and my own personal thoughts are that perhaps a certain amount of money that an individual might be able to keep in part time situations in a local or provincial welfare programs, could be on a sliding scale. As to the form of that scale and the extent of it, I have no idea, but just my first reaction to it is that there could be something of that sort.

Senator Carter: Are you saying that the incentive should diminish as the earnings increase?

Mr. Hunt: That is my original reaction to the senator.

Senator Carter: Just one last question, Mr. Chairman. You mention a single department, eventually, to handle all different forms of public assistance.

The Chairman: Do you mind just for one moment, Chester, because Mr. Hunt is a pretty distinguished accountant. How do you see it? Never mind either of your associates. Do you see the problem that Senator Carter has raised, the question of the approach on the basis of universality or as against selectivity.

Mr. Hunt: Mr. Chairman, how do I see it? As I say, we have not investigated this at all. I just felt that we did not have the resources to go into this kind of thing. I know this is an extremely complex problem. I know there is much material written on it, and that there is information in the United States relative to the types of public assistance that one can go into. I have seen reports written by our own Tax Foundation here in Canada.

It seems to me that the choice is between guaranteed annual income, negative income tax and tax credits. I feel personally that one has to be extremely careful about going into a guaranteed annual income program. It is implied in our brief that some different programs must be developed.

Certainly, as I indicated earlier, the government is really the only organization that can study this and the great implications it has

for our country, simply because the economy of our country is the key. There are other countries in the world that are poor, and where the people are poor, simply because the economy is not able to support them. So I say again that it is the government that must carry out on-going research into this problem all the time.

However, I feel that because of the complex nature of poverty, one can go into things like alcoholism, mental health, physical health—all causes of poverty; and it seems to me that there has to be some kind of a direct approach into the cause so that one deals with poverty on a case type of method, something like what we have now. I cannot think that an overall program of guaranteed annual income would necessarily solve our problem, let alone the effects it might have on our economy. I can still see that we would have major problems in all these specific areas of poverty.

However, Mr. Chairman, I do not want to commit myself, the Committee or the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton, because we have made a statement; we say it is a question for the government to carry out on-going research to see what it can do. First of all, it has to decide the priority. Does it want to do away with public assistance; does it want to do away with it or diminish it? Having decided that, it has to decide how it is going to do it and the impact it has in relation to the economy and other priorities it might have.

Dr. Jones: May I make just a brief comment, not as an expert because I am not an expert on guaranteed income or income maintenance plans; but it seems to me that if the thing we are talking about is material and not spiritual poverty, then the answer is that we must have more equal distribution of income. It is obvious. This is the problem.

I think there are two ways in which you can do this primarily. One is that you can upgrade the skills of people so that they have greater resources and earn more—and this is what specialized education plans and the like can do in training. You can improve the productivity of the country generally by technological means. However, I think you have also to face that you have to redistribute income.

From what we know of recent studies in the United States and Great Britain, at least, it is that the existing welfare systems have not accomplished it. On the whole, the British study by Titmuss and a man by the name of

Kolko who has written a book in the United States, indicate that over the considerable period of time that welfare plans have been in existence the redistribution of income has been very slight. In fact Kolko states that his research shows that the really poor area is really worse off, and some of the shifting around seems to be in the lower groups, a little higher group at the expense of lower groups, rather than the upper levels. At the very high levels there has been shift around.

The Chairman: Doctor, what is the Canadian experience?

Dr. Jones: I am not an economist and an economist might contradict me, but in my brief looking around at studies of distribution of income in Canada and the effect of welfare problems, I have not found any research on it. I do not know that we have looked at this in Canada. This is one of our needs.

The Chairman: Our research indicates that there has been no real re-distribution since 1952.

Dr. Jones: That is fairly recent. Titmuss, I think, did this from about 1900 or so, and Kolko's is a long period.

Mr. Amdur: One thing that has struck me, I did a lot of thinking over the particular recommendation that all Canadians in need should receive the kind of help necessary to bring them beyond the poverty level through an uncomplicated mechanism that does not infringe on the dignity of the recipient.

As someone recently from the United States, the thing that struck me about the Canadian social welfare system is the existence of the family allowance. It seems to me that by realizing a combination of the family allowance and the income tax system, one could produce a very simple form of guaranteed income. If on the 20th of each month we had a family and individual allowance of a size sufficient to meet the poverty level, one would in one fell swoop abolish poverty.

Senator Cook: I have been very interested, Mr. Chairman, in the discussion between Mr. Hunt and Dr. Jones. Following along their first recommendation, many briefs have also suggested either a guaranteed annual income or a substantial increase in family allowances and a substantial increase in old age security. Now, just assume for the moment that in the immediate future public funds are not available for all these three recommendations. Have

you any suggestion as to which should have priority? You need not try to answer it now but perhaps you would address yourself to that when you come back to us in Ottawa.

The Chairman: Do you mind, Senator Cook just adding in there when you speak of the guaranteed income, asking them also about negative income tax, just to include that?

Mr. Hunt: Mr. Chairman, may I just interrupt to ask if you would let me have a written question.

The Chairman: You will have a copy. There are any senators who would like to ask questions for later reply, I would appreciate your indicating.

Senator Inman: I have one of those. Do you consider it would be advantageous to people needing help if some public assistance programs were consolidated into one unit? This was suggested, and I wonder what you think about it.

The Chairman: Do you want him to consider that or answer it now?

Senator Inman: Whatever they feel like doing.

The Chairman: They have it in the recommendations, he says, Where No. 5, it is in there. They are agreeing with the kind of evidence we have had before us about consolidating.

Senator Inman: Thank you very much.

Senator McGrand: This question could be answered at a future date, but I would like some consideration now. My question deals with the problem of finding housing for people who have been displaced by new building in their neighbourhood. What is your opinion on the policy of tearing down fairly old but adequately maintained buildings—two, three or four storeys, which are sound buildings, and erecting high-rise apartment buildings? I realize that this gives an increase of land value and an increase of taxes to the City, and is good for the developer, but as a rule does it serve the public need. This is a big question.

The Chairman: Could we leave the big ones, Doctor, for another day? We will deal with the little ones today.

Senator McGrand: I know, but I want further consideration.

The Chairman: Let me just explain what I have in mind. I have a list of senators here who want to ask questions, and we could be here all afternoon. I have a lady from Hamilton with some views on this who cannot come back on another occasion, and we would like to hear from her. I have the former senior controller of the City, Mrs. Margaret Campbell, a very distinguished citizen, who wants to say a few words, and I think we ought to give her the opportunity. On top of that, we have airplane accommodation. You have been working very hard for a great many days.

Here is what I propose. At this moment I want to say to the committee that this is one of the most significant briefs that we have had. It is a credit to the City and a credit to your Committee. I notice the price of it is one dollar and it is a bargain. It ought to be thoroughly read. You have some further work at you are going to do, you have some further questions; and we may even ask you to do a little more than that by sending you some other material that we would like you to take a look at, because we have some appreciation of your judgment. So you are going to be asked to come back to Ottawa, and you have indicated you are quite happy to do that. We will arrange that at a convenient time for all of us, if that is all right with you.

Mr. Hunt: Yes, that is very fine, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: So that at this moment, with the consent of the senators, I want to start from this lady from Hamilton. Would you come up, please? It is very embarrassing to have the lady walk up to me and say, "Senator Croll, I remember you when you were mayor of Windsor and I was a very little girl". Incidentally, this lady wishes to remain anonymous for the purposes of the record.

A Lady from Hamilton: I just wanted to say that our committee has worked very hard and done a terrific job, and we need action, not talk, and passing the buck and all the rest of it. We need a lot of action.

On the recommendation for the incentives to work, along with help for a person in my circumstances, that was my recommendation and I would like to see something done on it. I would prefer to work without losing all my benefits for my family. That is about all I have to say.

The Chairman: You are not getting off that easy because you have raised a very impor-

tant point, which was raised yesterday in a letter written to Alderman O'Donohue, who read part of the letter. I have read the rest of the letter and that is what they said. The complaint there was that a woman was working and after she had paid her car fare, lunches and certain deductions, she could get more on relief than she could get at the job.

A Lady from Hamilton: That is right.

The Chairman: So they told her to get off the job and go on welfare. Now, is that anything similar to your situation?

A Lady from Hamilton: It is very similar. I have a monthly cheque, and I would be allowed to make \$36 a month without it being touched. If I make anything over it, a percentage of it is taken off. Now, what else could I work, because I do not have a trade? At the same time, I could go out and work part time and be home when I should be home, if I was not going to lose my hospitalization, OHSIP, dental and all the rest.

The Chairman: That is the point. The difference between people who work on the low wages and people on welfare is the dental, the medical and other services.

A Lady from Hamilton: These are very important to us.

The Chairman: Of course they are. You made a good point. Thank you very much.

A Lady from Hamilton: Thank you very much.

The Chairman: Mrs. Margaret Campbell. Senators, sitting on my right, is a very distinguished lady, a Queen's Counsel, a lawyer, and for many years in public service in Toronto where she did have a great deal of experience with a sitting committee on poverty in addition to other experience—Mrs. Margaret Campbell whose name is well known to you. She ask for an opportunity to say a few words.

Mrs. Margaret Campbell, Q.C.: Thank you, Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen. I would just like to put a few points, if I may.

On the question of the guaranteed annual income, I am still open to be persuaded, but I am wondering if it is not going to again be a kind of "Band-Aid" service such as we have been doing in this country for the poor.

For example, at this point there are many experts who can tell us at a very early age

that a child is going to be in need of special services because it is incipiently either to become a mentally or emotionally disturbed child. Therefore, it seems to me that the funds that are available should go into this preventive service, so that we can bring all of the talents of the community to prevent poverty, and not try to sort of "Band-Aid" treat the thing as we go.

The same thing applies to mental health and health all the way around. In Mayor Givens' "War on Poverty" Committee for the City, one of the things that came up more and more often was the very great effect of bad health on the whole of poverty. The fact is that the preventive health schemes are not here. We are prepared to spend a lot of money for hospitals and this sort of thing, but not to prevent people having to get into hospitals in the first place. So that mental health is one of the important aspects, and yet, if you look at the rules and the funds available, it gets a very small proportion of the national revenue of the country.

I would also like to point to the disabled. The disabled live in an alien community. None of the things are provided for them specially. If you look at some of them, you might wonder how some of them can even get a bath without the kind of things they need.

These people have been prepared to work, and most of them or many of them can be gainfully employed at salaries which could take them off any kind of allowance. But the great thing that has happened with our kind of thinking is that we have said to them: "Fine, if you earn, you get off your fund, pension or whatever you want to call it"; but they cannot afford to do this because they have very sophisticated medical needs. Why can we not bring to bear to the total person the kinds of needs that they have and see that these incentives are there? They have the incentive to work. Marina Lodge will tell you this, any of the people actively engaged will tell you this, that they are afraid to earn because it means they lose their advantages for medical treatment, and they have done this in the past. These are the kind of things, it seems to me, that we should be looking at under poverty. It is not just a lack of money, although that is important; it is also the lack of the things that people need for a total life.

On the question of the welfare allowance, let us take two people living side by side and one man is on the maximum welfare, which I think is \$390 a month, and the man next door

is earning \$390 a month but has all of these deductions.

When you get into public housing, the man who is earning will pay the same rent as the man who is not earning, but the one has no deductions. You use the gross income formula rather than the net. These are the things that make a child look at its parents and say, "The man next door can give his kids this. You can't." So it becomes a thing with children that the father that is working is not a successful man.

I think most of the people I know who are on welfare in the City of Toronto would like to get off it. I can tell you of one woman specifically who tried to get off welfare, did eventually, and she was capable of earning too much to get into public housing. She was not capable of paying an economic rent with a housekeeper to look after her children. Every agency was polled in this woman's case to try to assist her.

It seems to me that with the vast brains in this country, including your own, we must look at ways and means to help people to get out of this welfare situation, because they are not able to live in dignity; but to give just guaranteed annual income is not going to resolve some of these problems to which I have directed your attention.

I would like to say more, but I know you are pressed for time, but I would urge you to think in this direction when you are looking at poverty—the prevention of it. Thank you.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, could I ask Mrs. Campbell to clarify one point. I lost track when she was talking about two families earning \$390 a month. I did not quite get that point. To evaluate that, were both families the same size?

Mrs. Campbell: Yes.

Senator Carter: Two families of the same size.

Mrs. Campbell: Yes, I am taking two families of the same size.

Senator Carter: And what was the distinction?

Mrs. Campbell: The distinction is, for instance, that the man who is working has these children who require extensive dental care, for example, and he may not be able to provide it.

The Chairman: Mrs. Campbell, you heard the lady who spoke?

Mrs. Campbell: I did not catch all of her points.

The Chairman: She made exactly the same point as you did, and she said, "I could not go on working because I had dental and medical expenses".

Mrs. Campbell: That is right.

The Chairman: The word in the Canada Assistance Act is "need".

Mrs. Campbell: Yes.

The Chairman: As far as we are concerned, from a federal point of view—we have it through rulings, we have it from the Department—it is an open-end cheque it is up to the provincial government to bill us for 50 per cent of the cost of that. They are free to do it tomorrow and some do.

Mrs. Campbell: One of the things I found it was that it was so difficult to get a definition of need, and we thought when this Act came into existence that it was a very great step forward and we were ready to commend the government for it. However, unfortunately somehow or other along the line—and I am not here to say who is responsible—"need" gets awfully defined out or refined, and it is not working in this way for people.

Surely we must not take the position that someone who is on welfare gets off welfare at a great price, and not give supportive services to them until they establish themselves firmly in the labour market. This is another thing that is so important, because the minute you get a job you are cut off, and they need that support when they are trying desperately to work at a sacrifice. Thank you, sir.

Mrs. Nina Herman: Mr. Chairman, is it possible to add some brief comments?

The Chairman: Yes, go ahead.

Mrs. Herman: I have been sitting here for two and a half meetings listening to these proceedings and hearing many proposals for the amelioration of the problems concerned with poverty, but there is one that I feel has not received sufficient emphasis and I would like to add a few comments on that if I may. This is the question of housing.

Many of the proposals which have been made in these hearings are terribly impor-

tant, such as guaranteed annual income, negative income tax, family allowances, but it is not enough to put money into the hands of people.

Yesterday Aldermen Sewell and Jaffary proposed that we also have to put power into the hands of the working people. This is also important, but it is not enough.

Mrs. Campbell has also added this morning the importance of preventive services.

All these things are badly needed, but I think there is one more important thing that is desperately needed, and that is for us as a society to establish some goal, some social policy, to do some comprehensive social planning, and continually on this question of housing.

I am a social worker and a committee organizer in the area represented by Aldermen Sewell and Jaffary and if statistics are correct one-third of the people on public assistance live in our area; also one-third of the people in our area are on public assistance of some sort. One of the chief problems these people have is the condition and the high rental cost of their housing. Those who are not pushing enough to live in subsidized housing are living three or four families to an old, decrepit house owned by absentee landlords who do not keep these houses in decent condition, and who charge tremendous prices for rent.

Alderman O'Donohue read a letter yesterday from a woman who pays \$150 a month for rent. I know of a woman with six children who pays \$40 a week for four terrible rooms with a few sticks of furniture which allow their landlord to rent it as a furnished apartment. She is on welfare. Where do you think the money for the rent comes from? It comes from the food budget; it comes from the non-existent budget for clothing. Principals and teachers in our district tell us: "If only these children could come to school clothed and fed properly, we could get on with our job of educating them, but these kids are hungry".

I think we have to do something about this housing condition. In the short run, I think we must have an established policy of reasonable rents being established and a policy of rent controls. In the long run, I think that the government has to take a look at a plan for the provision of housing for people who need it on a much vaster scale than it has heretofore. I feel that a large part of housing has to be taken out of the profit market and put to

the use of the people. Housing must be seen as a social service, and I beg you to look at it this way.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. This concludes our hearings in Toronto. We have been sitting for the last couple of days from nine-thirty in the morning to ten-thirty at night, and we have heard twenty-three briefs.

I think I should make it clear to everyone that we came here because we care, and we are on this Committee because we are concerned.

The voluntary agencies that have appeared before us have presented admirable briefs, which have been very rewarding, and they have made significant contributions. The permanent staff that they brought with them showed up very well. It may be that they brought their best, but their best is very good. They indicated a general concern and involvement.

We came here to give those in poverty an opportunity to state their views. If you have been with us on Tuesday evening, last evening and, of course, at our hearings here, you will realize that we encouraged it because we believe that involvement is most essential to the future of Canada and the future of the people who are at the poverty line and, yes, for those of us who are above the poverty line.

We feel, of course, that in coming here and undertaking these hearings we have given the Senate of Canada new dimensions and a new participatory role. These hearings that we are proceeding with will, we think, in the end improve the life of a great number of people.

We want to thank those people who took the trouble to draft briefs. They are not easy

to draft and they take time, but they helped us better to understand poverty.

One of the things that is rather important and one of the reasons that we came to Toronto and that we are going to Montreal and some of the other capital cities, is that for too long we have brushed off poverty belonging to somebody else. Poverty?—the Maritimes, Western Provinces. That is not true and not factual.

The people who came before us, the aldermen who came before us, made a very good impression on us. The various committee said: "Yes, sure we know there is poverty in Toronto, a good proportion of poverty in Toronto". That in itself was significant that the words should come from them, to awaken the Toronto people that these are not faceless people, but they are neighbours and they are friends in whom they have to take some interest.

That people in other parts were saying this to people in other parts. They have to realize that it is not their problem; it is our problem and your problem and my problem, and that is the only way we are going to deal with it. If we awaken, if we resolve to do some sharing, we will do very much to alleviate poverty.

Most of you saw these flowers today. They do not usually throw flowers at me, but this happens to be a significant day for me. I think the members of the Senate and the staff for remembering this day. My days are going very quickly, and there is yet so much to do. Thank you very much on behalf of the committee.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX A

A BRIEF
PRESENTED TO
THE SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY
BY
JUST SOCIETY: VICTIMS OF COMPENSATION AND WELFARE COMMITTEE

My purpose in coming before your committee this morning is to present to you a picture of what happens to people in our society when for one reason or other they are knocked out of the main stream of being productive, conforming and silent citizens. The picture that I will present is based on a random selection of personal cases that have come to my attention since I have been collecting information on people who have been dissatisfied with the treatment that they have received from the Workmen's Compensation Board. I hope that my remarks will assist the Senators in their quest to understand not only the actual conditions of poverty in our country but also how poverty is created, and that these remarks will further illustrate from the point of view of people who are up against the system what an individual has to put up with when he attempts to obtain his rightful assistance from institutions and agencies in our society.

As I mentioned, my remarks will be directed primarily about the operations of the W.C.B. in Ontario. Let me state at the outset that I realize that this Board comes under the jurisdiction of the provincial government, but I feel certain that this will not prevent the Senators from hearing me out for the broader implications of what I see happening are relevant to all areas of government action.

It is also worth noting by way of introduction that it would not alarm me if the Senators are surprised that I should take issue with the W.C.B. I realize that the W.C.B. has a reputation around the world for the efficiency and extent of coverage that it provides. It seems to me however, that such a reputation has been built on the opinions of politicians and W.C.B. administrators and certainly not by consulting those workers in Ontario who have had the misfortune of doing business with the Board.

The first and major point that must be emphasized is that the W.C.B. rather than alleviating and assisting the injured workman, actually acts as a creator of poverty. Numerous are the examples of men, once productive and responsible citizens in the community who, through an accident in the workplace, are reduced to a situation of poverty and many are forced to go on public welfare to eke out an existence.

In this respect there is the question of the amount of pensions. Although it must be stressed that adjusting the amount of pensions will in no way solve the major problems of the W.C.B. it is nevertheless a point which cannot be ignored. We think it is unfair that a ceiling of 75% of \$7000 has been placed on the amount of compensation. Why should a worker who has been able to earn in excess of \$7000 a year, and who has contributed to the finances of the country on that basis, be deprived of remuneration once he has had an accident.

The situation is even worse if a worker is fatally injured. In assessing pensions for widows at \$125.00 a month with a \$50.00 allowance for each child, the Board has condemned the family of a worker killed on the job to a life of poverty. The only alternative for a widow in such a position is to find employment herself in order to maintain her family (and with the low wages paid to women this is not an easy task) or to re-marry in which case the Board need no longer provide her with a pension.

Apart from the size of fixed pensions, the W.C.B. acts as a creator of poverty in the manner in which it assesses payments. Here many gross inequalities have come to my attention, I refer specifically to the case of Mr. Anton Matas who was injured two days after returning from his holidays. (Appendix A) It was to Mr.

Matas' great misfortune that after saving for several years to return to his homeland, he decided to take in addition to his holidays a ten day leave of absence in order to make the trip worthwhile. In calculating the amount of payment on the basis of his income during the four weeks prior to the accident the Board included his ten day leave of absence in which he earned no money. Thus his compensation was based on 75% of weekly earnings of \$83.64 rather than his actual earnings of \$135.60 per week.

In a similar vein, it is also interesting to take note of the decision handed down regarding Mr. Giuseppe Zuccaro (Appendix B), who while convalescing on doctor's orders was informed by the Board that his temporary compensation would be cut in half presumably because of the fact that Mr. Zuccaro was recovering. In other words, the Board is penalizing a patient because he responds to treatment. This man in order to survive, has been forced to go on public welfare.

Much suffering is caused by the delay which injured workmen face in receiving payments. This is especially true when a man has been cut off his full compensation and has been allocated a pension for partial disability. In many cases, the man is unable to find new employment yet the Board expects him to live on a pension which is often less than 10% of his previous earnings. Even if the worker decides to appeal the Board's decision he is forced to go on welfare in order to live.

The length of the appeals process subjects the workman to even further hardship. The policy that the Board follows is to provide nothing until the disability has been established and the responsibility lies with the worker to do this. In other words, the workman is judged guilty until he can prove his innocence. We feel that

the workman requires more protection and that he should be entitled to his full compensation until his disability pension has been established to his satisfaction, or until the appeal process has been completed.

What is most important about all these points is that the injured workman has little or no say in these decisions and when he is informed of them no reasons are given. It is this type of a silent wall of bureaucracy that faces not only the injured workman but all the poor of Canada in their relations with government and government agencies.

This leads one to take a closer look at the attitude of the Workman's Compensation Board. Although 'general outlook' is a vague subject and certainly difficult to define, never-the-less let me point out that once you come up against the Board you realize in short order that it is also very, very real.

The most concrete example of this attitude is the administration of the W.C.B. Hospital itself. Protests have already been made and have received coverage in the media against the manner in which men and women are treated at the hospital. No longer are they considered responsible adult human beings but instead, they are subjected to a semi-military type existence in which they must sign in and sign out and bring notes and in which a crude form of "behave or we will deduct one half day compensation" coercion exists. (Appendix C)

This attitude however leads to a more serious criticism of the attitude of the Board for it points to a generally accepted notion that every claimant before the Board is, if not an actual, then at least a very real potential fraud. Men who have worked a lifetime to earn a living and provide for their families and have

generously paid their way through society suddenly become suspect once they have been injured. This aspect of the entire problem cannot be overlooked for it is often the case that this situation is more difficult to bear than the actual physical injury and when one applies it to the wider operation of poverty it has even more importance. The generally punitive attitude of welfare workers and administrators and even of society at large towards the victims of an industrialized economy is unjustifiable.

It is not difficult to see that this is precisely an employer attitude and we wish to point out that the Board accepts in its operations the point of view and values of the employer. In other words, a man's value lies in his ability to participate as a productive member of industrial society; once he loses that ability then he is no longer of value and is in effect a burden. Although it may be distasteful for you Senators to come to grips with this fact, I assure you, that it is not until you do so that you will begin to understand poverty in our society.

It is also quite evident to me that the Board is very sensitive about having its position questioned. As you know, I have been attempting to organize for the past six months those injured workers who are not satisfied with the decisions of the Board. The response has not raised my opinion about the quality of job that the Board is doing. In this brief time, I have come in contact with over 1700 workers and I have begun to document almost 200 specific cases of injustice. What happens when people attempt to organize and fight for their rights? The answer is all too obvious. Only last week, I was ordered off the grounds of the W.C.B. Hospital although I was there DURING VISITING HOURS AT THE INVITATION OF

SEVERAL PATIENTS and the Board without stating its reasons called the police to carry out its orders. I should think that the Senators of our country should be very concerned at the lack of freedom to dissent and appeal that exists (as in this case) especially because it is the powerless poor who are complaining.

The need for such a group of organized dissenters is painfully obvious. Under the present structure of the Board, a patient who is not satisfied with the treatment or settlement which he has received finds himself in the ridiculous position of having to rely on W.C.B. administrators as the only source of advice as to the method and procedure of making appeals. This situation which is at best completely useless, becomes even more frustrating when one realizes the difficulty in communicating from one department to another within the W.C.B. As if the physical suffering was not enough, an injured worker is subjected to endless anxiety in attempting to gain redress for his grievances. I should not have to point out that this bureaucracy, which has been known to confound the most polished lawyers, has to be challenged by men who have contributed to society through the labour of their hands and for whom writing one single letter becomes a major undertaking. It hardly seems fair.

A great deal of difficulty arising from the appeals process stems from the fact that the Board has complete power over its decisions. If the Board is to decide in favour of the appeal of a workman it usually means that it is going against the decision of one of its own administrators. Naturally, the Board is reluctant to do this. Once a final decision has been made there is no appeal beyond the Board. Not even the courts are entrusted with this much power.

We realize that given the nature of our judicial system it would be too expensive and be too lengthy a process for an individual worker to appeal through the courts. However, we do feel that the situation could be made more just if the appeal procedure was taken out of the hands of the Board and given to an independent authority. We also feel that workingmen should be included in the composition of such an authority.

I am sure the question in your minds right now is "what about the trade unions?" It is true that many unions have employees who work full time on compensation cases and for the most part we have no quarrel with their actions. However, it is also quite obvious that the trade unions are quite comfortable with the way in which the W.C.B. operates and are unwilling to use their economic and political strength to alter the situation. It is one of those areas in which the position of the employers, the trade union leadership and the government are peculiarly in harmony. On the whole, the trade unions have been unsympathetic to our appeals. One unfortunate explanation for this stems from the fact that the worker who is permanently disabled is no longer a union member and therefore is no longer contributing dues. There seems to be a direct relation between the amount of assistance one receives and the amount of power one has; the trade unions respond to this principle the same as every other institution in our society. This of course only magnifies the problem for those who are without access to power.

Another important issue which needs to be raised is the whole question of rehabilitation. At present, the W.C.B. limits its scope of action to physical rehabilitation - i.e. it will attempt to heal the injury and assist the patient to recover the use of his limbs etc. - but it does not include retraining a worker

who has received a permanent disability to find gainful employment in some other occupation. To receive this assistance he is turned over to another government agency - mainly that of Manpower. We think this is unfair.

It should be the responsibility of the employer to ensure that an employee injured in his employ is rehabilitated. As in the case of a W.C.B. pensioner who is forced to go on public welfare, this is another example of a matter that should be financed by the employer instead of being shifted onto the shoulder of the general taxpayer. We have noticed that the W.C.B. has a habit of protecting the funds of the employer at the expense not only of the claimant but also of the public.

But the problem of rehabilitation goes further than this. What becomes painfully obvious when one considers the problem - but what continually escapes the Board - is the hardship faced by those who suffer a permanent, partial disability. It does not take much of an imagination to realize that a steeplejack who is 10% disabled in one leg, is 100% disabled as a steeplejack. We feel that it is the responsibility of the employer to find employment for the partially disabled worker. As the situation exists now, the employer can wash his hands of responsibility merely by stating that "it is economically unsound" to rehire such an employee. (Appendix D) But it is equally evident that no one else will hire a disabled man either. Once again it is clear that the W.C.B. is actually creating poverty. We feel that a fair solution to this problem is to follow the principle that a man should receive his full compensation until he has been rehabilitated to his earning power at the time of his accident. The responsibility to see that this is done lies with the employer through the W.C.B. - not with other governmental agencies.

A further point which must be discussed is the role that the medical profession plays in this process. Too often it has been realized by patients that their own doctor is unwilling to stand up to the Board to defend his diagnosis. (Appendix E) In other cases, it is obvious that the Board has intervened rather dramatically to discontinue or prevent treatment that has been prescribed. Furthermore, the letter sent to Mr. Cerosoli reveals how jealously the Board guards its regulations concerning doctors. (Appendix F) We realize that doctors must make decisions about matters in which we have little knowledge or understanding, but we do want to know why such decisions are made; - that much we are capable of understanding. The present system of secrecy creates an atmosphere of distrust between the patient, the doctor and the Board. We feel that when a case is in dispute, the Board fully reveal the reasons for its decisions.

It is all too easy to ignore the fact that it is people who are being affected. The urgent need for solutions to poverty will never be answered as long as one considers it merely as an economic problem. Bureaucratic obstruction will continue unless one realizes that human beings are being completely destroyed by the system in which we are living. The letters that I receive are filled with accounts of the sufferings of people. The letter of John Clayton (Appendix G) reveals how a once productive worker can be brought to complete ruin, his family divided, his status in the community destroyed and having to face the possibility of losing everything that he has worked to build. In addition to his physical suffering there is this mental anguish which must be borne. I cannot refrain from including a clipping (Appendix H) from the Toronto Star of last week which reports how a man was driven to steal because of the situation created when he was cut off from

compensation and unable to live on welfare. This is how poverty is created; this is where crime begins.

It would be completely erroneous to leave the impression that problems such as the W.C.B. can be solved by making a few adjustments in the amount of pensions or in the administrative procedures of the Board. Our criticisms cannot end at these points but must include a criticism of the very structure of the Board. The motivation behind many varied forms of protest in Canada today - from tenant's rights to pollution committees, from welfare recipients to adversaries of expressways - come from the realization that people have no control over decisions that vitally affect their lives and the process by which such decisions are made. Nowhere is this more true than with the Workman's Compensation Board.

Therefore, we recommend that the only meaningful solution to this situation is that the people who are affected by the W.C.B. most directly - i.e. the injured workman - have a considerable and effective voice in the operation of the Board. To do any less would be to evade the issue.

In order that the members of this committee might have an opportunity to question our position and proposals as well to get a more detailed picture of the operations of the W.C.B. a number of injured workmen will be present (along with myself) to answer questions and to give a first hand account of our situation.

Presented by

John Neveu, Chairman
Just Society: Victims of
Compensation and Welfare Committee

373 Huron Street,
Toronto 181, Ontario.

APPENDIX A

JUST SOCIETY
GRIEVANCE OFFICE REPORT

OFFICE _____

RECEIVED BY M.A.C. WCB Meeting DATE Nov. 4/69 TIME WCB MeetingCALLER'S NAME Mr. Anton MatasADDRESS 140 Northcliffe Blvd. PHONE Le 3 - 9847QUESTION OR GRIEVANCE WCB
(BE PRECISE)Claim no. C7994217 - Dr. Coates - WCB Hospital, Ward D - 100-8 - RehabilitationHurt back July 23/69. He hurt his back second day after holidays (21 days -
2 weeks & 2 weeks & 2 days leave of absence - June 19 - July 31)Steel Company of CanadaACTION TAKEN Hurt back July 23/69 4:45 Afternoon. Reported to foreman.Worked for several hours & got worse. Taxi at 7 - 11:00 P.M. to WesternHospital for x-rays. Punched card & went home. Bed next day. Friday July 26?Western Dr. sent him to specialist.FOLLOW-UP (IF ANY) Dr. (Joynt?) - clinic at Western, Examination & told him toreturn in a week. At that time they sent him home for two more weeks - Gotphysiotherapy once a day till Sept. 23. Compensation Board sent him a letterto come to hospital (July, Aug. & Sept. he'd (in company)) applied. Since thenhe was in hospital 8:30 - 3:30 - has a family & doesn't live far away. Has adaily Pool, PT, carpentering, walk, exercise - Doctor's order. Dr. said he waso.k. two weeks ago & just needed more exercise but now he's feeling worse and has
his exercises reduced.

APPENDIX A (2)

Earnings before accident - \$27.19/day = \$135.60/wk - 40 hr. week
 - 160 hr. overtime/yr. (1968)

(410
 E410) 57184301

Pay: Gross June 6 \$279.12 (80 hrs)
 June 20 \$248.33 (72 hrs) 1 day absence
 July 4 \$167.28 (40 hrs) holiday
 July 18 \$167.28 (40 hrs) holiday

Leave of Absence - 2 weeks & 2 days = 96 hours
 Not included in time.

But WCB calculates pay on 4 weeks previous pay.

Now he receives \$62.73/week from WCB.

Company declared earning - 83-64/week which is half of \$167.28

- \$62.73 = 75% of declared earnings

Received \$125.46 (for 2 weeks - August)

62.73

125.46 - Aug. 28/69

(for 3 weeks)

\$188

\$125.46

\$125.46 - Oct. 15

\$125.46 (last week Oct. 29/69)

Wants to question calculation

Special Senate Committee

COPY

APPENDIX B

THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BOARD

90 Harbour Street, Toronto 117, Ontario Telephone 362-3411 Area Code
416

November 6, 1969

Mr. Giuseppe Zuccaro
300 Glenholme Ave.,
Toronto, Ontario

Dear Mr. Zuccaro:

Claim - C7737370

Recent medical reports indicate that there has been some improvement in your compensable condition.

As such, compensation benefits will be reduced from Temporary Partial 50% or \$30.19 per week to \$15.10 per week, as of October 24, 1969.

Your claim will be reviewed on or about April 10, 1969.

Yours very truly,

CLAIMS DEPARTMENT,

J. HILLE,
Claims Officer
jw

When Writing the Board Please Quote Above File Number

APPENDIX C

INFORMATION FOR PATIENTS

CLINIC SECTION

The Workmen's Compensation Board
Hospital and Rehabilitation Centre, 110 Torbarrie
Road, Downsview, Ontario - Telephone 244 - 4761

Visitors are not allowed in the treatment areas or dormitory rooms.

Visitors may visit the Recreation Lounge Canteen and attend the theatre.

Patients with visitors who may wish to tour the treatment areas during the day may secure permission from the A. & D. Department.

WEEKEND LEAVE

Dormitory patients may have weekend leave from the Centre commencing at 4:30 p.m. on Fridays. A pass sheet must be completed at the Admitting and Discharge entrance between 1:00 p.m. and 4:30 p.m. on Thursday and Friday.

Patients who go out during evenings or on weekends should sign out at the switch-board or security desk in the main lobby so that visitors who arrive during the patient's absence can be so informed.

RULES

ABSENCE FROM TREATMENT

Patients are expected to attend treatment classes as listed on the treatment programme cards. Unauthorized absence from treatment may result in a loss of a minimum of one-half days compensation. Patients who feel that they are unable to attend treatment for medical reasons should see their doctor.

If it is necessary to be absent from treatment for personal or business reasons, permission must be obtained from the Claims Office.

N.B. If a patient is called home in an emergency, during non-treatment hours, he should advise the Security Officer of his departure and on return, report to the Claims Liaison Officer with written support of his absence.

Patients who are absent for more than two days are automatically discharged, and their personal effects are put in storage. On return, such patients should report to the Admitting and Discharge Department.

BEDS AND LOCKERS

Beds and lockers cannot be changed except with the permission of the Admitting and Discharge Department. Foodstuffs are not to be kept in wards.

Occasionally, it is necessary to open patients' lockers when they are not present. This is done for emergency reasons and only when two persons are present, one of whom is a supervisor or patient representative.

APPENDIX C (2)

DAMAGE TO PROPERTY

Wilful damage or defacing of Board property is a serious offense and any cost involved will be charged to the patient.

DRINKING - GAMBLING

Patients in possession of alcoholic beverages and/or under the influence of alcohol are liable to discharge from the Centre and possible suspension of compensation payments. If necessary, intoxicated patients will be removed from the premises by the police. Gambling of any kind is forbidden and carries the same penalty.

FIRE REGULATIONS

Fire Orders are posted on all bulletin boards in

The wearing of correct footwear in the treatment departments is very important from the standpoint of treatment and safety. Slippers, sandals, running shoes and moccasins are not allowed in the treatment departments unless authorized by the doctor. Patients must provide their own footwear, including work boots, if special foot wear is worn on the job.

Part of the treatment programme is conducted outside, year round. Patients are expected to provide suitable warm work clothing for use during the cold weather.

SPECIAL NOTE

Patients who cannot properly take part in treatment programme because they insist on wearing improper clothing will be deducted minimum of one half day compensation. The same penalty will be applied to patients who miss treatment time to change into their good clothing.

BEDDING

Bed linen is exchanged weekly.

2nd and 3rd floor dormitory - Wednesday

8:00 a.m. to 9:30 a.m.

1st floor dormitory - Thursdays, 8:00 a.m. - 9:30 a.m.

On these days, bed linen should be left neatly folded on the foot of the beds. Keep each piece separate. Towels can be exchanged any time at General Stores.

copy

APPENDIX D

Rathbone Lumber

George Rathbone Lumber Company
Ltd.

Toronto 3, Ontario

December 3, 1968

The Workmen's Compensation Board
90 Harbour St.
Toronto 1, Ont.

Attention: Mr. J. Jeune

Gentlemen:

We wish to advise we have tried Mr. Pierre Bussiere in a number of light duties, and find him limited in his physical actions to the point of making it economically unsound to find him employment in our industry.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE RATHBONE LUMBER COMPANY LIMITED

SJI/r

S. J. Illsley

General Manager

APPENDIX E

Mr. George L. Roberge

Claim number 3813623

Hurt - Oct. 11th, 1955.

Operated on by Dr. MacMillian Hamilton 1958.

Was unable to do any work and was judged by them for light work only.

I was working for Piggot Construction, Hamilton, when hurt and they claimed I was not capable of doing their work. I was too big a risk and nobody would hire me when they found out I was on compensation. I went to Toronto Compensation office and asked them to train me as a cook to see if I could make a living. I saw Mr. Steele and he refused and asked me what was wrong with me and why I was not working, and I have copies of letters from Doctors saying I am only capable of doing light work.

In 1963 Dr. Dolan and Dr. MacMillian of Hamilton decided to put a body cast on from my hips and had the arrangements all made at the Chedoke Hospital, Hamilton, and the night before the Board phoned and told them not to do it and sent for me to go to Toronto before their Doctors and they refused to do anything and told me to work as long as I could and put up with the pain.

I went to the unemployment office to try to get work. They would not give me any work as they said I was unable to work and would not give me any unemployment money because I was getting a disability pension of \$37.50 a month from the Board for my disability.

The Board wrote and told them I was fit for light work if light work could be found. I had a chance of light work in Woodstock so moved here 5 years ago. I was in so much pain I went to Dr. Kennedy in London. He had an x-ray on my back and a week later he admitted me into the Victoria Hospital in London. I was in hospital 2 weeks waiting for him to hear from the Board, and one morning he came to me and said he had a nasty letter from the Board and his hands were tied. He said he could do nothing for me so discharged me and said to try to keep working.

Then the Board sent me to Dr. Baily of London and sent their report first and that was the last I heard of that visit.

I am still in constant pain in back and leg, but have to keep going to live. They have always paid for my pain pills but lately have not even done that. If you want any more information I have letters to confirm all of these statements.

Dr. Dolan - neurosurgeon

Dr. Angus MacMillian - Orthopedic Surgeon

APPENDIX F

THE WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION BOARD

90 Harbour Street, Toronto 117, Ontario Telephone 362-3411 AREA CODE 416

December 31, 1969

Mr. Fernando Cerasoli
78 Burton Street,
Hamilton, Ontario

Dear Mr. Cerasoli

CLAIM #/ C7942998

We have received a note from Dr. Loveless regarding the condition of your right knee. As this is an unauthorized change of doctors, we cannot consider Dr. Loveless' account.

You have the right to appeal this decision to the Review Committee of the Workmen's Compensation Board. Your appeal must be made in writing, giving your reasons and any additional information which you feel would assist the Committee.

Yours very truly

CLAIMS DEPARTMENT

(Mrs.) N. Ruusauk
Claims Officer
jl

Move clear to you, the wife is living out of town in a rented apt. I am living in our own home in Paisley

Dear Sir:

I am writting to see if you can do anything for me. I have had a lawyer, Doctor & Member of Parliament appear on my behalf with the Workmens Compensation Board & at that time Nov. 9th/66 my Doctor stated that I was 75 per cent disabled but the Board only allowed 10 per cent disability & gave me a pension of \$32.75, I have tried several times through my M.P. but nothing has been done to increase my pension so I have gone into debt so much my credit is no good anymore, and bills keep coming in. I applied for welfare on the 19th of January & was refused on the grounds that my wife is working out of town and has 2 boarders to help pay the rent of apt. and has a bit left over to pay for my hydro and gas but can't afford anymore then this as she only makes \$40.00 a week take home pay. I have to heat my home, pay for phone and as I am under the doctors care, I have to pay for my prescriptions or do without and also I have to cloth myself and pay for my groceries. I have borrowed money from my friends in order to get enough to eat. My wife and I have deprived ourselves of a lot of things to hang onto our home but if it keeps up it will take everything we have worked so hard for to pay off our bills and it just doesn't seem reasonable to me and I thought maybe you could help. I was told to get a medical checkup with my doctor which I did and he clearly stated that I was unfit to carry on my normal routine of work and that there was no improvement expected in the future, other able bodied men either quit their job or are fired and their wives are quite capable of going out to work but don't as the welfare takes care of all their needs. I have worked hard in the past for my home and paid for it and would like to hang on to it as I have been living in the same house for 40 years. I have had several accidents at my place of employment through no fault of mine and have been left with several disabilities two injuries to my back, one to my left leg, one to my right hip and one to my right arm, but I am only receiving a pension for one disability to my right hip. I sure hope your organization puts these two outfits in their place as they have never been in their place, to look after the ones that rightfully deserve looking after. Do you arrange to have some one call on cases like mine or do I have to go to your office and at the present time I can't afford my next loaf of bread let alone make a trip to Toronto. I hope to hear from you in the near future. I am up against it so bad that I have to spend some of my old coins in order to post this letter to you.

P.S. my phone number is 353-5168

Yours sincerely

I have received one of your papers and would like to receive it regularly but I can't afford it at the present time.

John B. Clayton, R.R. 3, Paisley, Ontario

APPENDIX H

"TORONTO DAILY STAR" WEDNESDAY MARCH 4, 1970

FED UP WITH TINNED FOOD, HE TAKES STEAK

Douglas White was fed up with eating canned food so he stole two steaks from a store on Bloor St. W.

White, 53, of Dovercourt Rd. told Judge Robert Taylor yesterday he had been on workmen's compensation for $3\frac{1}{2}$ years with a leg injury, but the compensation was stopped a few months ago and he is appealing the decision.

He claimed he was desperate and living on \$52.50 every two weeks. White pleaded guilty to a theft charge and was fined \$50 or five days. The judge asked if he wanted time to pay, but White said he had no money and would have to serve the time.

APPENDIX B

BRIEF

TO THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Submitted by

The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District
161 Hughson Street South Hamilton, Ontario

March 12, 1970

COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

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Rev. John Congram
Mrs. Emilie Dale
Mr. Steven Dwyer
Mrs. Bernice Goodwin
Mrs. Joan Hutcheson
Dr. Peter Pineo
Mr. Joe Sams
Mr. Enzo Scarponi
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Mr. Herman Turkstra
Mr. Carl Zavitz
Mr. Robert J. Arnold, Research Associate
Mr. Reuel S. Amdur, Planning Associate

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RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations contained in this brief focus primarily on means which will improve conditions for those in poverty. We urge that governments at all levels explore through research and trial projects the means for eliminating poverty in Canada. All Canadians in need should receive the kind of help necessary to bring them beyond the poverty level through an uncomplicated mechanism that does not infringe on the dignity of the recipient.

SOCIAL WELFARE

1. Public assistance grants should not be below the poverty line, and there should be work incentives beyond the poverty line. At least until such time as grants are raised to the poverty line, additional money for public assistance is probably best spent in increasing the size of grants rather than in improving casework services. In no case should receipt of public assistance be dependent upon willingness to accept casework help.
2. The Province of Ontario should cease looking at social welfare as a program for community casualties only. It should adopt legislation making possible programs such as information services and other services for the entire community.
3. The Province of Ontario should pass legislation making it possible for the Province to take advantage of the Canada Assistance Plan in supplementing the incomes of those fully employed in jobs paying less than public assistance. It should also increase the amount that single parents receiving assistance and wishing to work may keep.
4. Public assistance programs at all levels should involve citizen committees and advisory boards on which representatives of recipients are included, and these programs should aim at increasing public appreciation for and understanding of public assistance through providing "community leaders" with opportunities to learn more about public assistance, through use of a program including going on home visits, with the consent of the clients.
5. All public assistance in Ontario should be provided through a single Provincial Department of Social and Family Services or through regional agencies with all operating functions, operating under regulations set down by a Provincial Department. There should be an adequate number of branch offices for accessibility, and public assistance workers throughout the area should be assigned caseloads in accordance with the degree and type of their training and experience. Scholarship help and leaves of absence should be available for public welfare staff wishing educational advancement and capable of utilizing it.

6. Various practices which tend to degrade recipients, such as taking license plates away, paying rent directly to landlords, holding interviews under unfavourable conditions, and asking recipients to be available for home visits over extended periods of time, should be eliminated wherever they occur. Control of client expenditure of money is appropriate only when the client is incapable of handling his money.
7. There should be programs to provide basic adult education for rehabilitation of persons who are not able to read or write at a minimally adequate level or who lack basic arithmetic skills.
8. There is need for more Canadian research in and by public assistance agencies.

HOUSING

9. The Federal Government should gather data about housing on a regular basis for central cities, metropolitan areas and provinces. The data should provide information about vacancy rates and quality of dwelling units, from a sample of all dwelling units, occupied and vacant, rental and otherwise.
10. The Federal Government should cease using housing as an economic regulator.
11. Appropriate levels of government should provide much more public housing and should take measures to increase the quantity of housing. Quantity of housing can be increased through more non-profit and cooperative construction and renovation made possible by low interest and/or no-interest long-term loans, loan guarantees, and grants. Stringent measures to counteract the inflation in land costs can be expected to increase quantity of housing even further.
12. Locally, a single department should be responsible for receipt of complaints related to quality of housing.
13. Quality of housing should be upgraded, using such approaches as tax holidays for improvement of substandard dwelling units and municipal trusteeship of such units.

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCILS

14. As most programs require some degree of adaptation to local conditions, the Government should be aware of the social planning councils as a major resource in making these adaptations. The Government should take steps to make it possible for social planning councils to obtain Federal funds to carry out demonstration projects and to provide a continuing source for the kind of research information which they are in a unique position to supply.

15. Other social planning councils and voluntary agencies generally should become involved in assisting the organization of low-income citizen groups and in involving them more fully in existing organizations.

INTRODUCTION

- 0.1 This submission to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty will concern itself specifically with problems of poverty in Hamilton and District, the Hamilton Metropolitan Area of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, consisting of Hamilton, Wentworth County, and Burlington. A well-documented overview of the situation in an industrial community such as ours should be of use in painting a picture of urban poverty. The ramifications of the poverty situation are more than local, involving social policies for the whole Province of Ontario and indeed the whole country. Poverty, except for certain regional situations, is national in scope, both as to cause and as to the solutions which people have proposed. In addition, Canadians are a mobile people, and the poor, along with the rest of us, move from place to place.
- 0.2 In 1969, between 15,000 and 16,000 families in Metropolitan Hamilton were in poverty. Metro Hamilton is an important urban concentration, the second largest metropolitan area in Ontario, the most populous province. The problems of the Hamilton area are worthy of consideration because in Hamilton we have a modern industrial economic base. This is the steel centre of Canada. It is an area of a high level of economic activity. And it is evidence that such a high level of activity, important as it is, is not by itself the total solution to the problems of poverty. Other areas suffer from a poverty related to economic underdevelopment, a poverty of the past. The poverty existing in Hamilton is the poverty of a modern industrial city, the kind of poverty we can expect in other areas that are in the process of beginning to industrialize. Unless appropriate measures are taken to end poverty, ours is the poverty of the future, the poverty of a developed region.
- 0.3 The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District has been concerned with poverty since its inception in 1959. Poverty is at the heart of the problem of ordering priorities in the social welfare field. Concerned citizens sitting together to examine one facet or another of community services identify unmet needs and attempt to mobilize resources to meet them. In many instances, the needs are those of people without money. More recently, the Social Planning and Research Council has undertaken the task of assisting low income people to organize themselves, to work on their own concerns and set their own priorities. This work in organizing low income people is discussed briefly in the chapter on "The Role of Social Planning Councils in Dealing with Poverty".
- 0.4 What is poverty? Who is poor? What can be done to alleviate poverty? To eliminate it? Each of these questions has been discussed at great length in studies, essays, surveys, etc. An effort to provide definitive answers to all or any of these in the small brief submitted by the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District would be presumptuous.

- 0.5 The staff of the Canadian Welfare Council submitted a statement in June, 1969, outlining the issues surrounding poverty. They pointed to the way in which public attitudes affect anti-poverty policies, the social rights of men as they relate to poverty, provided a definition of poverty, and discussed its causes and approaches to combating it. Rather than attempting to rephrase what they say in their broad outline, we will attempt to focus on some specific aspects of poverty.
- 0.6 In the first section of this brief, we will attempt to define in financial terms what poverty is in Hamilton and District. Then we will discuss how widespread the condition is.
- 0.7 Following this, we will present material about problems in housing the poor, with some discussion of possible solutions, about public assistance, with proposals for changes in policies at various governmental levels, and about the role of social planning councils in dealing with problems related to poverty.
- 0.8 In a later submission, we will report on a survey of low-income families in Hamilton, providing information about their housing conditions, their reliance or non-reliance on public assistance, their attitudes toward their situation, etc. This survey material has programmatic implications, with which we will deal.
- 0.9 Hopefully, the wide public interest on the question of poverty and the stimulation of this interest which the Special Senate Committee on Poverty has induced will lead to further information-gathering surveys, including some specifically dealing with such problems as aging.
- 0.10 It is our fervent hope, however, that the interest of the Special Senate Committee and the efforts of those who have made submissions to you will have impact beyond research and reports, into areas of new policy and its implementation.

CHAPTER 1

A WORKING DEFINITION OF POVERTY

CHAPTER 1A WORKING DEFINITION OF POVERTY

- 1.1 In attempting to develop a working definition of poverty, the first thing we must bear in mind is that a highly precise definition is impossible. Economic deprivation and inequality are in their nature matters of degree: accordingly, one cannot fix precise levels below which there is poverty and above which there is not. Furthermore, while it is relatively easy to measure income and expenditure levels, the more subjective aspects of poverty are much more difficult, perhaps impossible, to quantify. Finally, since poverty is considered to be an undesirable state, an element of value judgement is involved when we attempt to delimit it.
- 1.2 In spite of these difficulties, however, working definitions of poverty are necessary. If we want to learn anything of the extent of poverty, the types of people who suffer from it, and the effectiveness of public programs in dealing with it, we require some method of determining who is poor and who is not. We do not need an absolutely precise standard, but we do need a definition that can serve as a basis for reasonable policy decisions. This is what we have attempted to develop.

MEASURES OF POVERTY

- 1.3 Measures employed in recent analyses of poverty have fallen into two basic categories - deprivation measures and inequality measures. Each type has particular characteristics which should be examined.

Deprivation Measures

- 1.4 The deprivation measures are based on a conception of poverty as a state in which essential goods and services cannot be purchased. In any given society, the cost of a minimum standard of living can be specified and these costs will determine the poverty lines for that society. While there is a strong element of value judgement involved in determining which goods and services should be available, and in what quality, it has proved possible in this way to arrive at poverty lines which have received wide recognition.
- 1.5 The commonest of these procedures is to establish minimum family budgets. This is done by welfare departments and consumer counsellors universally. But since price levels, as well as specific items required, will vary from one place to another, other, less detailed approaches must be used over larger regions. These are generally prepared by estimating the costs of some essential purchases, then multiplying by an appropriate factor to get a minimum level of necessary income.

Inequality Measures

1.6 The inequality measures are based on the assumption that poverty is a relative thing, which cannot be considered apart from the society in which it occurs. Poverty in a highly advanced industrial economy is something quite different from poverty in a non-industrialized, agrarian society. Those who are considered to be poor in the first case would be considered wealthy in the second. But, within either kind of society, the thing that defines a person as poor is simply that he is less well off than others. Since this is the case, the extent of poverty should not be measured against a standard of living scale but should rather be interpreted in terms of the distribution of wealth within the society. There is as yet, however, no widely accepted conception of the kind of distribution that would signal the end of poverty.

1.7 Several measures of income inequality have been used in recent poverty studies. One common criterion of inequality is the distribution of income by population quintiles. That is, the proportion of income received by the top twenty percent of earners is compared with the proportion received by the next twenty percent, and so on. Another method is to divide the income received by the earner at the top of the second quintile by the income received at the bottom of the fourth. The higher the ratio, the greater the inequality. A third procedure is to note the percentage of earners receiving less than a given proportion of the median income. Other related measures are used.

USES OF MEASURES

1.8 While we have laid out the two types of measures in such a way as to illustrate their differences, it should also be noted that they have a good deal in common. For example, in developing a deprivation measure one of the criteria that will be employed is the prevailing standards of the community. As these rise or fall, so does the concept of a minimum adequate standard of living. Thus, considerations of equality find their way into the deprivation measures. On the other hand, in order to specify an income distribution which would imply the elimination of poverty, one would have to answer the question of whether it meant elimination of deprivation. One would also expect that the two types of measures would be strongly related empirically. For example, if the incomes of those below the poverty line, according to a deprivation measure, are increased, the distribution of income will become more even. Or, if the proportion of income received by the lowest income earners increases, the numbers in poverty, by a deprivation measure, may be expected to decrease.

1.9 Although the two types of measure have a great deal in common, each has specific advantages. Deprivation measures highlight the economic difficulties of the poor in a concrete and, hence, understandable way. They make it possible to indicate how much the incomes of the poor would have to be raised in order for specified living standards to be achieved. They also set standards below which incomes should not be allowed to fall,

whatever the overall distribution of income may be. Inequality measures call attention to invidious distinctions made on the basis of economic status. They remind us that there is a matter of will involved in bringing people out of poverty - the cost will have to be borne at the middle and upper levels of income. They remind us also that there is another standard by which adequacy of incomes may be judged than that of simple deprivation, namely that of equity.

- 1.10 It is interesting to note that while the two types of measure appear to be complementary, the most widely recognized poverty measures in North America have been of the deprivation type. Some possible reasons for this might include: 1) deprivation measures can be made more concrete and hence more memorable; 2) it is politically strategic to talk about "eliminating deprivation" rather than "redistributing income"; 3) some feel that our attention should be focussed on the acutely painful problems of deprivation rather than on the more general question of inequality; 4) it is easier to obtain agreement on what constitutes deprivation than it is to get agreement on how income ought to be distributed.

DEVELOPING POVERTY LINES FOR HAMILTON

- 1.11 In the course of our analysis of poverty in Hamilton, we have made use of both inequality and deprivation measures where we have believed them to be useful. But in order to maintain comparability with the generally recognized North American standards and to provide a basis for the sample for our survey of low-income families, we have made special efforts to develop a definition based on deprivation criteria.
- 1.12 In order to achieve some comparability with national figures on the extent of poverty, we have attempted to develop poverty lines for Hamilton in 1969 in a form similar to the 1961 poverty lines, developed in a census monograph, and later employed by the Economic Council of Canada. These were based on the criterion that a family which has to spend 70% or more of its income for adequate food, clothing and shelter, should be considered to be in poverty. The 70% figure was based partially on the empirical discovery that families tended to spend somewhat over 70% of their income on these three necessities at the lowest levels of income, and that this declined only slowly over a considerable income range before it began to fall off.* This was interpreted to mean that families tend to spend close to 70% (or more) of their income for these necessities to the point where they feel they are provided in a minimally satisfactory way. Only then does the proportion drop. According to this interpretation, the level of income at which the percentage spent on food, clothing and shelter begins to fall off from 70% is a good indicator of the upper limits of poverty. An underlying assumption in this approach, it should be noted, is that low income families allocate their resources effectively.

*This pattern appeared in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics City Family Expenditures Survey of 1957. It has also appeared in American studies.

1.13 While we could not draw on survey data for Hamilton to determine the rates at which the percentage of income spent on food, clothing and shelter declined, it was possible to carry out an analogous procedure. It was possible to get an indication from staff of the Public Welfare Department of the expenditure levels at which the low income families with which they came into contact felt they had received a minimum adequate standard of living. The cost of food, shelter and clothing could then be set equal to 70% of the income needed to bring the family to the poverty line.

1.14 There are two significant differences between our approach and that of the Economic Council. The first is that in replacing survey data with welfare workers' experience, we are forced to accept a non-random sample of low income people as our "judgement panel". One's concern on this point might be largely alleviated, however, by the sheer number and variety of cases with which a welfare department must deal. The second difference is that, rather than inferring standards of adequacy from expenditure patterns, we are relying on what has been expressed to welfare department workers. There are problems in each approach, but there appears to be no ready way of determining their different levels of accuracy. On balance, it would appear that while these two differences must be noted, the two systems have fundamental features in common and one might expect there would be strong relationships between the poverty lines developed from them. We will attempt to indicate more clearly their degree of similarity once we have outlined our own method in more detail.

1.15 A more important issue is the question of whether the 30% of income not allotted to food, clothing and shelter is adequate to cover other family needs - health care, school expenses, transportation, recreation, insurance, etc. These are all important elements in family budgeting and a fully adequate income would have to make it possible for these needs as well as food, clothing and shelter to be properly met. Further, in a healthy budgeting situation it would be possible to build up at least a small amount of savings for emergencies.

1.16 For lack of time, we have been unable to work out what alterations would have to be made in our definitions of poverty to take account of these needs. That is, for example, while it would be possible to estimate health care or insurance costs for families of different sizes, it would be much more difficult to determine what proportion of income ought to remain after these needs, along with food, clothing and shelter, had been provided for. There would no longer be a rationale for setting the needs allowed for equal to 70% of income, and to develop an alternative procedure would be very time-consuming. Even if this had been done, the difficulty would have arisen that our standards would have lost comparability with national standards. Accordingly, we have chosen to remain with the system we have outlined above, remembering that a detailed study of the adequacy of the incomes it suggests has not been carried out.

COSTS OF THE THREE BASIC NEEDS

- 1.17 In drawing up our estimates of the income required for minimum adequate living standards, we have assumed: 1) that the welfare allowance for food and clothing is approximately equal to the amount felt by low income consumers to be sufficient for food; 2) that welfare housing allowances represent the minimum satisfactory amount for housing; 3) that the estimates prepared by the welfare department teaching home economists represent the minimum satisfactory amount for clothing. Each of these assumptions will require some comment.

1. FOOD

- 1.18 The Hamilton Public Welfare Department has advised us that those who use the standard allowance for food and clothing for food alone generally feel that they have a satisfactory diet, but that their clients generally find it difficult to set aside much of the allowance for clothing. Accordingly, we have set our minimum figures for food equal to the standard allowance for food and clothing. This is not to say that a nutritionally adequate diet cannot be obtained for less. Many families, who are unable to avoid high expenses for other things, manage to reduce their food expenditures below this level without sacrificing nutrition. But there is clearly no room for easy living in the figures as they stand. For a family of four, the sum we have allotted is \$137. (This is at the median of the allowances set for families of four, which vary according to the age of the children.)

2. CLOTHING

- 1.19 We have again followed the Welfare Department's advice in setting our figures for clothing. In doing so, we have set a number of criteria which should be spelled out.
- 1) It has been assumed that all clothing is purchased at "standard" rates. That is, the mother does not buy material and sew the clothing herself. Nor is it purchased, for example, through the St. Vincent de Paul Society or the Harbour Rescue Mission, or obtained from relatives.
 - 2) It has been assumed that hand-me-downs will have a negligible influence. Some assumptions had to be made as to the prevalence of this practice in estimating clothing costs. Since for at least a majority of smaller families, hand-me-downs can be used to only a quite limited extent, it was decided to make the simplest assumption possible - that they should be considered negligible in setting the basic estimates of clothing costs.

- 1.20 On this basis, the allowance for a family of four comes to \$500 a year.*

3. HOUSING

- 1.21 There is some question as to the adequacy of housing available at the budgetary level permitted by Ontario welfare regulations. It is the experience of the Hamilton Public Welfare Department that most of its clients manage to obtain housing at, or slightly above, the standard allowance. (\$95.00 per month, plus utilities, for a family of four) However, as we have argued in the housing section, a significant proportion of this housing appears to be inadequate.
- 1.22 The difficulty has to do with the amount by which the welfare allowance would have to be raised to provide proper quarters for those who are now inadequately sheltered. This would be possible, although not easy, provided that rents were closely related to quality, and provided that there was an adequate stock of low cost housing in existence. But neither proviso appears to hold true. Officials of the Hamilton Assessment Department have reported that the relationship between assessed value and rental is very weak. On the one hand, the sheer unavailability of low rental housing has made it possible for rents on substandard units to rise in many cases to virtually the same levels as those for more adequate units. At the same time, there appears to be a good deal of variation in price for units at about the same quality level, although this does not appear so much in the market because the "bargain" units are less likely to become vacant. Because of the ineffectiveness of the market in relating price to quality, we have been unable to determine what alterations should be made in the welfare housing allocation to take account of problems of quality. Rather than make an alteration in the absence of any clear indication of what it should be, we have chosen to remain with the official allowance, remembering that this should be taken as a minimum adequate figure.
- 1.23 When the respective figures for food, clothing and housing had been arrived at for each family size, they were added together and the sum was multiplied by 10/7. This yielded the basic poverty income for each family size. However, it was decided not to leave the figures in this form but rather to determine what the family income would have to be, in the modal case, if family allowances and income taxation were taken into account. To simplify our calculations, we assumed that the income was earned by a single earner. No allowances have been made for fringe benefits, because these vary considerably among employers.

*It is recognized that these, like expenses for food, will vary considerably according to the age of the children. But in order to keep our measure simple, an average figure has been used. In this case, approximately the cost for a family with a twelve year old girl and a nine year old boy.

1.24 Once these calculations were made, the figures were rounded to the nearest \$100. The final figures are seen in the Table below.

POVERTY LINES FOR HAMILTON IN 1969 BY FAMILY SIZE

A single person	\$2,200
2 person family	\$3,200
3 person family	\$4,100
4 person family	\$4,800
5 person family	\$5,600
6 person family	\$6,300
7 person family	\$7,000
8 person family	\$7,700

1.25 As we tried to indicate, these poverty lines are by no means perfect indicators as to the economic status of families. Any particular family may require more or less income. Such factors as subsidized housing or a wife's ability to sew will make it easier for one family. Unusual health expenses or losses not covered by insurance will make it more difficult for another. The ages of children will affect the income requirements for all families. But the poverty lines we have set out do provide a general idea of the kind of income that is usually required to live at a minimum adequate standard. We have used them in that sense throughout the brief.

CHAPTER 2

SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF POVERTY

IN METROPOLITAN HAMILTON

CHAPTER 2

SOME GENERAL FEATURES OF POVERTY IN METROPOLITAN HAMILTON

2.1 In this chapter we have brought together most of what can be learned about poverty in the Hamilton area from previously published material, together with comparative data for Ontario and for Canada. While some of the topics treated here will be examined in more detail as we analyze the returns from our survey, it has seemed appropriate to present an overview of previously available material to establish a context for our own findings.

THE PREVALENCE OF POVERTY

2.2 The first question we must attempt to answer is that of the extent of poverty. In the preceding chapter, we have outlined a series of poverty lines for 1969. These will be applied to the estimated distribution of income for 1969. But most of the income data for Metropolitan Hamilton, and for the rest of Canada as well, comes from 1961. Accordingly, both to determine what progress we have made, and to make comparisons, we will want to employ a series of poverty lines applicable to 1961 data.

2.3 The obvious choice is the series of poverty lines employed by the Economic Council of Canada. Since national and provincial estimates of the prevalence of poverty have been made in terms of these, they will provide a ready basis for comparisons. But before employing them, it will be useful first to indicate how they compare with our own poverty lines for 1969, which were developed in an analogous way.

2.4 Perhaps the best comparison is to project our own figures backwards to 1961. This requires us to compensate for inflation (approximately 25% by the Consumer Price Index) and to remove our alterations for income tax and family allowances. Neither of these was taken into account in setting the Economic Council's standards. The results of this approach are seen in Table I.

TABLE I

Poverty Levels of the Economic Council of Canada
compared with S.P.R.C. Poverty Lines for Hamilton

	<u>Economic Council of Canada</u>	<u>S.P.R.C. (expressed in 1961 dollars)</u>
A single person	\$1,500	\$1,600
2 person family	2,500	2,500
3 person family	3,000	3,200
4 person family	3,500	3,800
5 person family	4,000	4,500

2.5

It appears that the major difference between the two approaches is that ours makes greater allowance for additional family members. It can be seen from Table I that for a family of two the figures are identical, but that for a family of five there is a difference of \$500. Furthermore, the Economic Council did not extend its poverty lines to apply to larger families but employed the same standard for all families of five or more. We, on the other hand, have extended our own poverty lines to provide separate standards for families of up to eight.

2.6

The result of this is that by our approach more families, particularly larger families, will be found in poverty. In order not to be misled by this difference, we have made comparisons to national and provincial figures for 1961 entirely in terms of the Economic Council's system. When, on the other hand, we have wanted to make comparisons between 1961 and 1969 in our own area, this approach has had to be modified.

TABLE II

Percentage of Families in Poverty by Family Size for
Metropolitan Hamilton, Ontario and Canada, 1961*

<u>Number in Family</u>	<u>Canada (non-farm population)</u>	<u>Ontario (non-farm population)</u>	<u>Metro Hamilton</u>
2	30	24	23
3	22	15	13
4	22	17	14
5	29	22	20
6 or more	33	25	26
Total	27	20	17

*Figures for Canada and Ontario are based on Table C-10, Bulletin 4.1-3 of the 1961 Census. Hamilton percentages are estimated from 1961 data as outlined in Appendix A.

2.7

Table II shows the percentages of families below the Economic Council's poverty lines for Canada, Ontario and Metro Hamilton. It can be seen from this Table that Metro Hamilton is more fortunate than the national non-farm population at all family sizes, and more fortunate than the Ontario non-farm population for all but the largest family sizes. It

is interesting to note in comparing the Ontario non-farm population with Metro Hamilton that the differences are smallest with the two-person families at one end, and the six-or-more person families at the other. This might be interpreted to mean that these are the size groups where the relatively high income levels of the Hamilton area make the least impact. Two-person families are, in many cases, retired couples, on whom the high prevailing wage level will have limited impact. Among large families, there are many cases where the family is so large in proportion to the occupational skills of the head that the relatively high wage level for Hamilton will not suffice to bring them near the poverty line, let alone beyond it. Whatever the explanation for this phenomenon may be, the most salient feature of the table is that for all families only 17% in Metropolitan Hamilton are in poverty, compared with 20% in Ontario, and 27% in Canada.

- 2.8 A partial explanation of the lower percentage of poor families in Hamilton is simply that income levels are higher. Table III indicates that Metropolitan Hamilton family incomes are higher than Canadian non-farm incomes across the range from the tenth to the ninetieth percentile, and that up to the fiftieth percentile the difference is of the order of \$700.* Metro Hamilton incomes are also higher than Ontario non-farm incomes until almost the ninetieth percentile. Up to the fiftieth percentile, the difference is between \$250 and \$300.

TABLE III

Family Income Distribution, by Selected Percentiles, for
Metropolitan Hamilton, Ontario and Canada, 1961**

	<u>P₁₀</u>	<u>P₂₅</u>	<u>P₅₀</u>	<u>P₇₅</u>	<u>P₉₀</u>
Metro Hamilton	2,329	3,833	5,377	7,168	9,672
Ontario (non-farm population)	2,073	3,547	5,096	7,036	9,740
Canada (non-farm population)	1,679	3,122	4,680	6,656	9,442

**Percentiles have been interpolated from data recorded in intervals ordinarily of \$500 or \$1,000. Hamilton figures are based on Table C-5 of 1961 Census, Bulletin 4.1-3. Other figures are based on Table C-10 of the same bulletin.

*A percentile is any one of 100 points which divide a series into 100 equal units. Thus, for example, the tenth percentile (P₁₀) divides the bottom ten percent of an income distribution from the upper ninety percent.

2.9 The fact that the ninetieth percentile of family income for Ontario is higher than that for Hamilton, while at other points in the table Hamilton is higher than Ontario, reflects another important feature of the Hamilton income distribution. Not only is it higher than average but it is also more equally distributed. This affects the prevalence of poverty because the more compact the income distribution, the fewer there are who will drop below the median to the poverty lines.

2.10 One way of examining this more closely is to consider the relationship between the twentieth and eightieth percentiles of household income. Here we have expressed the relationship 1) by considering P_{20} as a proportion of P_{80} and 2) by setting $(P_{80}-P_{20})/P_{50}$.

TABLE IV

Two Measures of Household Income Dispersion for
Metro Hamilton, Ontario and Canada, 1961

	<u>P_{20}</u>	<u>P_{80}</u>	<u>P_{20}/P_{80}</u>	<u>$(P_{80}-P_{20})/P_{50}$</u>
Metro Hamilton	3,208	7,657	.42	.84
Ontario (non-farm population)	2,641	7,483	.36	1.00
Canada (non-farm population)	2,241	7,016	.32	1.30

2.11 It is clear from Table IV that by these measures the income distribution of Hamilton is notably more compact than that of the Province or of the nation. Perhaps it might be useful, however, to put this in a broader context. Table V shows the relationship P_{20}/P_{80} for a number of industrialized nations.

TABLE V

Equality of Household Income Distribution as Measured
by P_{20}/P_{80} for Selected Nations*

<u>Nations</u>	<u>P_{20}/P_{80}</u>	<u>Rank (in order of equality)</u>
Canada (non-farm population)	.32	4
Sweden	.57	1
United Kingdom	.48	2
United States	.30	5
West Germany	.35	3

*The data from different countries was collected in different years, but all data in this table come from the period 1960-1962. Figures other than that for Canada are taken from J.H. Chandler, "An International Comparison", Monthly Labor Review, U.S. Department of Labor, February, 1969, page 56.

- 2.12 It would appear from this chart that Hamilton's relatively compact income distribution would seem much less even in Sweden or the United Kingdom. But it would bear a similar relationship to the national figures in the United States or West Germany. It might be argued that Canada cannot differ too widely from the United States without risking emigration of professional and technical manpower, but it would appear that other industrial nations have been able to develop considerably more compact income distributions.
- 2.13 In any case, Metro Hamilton's position in Canada has been a quite favoured one. It has much lower percentages in poverty than the nation as a whole, at all family sizes, and a lower percentage than Ontario, at all but the largest family sizes. This reflects higher family incomes and a relatively compact income distribution.

CHANGES IN THE EXTENT OF POVERTY

- 2.14 A more important question than the extent of poverty is the extent of our progress in eliminating it. It is difficult to measure this because we do not have directly comparable material from different points in time. But we can, at least, get a general impression of what has been occurring.

2.15 This requires us, first of all, to modify the Economic Council's poverty lines for 1961 to make them more comparable to our own for 1969. While other changes might be introduced, we are making only one. We are increasing the poverty lines for families of six to eight by the same amount per person by which they were increased for families of two to five. Thus, the poverty lines for a family of six will be increased to \$4,500, for a family of seven to \$5,000, and for a family of eight or more to \$5,500. These adjustments will help considerably to bring the Economic Council's poverty lines into harmony with our own. Even granted these alterations, the rate of increase for each additional person in our system of measurement is higher than in the Economic Council's. Some alteration could have been made to allow for this, but it was unclear to what extent it represented peculiarities in the Hamilton situation, to what extent it represented changes between 1961 and 1969 in the additional income required for additional persons, and to what extent it resulted from differences in the ways in which the two sets of poverty lines were drawn up. Accordingly, we have made no allowances for this.

2.16 What must be noted is that the re-adjusted poverty lines for 1961 will provide a lower estimate of the extent of poverty than a series of poverty lines which rose as rapidly with family size as our 1969 lines would have given. This will result in a smaller decrease in the percentage of families in poverty between 1961 and 1969. Nevertheless, this will not seriously distort our general view of the changes that have taken place.

TABLE VI

Percentages of Families in Poverty by Family Size
for Metro Hamilton, 1961 and 1969 (est.)*

<u>Size of Family</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1969</u>
2	23	14
3	13	9
4	14	8
5	20	15
6	30	20
7	50	34
8+	69	54
All families	19**	13

* Methods of measuring the percentages in poverty for 1961 and 1969 are indicated in Appendix A.

**This differs from the 17% figure in Table II because of the changed poverty lines for families of six or more.

2.17 It is clear from Table VI that quite dramatic reductions have occurred in the percentages of families in poverty. The total has declined from 19% to 13%. The sharpest proportional decline took place among four person families. The largest decrease in percentage points took place among seven person and eight-or-more person families, 16% and 15% respectively. The latter figures would have been higher, of course, if the poverty lines for 1961 had been modified so as to rise as rapidly with family size as the 1969 lines.

2.18 Another way to look at this, is to see what proportions of all families in poverty are contributed by families of different sizes.

TABLE VII

Percentages of All Families in Poverty Contributed
by Families of Different Sizes, Metro Hamilton,
1961 and 1969

<u>Size of Family</u>	<u>1961</u>	<u>1969</u>
2	32	34
3-5	45	42
6+	23	23
Total	100	99*

*Percentages do not add to 100 because of rounding.

2.19 Table VII indicates that larger proportions of the poor in 1969 than in 1961 come from two-person families, and smaller proportions from families of three to five. Since many of the two-person families in poverty are retired couples, the two-person families have not benefitted as much from rising wages as the other groups. The six-or-more person families were frequently farther below the poverty line in 1961 than the three-to-five person families and hence were less likely to be removed from poverty.

Absolute Numbers

2.20 The decline in the percentage of poor families from nineteen in 1961 to thirteen in 1969 has not, of course, resulted in an equivalent decline in the numbers of the poor. While we do not have an accurate

figure for the number of families in Metropolitan Hamilton for any year beyond 1966, it would appear that, on the basis of population growth, the figure is in the neighbourhood of 120,000, just over 20% more than in 1961. The decline in the numbers of the poor in our area has been proportionately lower than the decline in their percentage of the population. In 1961, just under 19,000 families fell below the poverty line. For 1969, the figure can be estimated at between 15,000 and 16,000.

SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE POOR

- 2.21 It is unfortunate that we can gain very little direct information on the poor from existing statistical material. There is a good deal of data, which is broken down by income levels and a smaller, but substantial, body which is broken down by family size. But very little is available in terms of both dimensions. We have, however, been able to bring together some useful data on the kinds of people who are likely to be in poverty and the geographic areas in which they are concentrated.
- 2.22 Perhaps at this point, we should return our attention to Tables VI and VII, which throw interesting light on the relationship of family size and poverty. Table VI indicates that the percentage of families in poverty rises rapidly among families to over 50% for families of eight persons or more. But this should not lead us to develop a stereotype of poverty as a phenomenon particularly found among large families. Table VII indicates that more than 3/4 of the families in poverty consist of five persons or less.
- 2.23 A similar phenomenon appears with other characteristics. For example, while higher than chance proportions of poor families do not have heads in the labour force, the vast majority do. Table VIII indicates the percentage of poor families which are headed by wage earners. (A wage earner is defined, for census purposes, as a person who has worked for wages or salary in the week preceding the census.)

TABLE VIII

Percentages of Families in Poverty with Wage Earner Heads,
by Family Size for Metropolitan Hamilton, 1961 and 1969

<u>Family Size</u>	<u>Percentage Headed by a Wage Earner</u>	
	<u>1961</u>	<u>1969</u>
2	34	29
3-5	91	92
6+	94	94
All families	74	71

- 2.24 Table VIII indicates that only in the case of two-person families is there a preponderance of families without a wage-earner head. The two-person families, of course, are biased by the presence of a larger proportion of retired couples.
- 2.25 It should be noted that the percentage of wage-earner families declined between 1961 and 1969 from 74% to 71%. This is presumably a reflection of the fact that rising wages have removed a significant number of wage earners from poverty, leaving a higher proportion of non-employed among the remainder. This effect has only been notable among two-person families, but in this case it has been very pronounced. The percentage of wage-earner heads has declined from 34 to 29. This would seem to reflect the fact that two-person families where the head was working were likely to have been only a short distance below the poverty line in 1961, whereas, for larger families, the distances were often considerably greater.
- 2.26 There are two respects in which this table should not be misconstrued. First, it does not give a precise indication of the proportion of families with heads in the labour force, because the self-employed are not included. However, the extent of poverty among families with heads in the labour force who are not wage earners will be very low. The largest groups in the excluded category are retail businessmen, independent professionals, owners of construction firms (large and small), and farmers. With the exception of farmers, for whom no precise income information is available, all of these groups have well above average earnings. But, nevertheless, the percentages given here will be somewhat low as indicators of the proportion of poor families with heads in the labour force.
- 2.27 The other possible misinterpretation would be to assume that a wage-earner family head must be regularly employed. In order for a family head to be listed as a wage earner for census purposes, he had only to be receiving wages or salary in the week preceding the census. But the number of people with unstable employment will be higher than the number who are not employed in a given week (particularly in mid-summer when the census is taken). Another consideration is that an unknown percentage of wage-earner family heads will be working only part-time. Nevertheless, it can still be said that the preponderant majority of all but the two-person families in poverty are headed by a person who participates in the labour force.
- 2.28 We cannot determine from this what proportion of poor families are reliant on governmental support for a major part of their income. But we can get some indication from census material projected to 1969 and from agency statistics. From census material it can be estimated that, among the fifteen to sixteen thousand families living in poverty in

Metropolitan Hamilton in 1969, there are approximately 3,000 retired couples.* It is estimated by the administrators of the regional office of the Department of Social and Family Services that in the Metropolitan Hamilton area there are around 2,750 families receiving pensions from them. At a given time, somewhere between 6,000 and 7,000 cases will be on Public Welfare rolls in the district. While we cannot be sure of the overall annual income of the families who receive short-term assistance from a municipal welfare agency, it is clear that in many cases these families would, over the year, remain in poverty.

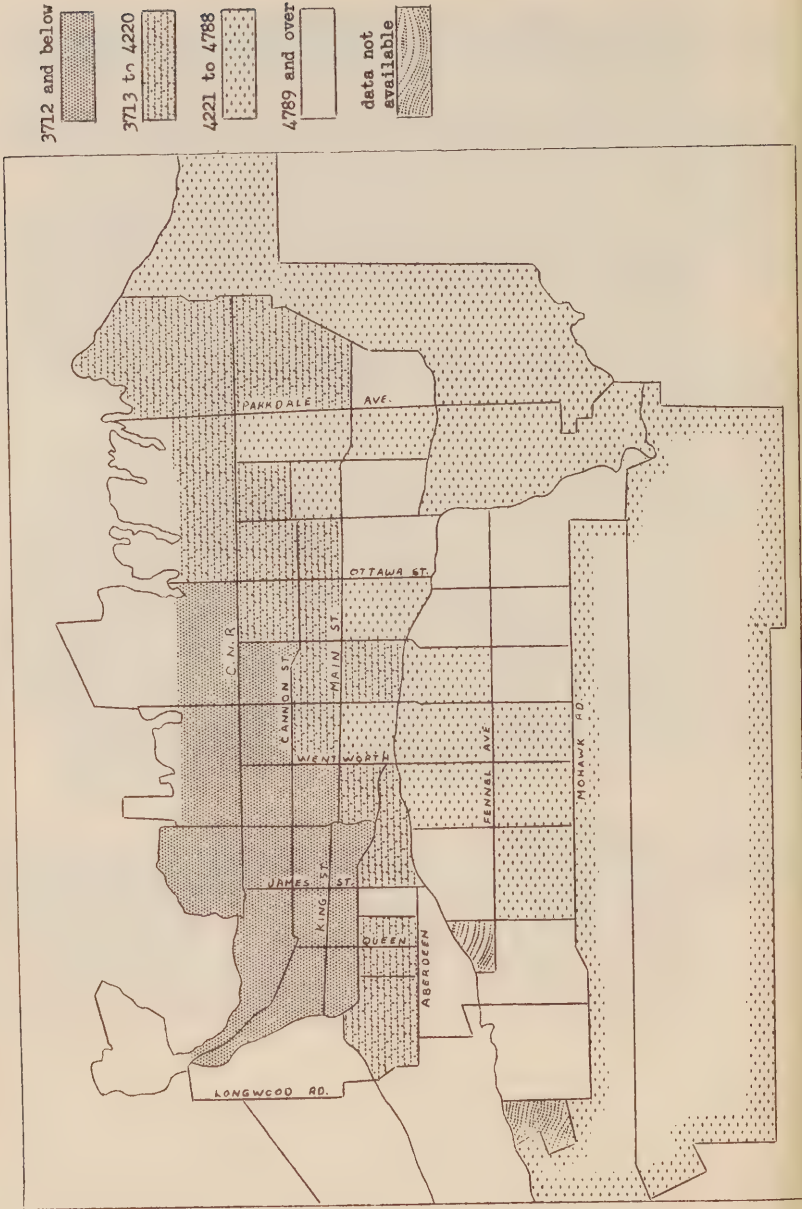
- 2.29 While these figures do not give a precise indication of the proportion of the poor who receive governmental income support, they do provide the general impression that the proportion who must rely on at least some governmental assistance is relatively high. If we include only the retired couples and those receiving allowances from the Department of Social and Family Services, the figure is already 35%. If we make some estimate of the proportion of those receiving assistance from public welfare departments, the figure will go higher. It will also increase in terms of programs administered through other sources, for example, Workmen's Compensation payments.

GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION

- 2.30 While the census does not provide a clear indication of the geographic distribution of families in poverty, it does provide an indication of the location of families whose heads have relatively low incomes. A clearer picture of the distribution of the poor will emerge from our survey. But a preliminary analysis of data from it indicates that the distribution of the poor is heaviest in the areas where the lowest wage-earner family head incomes are found, and lightest where the highest wage-earner family head incomes are found. Accordingly, we have prepared a map showing the levels of wage-earner family head income for the City of Hamilton in 1961, which will give a good general indication of the areas in which the poor are most heavily concentrated. It will be seen that low income areas are concentrated in the north end of the city and the downtown area. When further data from the survey are available, we will be able to make further statements in this respect. (The map is found on page 20.)

*It should be noted that since the advent of guaranteed income supplement, these couples should not be living a great deal below the poverty line. When one considers that in these circumstances income tax often need not be paid on either the old age pension or the supplement, and that some services, such as public transportation, are available at reduced rates, it would appear that, in actual purchasing power, these couples should not be very far below the poverty line. This is not to suggest, of course, that their economic circumstances are comfortable. They are not. But these families are not as far below the poverty line as many others.

AVERAGE INCOME OF WAGE EARNER FAMILY HEADS BY CENSUS TRACTS
1961



2.31 A precise picture of the distribution of poverty over different parts of the Metropolitan Hamilton area cannot be obtained from census material. But figures on family incomes are available, which indicate that in 1961 median family income in the City of Hamilton was \$5,119, compared to \$6,047 in the rest of the Metropolitan area.* We do not know what differences there may be between Hamilton and the rest of the area in the distribution of income by family size, but on the assumption that the only differences result from differences in income levels and family size, we can roughly estimate that in 1961 twenty-one percent of the families in Hamilton were in poverty, compared to fourteen percent for the rest of the area.**

2.32 We have also prepared a map indicating the distribution of rates of juvenile delinquency, as measured by the number of occurrences recorded in police files. It will be noted that the rates seem to be highest in low income areas. This should be considered illustrative of the kind of social phenomenon which is often found in areas with high poverty concentrations, although not necessarily among families who are themselves in poverty. In other cities, such variables as alcoholism and schizophrenia have also been found to be more prevalent in poverty areas. But, in Hamilton, we have no evidence to indicate clearly the extent to which this is so. In any case, the correlation between low income areas and juvenile delinquency, at the very least, suggests that other social problems might be found to be concentrated in low income areas here as they have been elsewhere. (Juvenile Delinquency Map on page 22.)

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

2.33 The data we have presented bears an important relationship to social policy. We will be using it, together with the findings of our survey, to develop recommendations for reducing the extent of poverty in the Hamilton area. There are, however, some aspects of the data which bear sufficient notice that we are commenting on them here, although we have not yet formulated recommendations based on them.

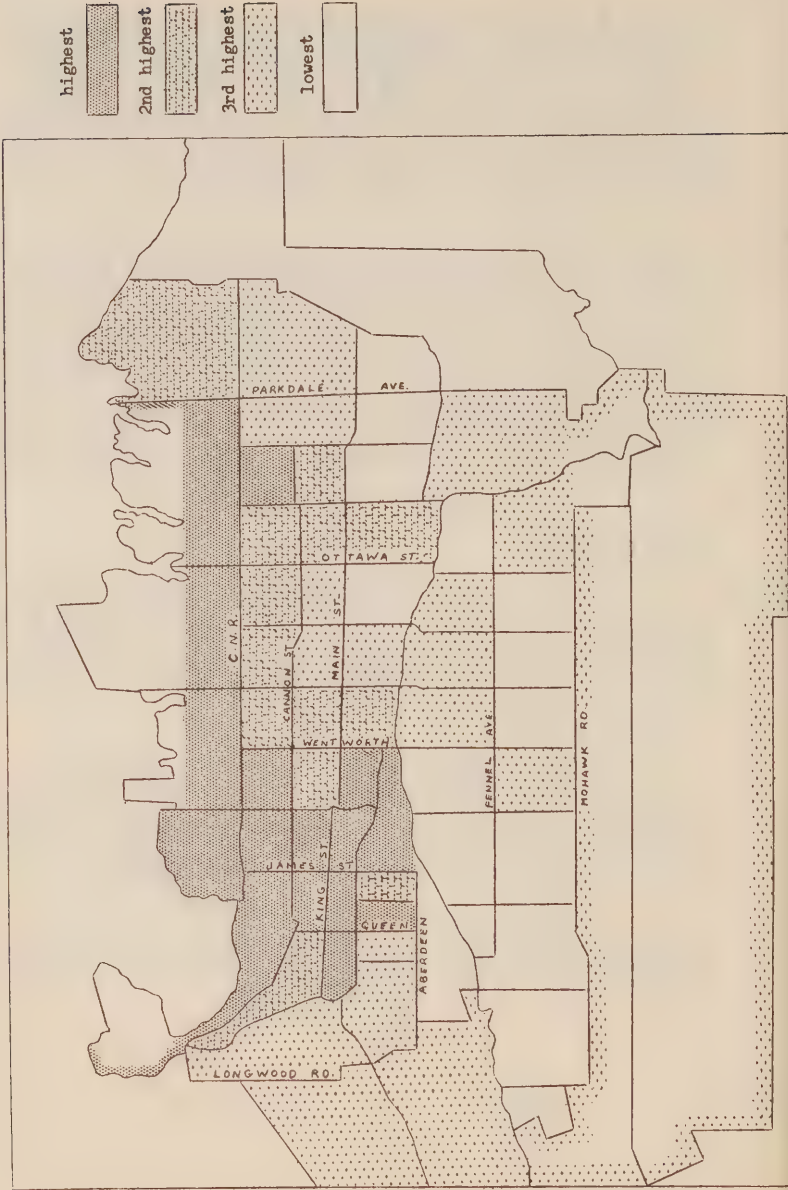
1. Retired Couples

2.34 Close to 20% of the poor families in Metropolitan Hamilton appear to be retired couples. Since the coming of the guaranteed income supplement, these couples cannot be as far below the poverty line as many others, but, nevertheless, there is a very real problem here. Since one cannot expect retired couples to obtain employment, poverty in this group must be primarily dealt with through income support programs.

* These figures were interpolated from data in Table C-5, Bulletin 4.1-3.

**These estimates are based on the poverty lines for 1961 used in comparing Tables VI to VIII.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY BY CENSUS TRACTS
1962



2. Larger Families

- 2.35 The percentage in poverty increases rapidly with family size, rising to over 50% in eight-or-more person families. This reflects two "obvious" factors, and a third, more subtle one. First, at any given income level, the more children a family has the more difficult its financial situation is liable to be. Second, the larger the family, the less likely it is that the wife will be able to work. The third, less obvious factor, is that the practice of birth control has, in the past, varied considerably in terms of education. The extent to which this is true today is an open question.* But the high concentration of poverty among larger families does imply a need for careful consideration of more adequate birth control programs, bearing in mind that these must be acceptable to those they are attempting to serve.

3. Geographic Distribution of the Poor

- 2.36 It is often said that in our kind of society the poor are invisible. This partially reflects their concentration in areas where middle and upper income people are relatively few. In terms of policy, what this is liable to mean is that the people who exercise a dominant influence will have little contact with poverty and, accordingly, will fail to see it as an important issue. This raises the question of how to develop an awareness of poverty among middle class groups.

*The Canadian Family Growth Survey, conducted in Toronto in 1967-68, with a random sample of 1600 married women, under 45 years of age, living with their husbands, found no differences in use of the pill that could be traced to education. While, among Roman Catholic women, the less educated showed lower use of the pill, this was attributable to the higher proportion of foreign-born women in the less educated group. See Allingham, J.D., T.R. Balakrishnan, and J.F. Kantner; "Time Series of Growth in Use of Oral Contraception and the Differential Diffusion of Oral Anovulants", Population Studies, March, 1969, pp. 43-51.

CHAPTER 3

SELECTED APPROACHES TO IMPROVING LIVING
STANDARDS OF THE POOR IN HAMILTON AND DISTRICT

- a) PUBLIC ASSISTANCE
- b) HOUSING

CHAPTER 3

Responsibility for meeting problems of living today is not merely individual nor is it a responsibility of the community for individuals - it is a mutual responsibility of individuals and society.

The individual has responsibility for meeting his needs and for his behaviour insofar as this is possible for him; at the point where this is not possible, it becomes a social responsibility.*

ATTITUDES

3.1 If it is the responsibility of society to assist persons who are unable to function adequately on their own - in the case of public assistance, because of lack of adequate income - then the institutions of society are in danger of failing to perform their functions when the appropriate utilization of services comes into question or disrepute. In other words, if public assistance, a necessary social instrument, is seen as bad, the task of meeting financial needs for those unable to meet them on their own is threatened. To the extent that needs are not met, other kinds of social and physical dysfunctioning can be expected. And the ability of the instrument (public assistance) to perform will be impaired by neglect and public disrepute of public assistance.

3.2 A leader in the field of public assistance in the United States pointed out ways in which public assistance has been limited by negative attitudes and pointed to some of the reasons:

Public welfare leadership has never believed in relief grants alone as a solution to poverty. Unaccompanied by preventive and rehabilitative services, relief grants frequently serve only to perpetuate conditions of dependency. . . .

If the blame is to be placed someplace for the existence of this state of affairs, then it seems that it must be charged to the fault of public attitudes, cherished misconceptions about the nature of poverty, poor people and race, the Horatio Alger mystique, especially as these attitudes, until now, have been reflected in the elected representatives of the people and, to a much less virulent extent, in the media of communication.**

* Ontario Welfare Council. The Province of Ontario . . . Its Social Services. Toronto, 1968, p. xiii.

**Raymond M. Hilliard. "Attacking Dependency at its Source," a paper presented September 1, 1965, at the Seminar on Problems in Public Welfare Administration, Fredericton, New Brunswick.

2.3

The negative attitudes toward recipients of public assistance continue to be widely held and to be expressed by persons of prominence in the community as well. The longer these attitudes persist, the more we can expect programs in public assistance to be inadequate and the more we might expect that persons on public assistance will make less than the optimum use of public assistance. Even at the point of application for help, many people are reluctant to come forward, surviving on extremely paltry fare until only the severest desperation drives them to apply. One worker with the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District recalls from his own practice in the United States instances that are pertinent: the family of a man working in construction in Detroit, who during the winter months frequently found it necessary to turn to public assistance, but who would make do on oatmeal three meals a day till there was just no alternative to going to the Department; the mother of a fatherless home in Seattle who worked long hours in a hotel laundry at wages so low that they were supplemented by the Welfare Department, so seldom at home and so tired when she got there that she was unable to provide the necessary guidance to help keep her children from trouble; a woman in Denver desperately trying to find ways of forcing a deserting husband, who is back and forth over the Mexican border, to pay support for the family, attempting to avoid going back to the Welfare Department in spite of the great difficulties involved in obtaining court orders to enforce support payments across state - and even more, national - borders.

3.4

These cases, and many others that might be related, demonstrate that in order to get adequate public assistance programs and to have recipients see public assistance and their place in the public assistance program appropriately, there must be an improvement in public appreciation for the program, its purpose and clientele. Efforts to organize recipients of assistance and to involve community leaders in experiencing home visits and an orientation to public assistance have proven to be of value. Gains have been made by the Welfare Rights Organization and other groups of clients in the United States. Such groups are rather new in Canada, but we understand that some of them have been heard by the Special Senate Committee on Poverty. Home visiting of recipients with community leaders going along has had a positive impact on attitudes among local "power structures" in some American cities.

3.5

Illustrative of the kind of anti-welfare prejudice that constitutes a major part of the problem are not hard to come by. Three fairly recent ones will do:

At the Progressive Conservative Party Policy Conference in Niagara Falls, a Hamilton woman

was prepared to see the party endorse an expansion of the welfare system but only if those who were solely recipients

were deprived of the vote.*

Mr. Len Owen, Chairman of the Guelph Housing Authority, responded to criticism of admission and eviction policies from an incipient tenants' committee by pointing out that

the committee was composed. . . of one member on welfare, "two members who have paid no rent since July 14," and one member on eviction notice who is behind in rent payments.**

Mr. Gagliardi, Welfare Minister for British Columbia, told a conference in Vancouver that the government would provide employables receiving public assistance with an "incentive" to work by cutting allotments.

"We'll probably give them enough for food to keep them alive, but it's clear that we need some kind of incentive to get these type /sic/ of people back to work," he said later in an interview.***

This kind of issue has been raised time and time again, as if there are substantial numbers of such persons receiving welfare, while in fact studies indicate that the bulk of caseloads are made up of the old, children, single parents, and handicapped persons. The extent of the inclusion of employables varies with the level of unemployment in a community.

3.6

While there has been feeling about the worth of persons receiving public assistance through agencies such as the Department of Social and Family Services and municipal departments with various titles but similar functions, little stigma is attached to those receiving other forms of public assistance such as: oil and mineral depletion allowances, no taxation of capital gains, expense account living, tax avoidance by living abroad, family allowance, old age security pension, N.H.A. loans, advance grain payments, government help in the form of payment of excess storage charges for wheat, etc. Some of these forms of public assistance are currently under consideration for change, as is indicated by the Carter report and

* "PC Delegates Oppose Annual Income Plan," in Toronto Globe and Mail, October 13, 1969. David MacDonald, M.P. (Egmont, P.E.I.), said that some participants "spoke as though they had a tremendous hankering to go back to the 1890's in the days of workhouses and debtor's prisons."

** Guelph Mercury, November 6, 1969.

***Canadian Press. "Able-bodied May be Cut from Welfare," in Hamilton Spectator, November 25, 1969.

the White Paper on taxation, but the recipients of this kind of largesse are not thought of as being in the same category as recipients of what is more usually thought of as public assistance. No one talks of taking away the vote from recipients of mineral depletion allowances.

3.7

One element of the attitude toward the poor in receipt of public assistance is the charge of "chiselling". This term is used to indicate two kinds of behaviour: fraud and receipt of assistance when the person "should be working". Studies of fraud in Canadian public assistance are not known to Social Planning and Research Council staff. In the United States, there have been a fair number, especially as related to the Aid to Dependent Children program. An exhaustive investigation in Detroit, in 1948, resulted in a total of two warrants for fraud, neither of which resulted in conviction.* A study by the California Department of Social Welfare in 1958-1959 uncovered a rate of fraud of 1.5%.** Greenleigh Associates, in a study of Aid to Dependent Children in Chicago, reported in 1960, found fraud (defined to include undisclosed income and/or presence of "absent" fathers) at under 2%.*** A massive study of Aid to Dependent Children conducted by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, reported in 1963, found apparent fraud to be minimal - under 2% in 34 states, with only 8 states having fraud of over 3% and with Delaware and Nevada having the highest rates - 7.4%.****

3.8

The larger question is whether there are people on public assistance who "should be working". The bulk of public assistance recipients are the old, children, single parents, and the handicapped, with a very few employables. An economist, looking at 184 cases in Calgary,† found that there were 12 cases where one could "present reasonably valid arguments against the continuation of social allowance payments" and of the seven which the author describes, the evidence against continuation does not appear convincing in all cases. Nor does he demonstrate that there is indeed work available for them to do in Calgary. At most, he would question the appropriateness of less than 7% of his sample.

* Winifred Bell. Aid to Dependent Children. New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1965, p. 62.

** Ibid., pp. 62-63.

*** Samuel Mencher, "Public Welfare", in Henry S. Maas, ed. Five Fields of Social Service. New York: National Association of Social Workers, 1966, p.70, citing Greenleigh Associates, Facts, Fallacies and Future. New York, 1960, p. 55.

****U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Eligibility of Families Receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children. Washington D.C., July, 1963. Over 2% of the total U.S. cases (21,085) were included in the investigation, on the basis of random sampling. Case reviewers were assigned to geographic areas and caseloads for which they were not normally responsible for eligibility determination.

+ Stephen G. Feitchinis. "Why Should Anyone in Calgary Need Aid?" in Canadian Welfare, May-June, 1969.

3.9 So far, "chiselling" has been examined as it relates to public assistance. There are, of course, other areas in which "chiselling" the government is possible. Since there has been such concern about "chiselling" on public assistance, it might be worth while to compare this problem to tax evasion. Our references are again from the United States, as there is a lack of Canadian material.

3.10 A former U.S. Commissioner estimates that 8% of tax returns in 1957 underreported gross income.* Another expert contends that in 1955 the most generous estimate is that in returns from business and professional proprietors only 81% of income was reported, and only 56% of farm income.** Still another indicates a fairly constant rate of underreporting of dividends (close to 14%) from 1936 through 1957.***

This same writer observes that:

It is hard to resist the conclusion that the zeal with which taxpayers reported their dividend income diminished between 1939 and 1952. A ready explanation lies in the change in tax rates. . . The response to tax rates has been symmetrical - just as underreporting increased as rates rose, so it declined when tax rates fell. But the fall in underreporting was not as vigorous as its rise earlier.****

Underreporting of interest was estimated at 57.8% in 1957.+ The automatic data processing system was first introduced into the Southeast Region of the Internal Revenue Service in 1961, and in 1962,

". . .the first year after the computers were installed in the Southeast Region, 45 percent more tax returns reported interest received from bank accounts and 20 percent more reported dividends from stocks. Besides, 7.7 percent more returns were filed in that region alone than had been received the previous year.++

"The remainder of the nation, then not under the ADP system, showed only a 5 percent rise in the number of returns filed."+++

* Russell C. Harrington. "Improving Income Tax Reporting," in U.S. Congress. House Committee on Ways and Means. Tax Revision Compendium. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1959, Vol. II, p. 1461.

** C. Harry Kahn. "Coverage of Entrepreneurial Income on Federal Tax Returns," in ibid., p. 1455.

*** Daniel M. Holland. "Underreporting of Dividends and Interest on Tax Returns," in ibid., p. 1413.

**** Ibid., pp. 1407, 1411.

+ Ibid., p. 1418.

++ William Surface. Inside Internal Revenue. New York: Coward-McCann, Inc., 1967, p. 13. Quoting Clinton L. Walsh, Director of Operations for Automatic Data Processing, Internal Revenue Service.

+++ Loc. cit., fn.

Apparently, there are many sectors of society in which "chiselling" is more common than among those receiving public assistance.

3.11

The impact of the prejudice against poor persons on public assistance also includes another unfortunate element - the incorporation of the negative attitudes toward recipients by the clients themselves. Many recipients see themselves as second - or third-class citizens and voice this perception. The client who gratefully accepts whatever is given and is "appropriately humble" in the process is not a good prospect for rehabilitation. In fact, many workers in public assistance have commented that the "ungrateful" client who protests and fights the conditions to which he is subject is much more likely to show progress in movement away from reliance on public assistance. One of the more depressing aspects of work in public assistance is, therefore, the amount of apathy that one encounters.

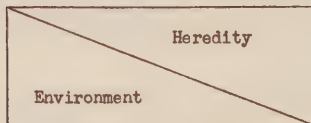
INADEQUACY OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

3.12

Adequate functioning on the part of any person requires a combination of adequate environmental supports and adequate hereditary resources. Where the environmental resources are in abundance, a person may function adequately with less than average innate capacities, and where the innate capacities are extremely great, he may function adequately with less than average environmental support. In Figure I.,

FIGURE I

HEREDITY AND ENVIRONMENT



moving along the bottom line, the average person would be at a point half way along the line, with average environmental situation and average innate capacities leading to normal functioning. Moving further to the right, with a poorer environment, a person requires greater innate capacity to function adequately, till, at the far right, where environmental conditions are so bad that no amount of inherited strengths will produce adequate functioning. Moving to the left, one meets the same condition, till at the far left no amount of environmental support will be able to make up for hereditary deficits. An Einstein will not develop

in a primitive Mexican Indian village, and a human vegetable will not become self-supporting regardless of how much care, how good a diet, how much love one gives him. Between these two extremes one finds the bulk of humanity, and with the person in between one strives for an average expectable environment as a minimum to nurture the person so that he can function adequately. At this point, there is relatively little we can do to improve human heredity, so that improvement in the human condition will necessarily depend on improvement in environment.

- 3.13 In looking at environmental components of a person, one must set some priorities. Not all aspects of environment are equal in effects, and some may be preconditions for ability to utilize other aspects of environment. As a psychology professor once observed, "Man does not live by bread alone - except when there is no bread." Yet, just as it is difficult to specify the extent to which inputs of environment are essential to adequate functioning, due to differences in heredity, so is it difficult to specify the quantity and time of receiving food, then shelter and clothing, then affection and socialization, and then other aspects of "culture" that an individual requires to function adequately. Again, we can state certain kinds of propositions about the limits, and we can point to problems arising with deficiencies, especially problems around greater anxiety and consequent movement away from adequate functioning. Another environmental consideration is the extent to which the quantity of goods and services which a person gets compares favourably with what others get. Even if calories are adequate to keep the person alive, if he sees others all around him living in considerable comfort, his functioning is apt not to be adequate. Our society is not willing, for instance, to accept the kind of social functioning demonstrated by the man who chose to make his home in a manhole in Toronto, regardless of his nutritional situation. At the nutritional level, if an infant with phenylketonuria (PKU) does not receive the appropriate kind of diet shortly after birth and for some years thereafter, the damage done will lead to gross retardation which no kind of help can reverse. Adequate diet would have prevented retardation. A man in Denver, suffering from diabetes and having trouble keeping on his diet on his public assistance grant, required amputation of limbs. Adequate financial assistance could have avoided this tragedy. These are rather extreme examples, but each relates to the kind of impact that society can have on environmental considerations, even if hereditary conditions are poor.

- 3.14 While the poverty line described in this brief is not a line below which everyone functions inadequately or above which everyone functions adequately, it is an effort to set down the monetary component of an average expectable environment at a somewhat minimal level, closely linked to the Economic Council's figure of 70% of income being expended on food, shelter, and clothing. Using the Economic Council's reasoning, the family of four in Hamilton receiving \$4,800 a year is at the poverty line. Under the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services, the maximum which a family of four can possibly receive is \$3,600, and almost all will get considerably less because they are not entitled, e.g., to

special diets, etc.* General assistance in Hamilton, Wentworth County, and Halton County (including Burlington) is comparable.

- 3.15 From the obvious inadequacy of the public assistance grant, question can be raised about how serious government at all levels is about eliminating poverty. In the size of public assistance grants, it is in fact perpetuating poverty. Under such conditions, it is difficult to maintain that government has a policy of eliminating poverty.

We have been advised that the average family finds it possible to obtain housing and food from the basic welfare allotments but that clothing needs cannot be met from this source nor do family allowances ordinarily suffice to close the gap. Assuming that a family must go elsewhere for clothing, one can only predict that the family will attempt to obtain clothing from churches, friends, relatives, various agencies, etc. The ability of the family to function with dignity is inhibited, and a "begging" kind of behaviour is encouraged. Inadequate public assistance is public assistance that is self-defeating, and more than any other characteristic of the program the inadequacy cries out for correction. Obsequious behaviour does not promote rehabilitation and a program that encourages it is degrading to the people served by it.

- 3.16 Some have argued that additional funds should be put into services rather than higher grants. Essentially, this argument boils down to the contention that an income at the poverty level is higher than that required for adequate functioning. The position for the priority to be given to more intensive casework as against more adequate grants is not supported by the evidence. Let us examine two studies, one Canadian and one from the United States.

- 3.17 An experimental project by Community Research Associates in 1956 in three Minnesota counties, using Aid to Families with Dependent Children cases, divided cases into two categories, alpha and beta. Alpha cases were those who needed and could benefit from intensive agency services, and beta cases were those in which it was felt that only basic ameliorative services were necessary or possible. It proved impossible to service all of the alphas intensively, and therefore the alphas who did not receive special service provided a comparison group. "Although the 'Alpha-assigned' showed more improvement than the less-served cases, the differences were not great or statistically significant."**

- 3.18 In the Family Centred Project in London, Ontario, 50 out of the total 80 cases treated were referred by the Department of Welfare, some jointly with other agencies. 62 of the 80 were on some form of public assistance at the time of referral, at least for part of their income. Only 4 of the cases had never received financial assistance.

* Public assistance also covers medical and drug costs, and there is no income tax to pay, but all of these factors will ordinarily not come anywhere close to making the \$3,600 on assistance equal to \$4,800 earned income.

**Mencher, op. cit., p. 61. Emphasis added.

The experimental group of cases evidenced a somewhat greater incidence of improvement in overall family functioning, by the end of service, than did the control cases. The extent of the difference between the two groups is however limited. There were no cases in either group which achieved an "adequate" level of overall functioning by the end of service.*

SOME SPECIFIC CHARACTERISTICS OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN HAMILTON AND DISTRICT

- 3.19 So far we have considered some of the global problems of public assistance, reflecting more or less universal characteristics. There are also aspects that relate more directly to characteristics of programs serving the Hamilton area that deserve some comment. One of these is the confusion that can arise from the multiplicity of public assistance agencies in the area. In addition to the Provincial Department of Social and Family Services, we also have the Department of Social and Family Services of Halton County, the Public Welfare Department of Hamilton, and the Social Services Department of Wentworth County.
- 3.20 On occasion an applicant waits all morning to be seen at the Public Welfare Department of Hamilton only to learn that he should have gone to the Social Services Department of Wentworth County. The Hamilton-Burlington-Wentworth Local Government Review Commission recommends that the public assistance programs be joined under a single agency responsible to a Metropolitan Council, the top layer of a two-layer government for the region.** We concur with this recommendation, as far as it goes. At the same time, it is important that there be an adequate number of branch offices, for accessibility.
- 3.21 The Hamilton Public Welfare Department takes license plates from recipients, making these plates available to them again on the basis of specific needs which are approved by the Department. If a goal of public assistance is to promote independent functioning on the part of the client, this policy appears to have a contrary impact, leading instead to making the client dependent upon the worker for permission to use his own car, dependence of a sort that one would not expect from an adult. The Hamilton Department of Public Welfare will pay rent to landlords directly, if landlords insist. The Burlington Department of Social and Family Services, recently superseded by the Halton County Department, paid rent on Ontario Housing Corporation homes directly to the governmental landlord. In both cases, if the independent functioning of the client is a goal, it would be preferable for payment to be to the client, with the exception of the few cases in which the client is unable to manage his own affairs.
- 3.22 Hamilton's office for Public Welfare is inadequate. While the structure is relatively new, having been built in 1962, the wicket-like interviewing partitions were not designed to provide privacy, and

* The Family Centred Project of London, Ontario. London: United Community Services of Greater London, 1967. Quotation is at p. 175. Emphasis added.

**Donald R. Steele, E.A. Jarrett, and Brian W.B. Morison. Report and Recommendations. November, 1969, p. 123.

the need to apply for public assistance is a matter of personal embarrassment to many recipients. In fairness, it must be noted that the Department attempts to carry on many private interviews in the home. The office is frequently very crowded, with applicants having to wait for long periods of time. There should be some way of simplifying interviewing procedures to reduce waiting time. Long waits are especially unpleasant because a few of those waiting are intoxicated. There are no magazines for those waiting. It would be some improvement if there were reading material available at the Hamilton Public Welfare Department. Applicants at the other departments in the area do not have such a long wait at the office to apply for assistance because of fewer cases.

- 3.23 The Hamilton Public Welfare Department may ask that a man seeking public assistance stay home for as much as three specified half-days in a month in order to be seen by the worker at his home. This multiple appointment system conflicts with his ability to seek employment and should be reconsidered. If the problem is one of caseload size, more workers should be employed.

POSSIBLE PROCEDURES FOR UPGRADING THE QUALITY OF SERVICE

- 3.24 Recipients of public assistance have a variety of needs. Many require only financial help. Recipients should receive such aid as a matter of right, without also being required to accept casework or other services. Others also require help in dealing with emotional and other personal problems. It is apparent that differing degrees of training will be required to deal with the client needing solely financial aid and the person with serious emotional difficulties, retardation, mental illness, etc. With workers on the line having training varying from grade 12 through the M.S.W., the obvious strategy would be to utilize workers differentially, according to the differing degrees of difficulty which cases present. In fact, this procedure is in operation in the Hamilton Public Welfare Department and the Provincial Department of Social and Family Services and is planned in Halton. In the rather small Wentworth County Social Services Department there is no such division of clientele, largely because of the smaller nature of the operations. The Wentworth County operation attempts to employ personnel with a higher level of training than minimal in order to meet the needs of a wider variety of cases.
- 3.25 One kind of service that should be implemented, whether under a public assistance agency or elsewhere, is for basic adult education, for rehabilitation of persons who are not able to read, write, or speak English at a minimally adequate level or who lack basic arithmetic skills.
- 3.26 Caseloads in the Hamilton Public Welfare tend to be in the neighbourhood of 100 for district visitors, with the special unit for intensive casework having loads from about 45 to 50. The Provincial Social and Family Services caseloads are 220 families or 350 singles

and married couples without children, a rather heavy load. Their Family Service Unit, which the social and family services regional administrator would like to expand further, has caseloads of 22 or 23, which provides opportunity for intensive service. According to Greenleigh Associates,

It is estimated that an intake worker should be able to handle 20 new cases a month. Caseloads for intensive undercare should be between 40 and 60, for medium service, 60 to 90, and cases requiring few services, 90 and over.*

The especially small caseloads on the Family Service Unit should provide for some very special kinds of work and for appropriate kinds of experimentation to justify this kind of work input.

3.27

Work with public assistance recipients requires a constant upgrading of the knowledge and skills of the staff. This upgrading is needed because workers in public assistance bring to their jobs such varied kinds of training and experience and because the recipients of service have so wide a variety of problems. In addition, the whole field of help with emotional and behavioural problems is very much in flux. Departments in the area provide in-service training, and remuneration for successful completion of course work at appropriate local educational institutions. Only the Provincial Department offers scholarships for completion of the Master of Social Work degree. This is the only profession that has shown interest in providing leadership specifically in public assistance. It is the view of the Social Planning and Research Council that more persons with training at the master's level are needed in public assistance to provide special services to problem-ridden clients, especially services experimentally oriented, to assist in inservice training, and to develop future leadership in public welfare. There are relatively few people so trained in the field. Therefore, scholarship help for people working in public assistance should be available to those wishing educational advancement and capable of utilizing it.

SHORTCOMINGS OF THE PROVINCIAL PROGRAM

3.28

Under the Canada Assistance Plan, provinces may opt to provide supplemental assistance to persons employed full time at wages so low that they earn less than would be provided under public assistance. The Province of Ontario does not make use of this provision and we recommend that it do so. Otherwise, we have a situation in which a person is penalized for working. Such a position is a disincentive to work. It is of course true that many persons on public assistance should not work, (the aged, the handicapped, etc.), but for those who can, work not only means a savings to the government but also provides the person with feelings of worth. All other things being equal, it is therefore, desirable to encourage work. If public assistance provided aid at the poverty line,

*Public Welfare: Poverty-Prevention or Perpetuation. New York and Chicago,: Greenleigh Associates, 1964, p. 107.

it would be desirable to build in incentives for individuals were below that level but might yet work. However, simply allowing people to make up the difference between current assistance levels and the poverty line is not a desirable social policy because it ignores those most in need of assistance, those who for one reason or another are unable to work to attain adequacy of income - the person with a bad heart, the person who is sufficiently mentally retarded to prevent employability, etc. Assistance should be adequate, and incentives should be provided beyond the level of adequacy.

329 We also feel that there should be more adequate incentives provided for single parents wanting to work part-time.

3.30 A question of philosophy arises in another area of provincial concern. There are two general ways of perceiving social welfare and its role. One is to see welfare as having a residual role, dealing with the variety of conditions of people who have not "made it". Public assistance would be a typical "residual" service. The other looks at social welfare as having an institutional role, with service to the entire society as an objective. As well as public assistance, the family allowance program would be included as part of the social welfare field in the institutional approach.

The residual formulation is based on the premise that there are two "natural" channels through which an individual's needs are properly met: the family and the market economy. These are the preferred structures of supply. However, sometimes these institutions do not function adequately: family life is disrupted, depressions occur. Or sometimes the individual cannot make use of normal channels because of old age or illness. In such cases, according to this idea, a third mechanism of need fulfillment is brought into play - the social welfare structure. This is conceived as a residual agency, attending primarily to emergency functions, and is expected to withdraw when the regular social structure - the family and the economic system - is again working properly. Because of its residual, temporary, substitute characteristic, social welfare thus conceived often carries the stigma of "dole" or "charity".*

The institutional approach sees social welfare as

the organized system of social services and institutions, designed to aid individuals and groups to attain satisfying standards of life and health. It aims at personal and social relationships which permit individuals the fullest development of their capacities and the promotion of their well-being in harmony with the needs of the community.**

* Harold L. Wilensky and Charles N. Lebeaux. Industrial Society and Social Welfare. New York: The Free Press, 1967, p. 139.

**Walter A. Friedlander. Introduction to Social Welfare. New York: Prentice-Hall, 1955, p. 4.

3.31 Those seeing the role of social welfare as residual are apt to restrict the application of welfare to much more narrow realms. When the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District inquired about receiving Canada Assistance funds through the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services for an information centre, the Department stated that funding of such activity, though permitted under the Canada Assistance Plan, was beyond what is permitted under Ontario legislation. Alberta has appropriate legislation of this nature. We would recommend that Ontario take an institutional position on social welfare, adopting legislation allowing for programs such as information services and other programs providing services and amenities for the entire community.

3.32 An important shortcoming in Canadian public assistance is in the area of research. This report had to rely very heavily on United States documentation, simply because Canadian material is so minimal. Research should be related to issues both of large scope (policy) and of lesser scope (specific techniques).

TWO PROPOSED BASIC CHANGES

3.33 It has already been mentioned, but we consider it sufficiently important to stress again the high priority to be given to making public assistance payments adequate. If we wish to have recipients function adequately, we must also provide the wherewithal. Although the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District has not been able to give the time and study to the question of the form of income maintenance for which the Government should opt, it is our feeling that all those in need should receive the kind of help needed to bring them beyond the poverty level, through a mechanism that does not infringe upon the dignity of the recipient.

3.34 The provision of services would be enhanced by the establishment of a single public assistance agency in the region. In order for there to be a single agency, it would be necessary to abolish municipal departments and place their functions in the hands of the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services or set up a series of regional departments with all operating functions, subject to the regulations of a single provincial agency. Public Assistance is not merely a local problem. Ours is a mobile population.

3.35 This consolidation will eliminate the confusion that exists in the minds of many who need to apply for assistance, will make possible a greater upgrading of staff (e.g., through scholarships for training at various levels), and facilitate specialization of caseloads. There should be an adequate number of branch offices to meet needs, a factor to be stressed considering the recent consolidation of municipal public assistance into a single Halton County operation.

THE HOUSING PICTURE

HOUSING IN HAMILTON AND DISTRICT

3.36 A major problem for low-income families is the cost of housing. Put quite simply, in the Hamilton area housing is in short supply, and when an item of universal need is in short supply the demand for it bids the price up. The tight housing market exists in spite of a tendency for the number of dwelling units to increase at a somewhat more rapid rate than population. (See Table I).

TABLE I

HOUSING STOCK AND POPULATION

HAMILTON*

YEAR	NO. UNITS	% INCREASE	POPULATION	% INCREASE
1965	86,823		283,099	
1966	88,124	1.5	285,649	0.90
1967	89,731	1.8	291,353	2.06
1968	91,898	2.4	293,397	0.64
<u>BURLINGTON**</u>				
1966	17,634		65,500	
1967	19,202	8.9	71,700	9.5
1968	21,791	13.5	76,100	6.1

* Hamilton Planning Office

**Population as of Burlington Assessment, September 30.

Census figures indicate some lessening of overcrowding. (See Table II).

TABLE II

OVERCROWDING

YEAR	HAMILTON		HAMILTON & DISTRICT+ CROWDED DWELLINGS**		HAMILTON		HAMILTON & DISTRICT 2 OR MORE FAMILIES/DWELLING UNIT	
	NO.	%*	NO.	%*	NO.	%**	NO.	%**
1961	8,197	11.1	11,059	10.5	4,523	7.1	5,343	5.7
1966					2,673	3.8	3,399	3.7

SOURCE: D.B.S.

* of all occupied dwelling units - D.B.S.

**% of all occupied dwelling units occupied by families - D.B.S.

+ Hamilton & District is the D.B.S. Hamilton Metropolitan Area.

**A crowded dwelling is one in which the number of persons is greater than the number of rooms occupied.

While the most recent available statistics do indicate a decline in overcrowding, the rate of new construction has been erratic. (See Table III).

TABLE III

RESIDENTIAL BUILDING STARTS

YEAR	AREA	SINGLE DETACHED, SEMI-DETACHED & DUPLEX	ROW HOUSING & APTS.	TOTAL	% INCREASE OR DECREASE
1965	Hamilton	685	1,413	2,098	-38.3
1965	Hamilton & District*	2,096	2,423	4,519	-20.3
1966	Hamilton	604	1,376	1,980	- 5.6
1966	Hamilton & District	2,260	1,941	4,201	- 7.0
1967	Hamilton	864	2,171	3,015	52.3
1967	Hamilton & District	2,386	3,122	5,508	31.1
1968	Hamilton	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1968	Hamilton & District	1,977	2,943	4,920	-10.7

SOURCE: Hamilton Planning Office
C.M.H.C.

*Hamilton and District is the D.B.S. Hamilton Metropolitan area.

- 3.37 A critical issue is the vacancy rate. According to the Ontario Housing Corporation, (The Hamilton Housing Market, 1968, pp. 26-27):

A reasonable proportion of vacant units is necessary at at [sic] any given time to allow for mobility and to provide households with some choice in the selection of suitable accommodation. The vacancy allowance for rental units is generally higher than for sale units at any given time, due to the greater mobility of the group of persons renting accommodation. The centre for Housing and Environmental Studies, Cornell University* reports rates of 6 per cent for rental and 2 per cent for sale units as being reasonable. The 1.9 per cent vacancy rate recorded in the Market Area in 1968 can be considered low and indicative of a tight market.

In addition, the Economic Council of Canada recommends an overall vacancy rate of 4 per cent as desirable. Significant new construction will be required in addition to filling needs of newly formed households to meet this goal.

*Beyer, G.H., Housing Society, MacMillan Company, New York, 1965, p. 488.

- 3.38 The vacancy rate in the Hamilton area has been very low for as long as the Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation has collected such figures in this area (1965). Of eleven metropolitan areas on which they report in their June, 1969, apartment vacancy survey, Hamilton is the only city on which statistics have been collected since 1965 with a vacancy rate for that entire period under 2%.* Since 1967, the picture appears equally bleak for a number of metropolitan areas.
- 3.39 The low vacancy rate does not necessarily indicate that there is little turnover. In fact, especially at the lower end of the rental scale turnover is fairly common. The low vacancy rate bids up rents, however.
- 3.40 The most recent Hamilton area data continues the dismal picture. (See Table IV). As of mid-1968, according to the Hamilton Assessment Department, 1.7% of the single detached houses were vacant.

*The Apartment Vacancy Survey is conducted on a sample basis and only includes apartment buildings with six or more dwelling units. It does not cover structures completed in the six months prior to survey data.

3.41

The apartment vacancy rate picture for the Hamilton area is perhaps even more dismal if one examines the matter from the point of view of the large family. (See Table IV). According to the most recent figures, there were no vacancies in units of three or more bedrooms anywhere outside Burlington, a generally affluent, newer community. Vacancies in two bedroom units are under 2% except for an area designated "other" (outside Hamilton, Burlington, Dundas, and Stoney Creek), where it jumped from 0.0% in 1968 to 20.0% in 1969). This 20.0%* is based upon three buildings with a total of 43 units. Even among bachelor apartments the rate has dipped to 2.0% for the area.

TABLE IV

VACANCY RATES, PRIVATELY INITIATED APARTMENTSTRUCTURES OF SIX UNITS AND OVER, METROPOLITAN HAMILTON CENSUS AREA
(Per Cent)

	NUMBER OF BEDROOMS								TOTAL	
	Bachelor		One		Two		Three+			
	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969	1968	1969
HAMILTON CITY	4.3	2.1	1.8	1.5	1.2	0.7	2.1	0.0	1.8	1.2
Centre	5.7	2.3	1.7	1.9	2.1	1.4	3.9	0.0	2.7	1.8
North East	3.5	0.8	2.1	1.0	1.0	0.7	0.0	0.0	1.8	0.9
North West	0.5	3.3	1.7	2.4	0.9	0.9	1.2	0.0	1.2	1.8
South	7.5	0.7	1.5	0.9	1.0	0.3	3.9	0.0	1.5	0.6
BURLINGTON TOWN	0.0	0.0	1.7	1.5	3.0	1.4	2.7	7.1	2.5	2.0
DUNDAS TOWN	0.0	0.0	0.6	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3
STONEY CREEK TOWN	10.0	0.0	0.6	0.3	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	0.1
OTH ^R	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.7	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	9.3
<u>METROPOLITAN</u> <u>HAMILTON</u> <u>CENSUS AREA</u>	4.2	2.0	1.7	1.4	1.6	0.9	2.2	2.8	1.9	1.3

The Apartment Vacancy Survey is conducted on a sample basis and only includes apartment buildings with six or more dwelling units. It does not cover structures completed in the six months prior to survey date.

SOURCE: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation

*There appears to be some discrepancy in the percentage figure, in that there is no whole number of vacancies which will give a 20.0% rate on the basis of 43 units.

3.42

Some further important questions on the availability of housing have to do with other characteristics of vacant units. In a sample consisting of every 15th dwelling unit (houses and apartments) in Hamilton assessed at under \$2,501 there was a vacancy rate of 8.2%, according to 1969 Assessment information. This seemed to indicate that the vast majority of vacancies in the city would be found in this assessment range. In order to learn more about these units that were vacant at assessment time, vacancies were surveyed in three of the 8 Wards. In Ward 2, 9 of the 13 "vacancies" were inspected; in Wards 7 and 8, 5 of 5 were checked. Inspections were almost all exterior.

3.43

Ward 2 is an older section of Hamilton, including downtown property. Of the nine locations, two had been demolished. One may have been vacant (a house). The still standing units consisted of one apartment, 4 houses, and 2 row houses. Five of the units appeared to be in good condition (2 of these in need of some repair), with 2 in poor condition. It is not unlikely that an inside inspection would decrease the number judged to be in good condition. The guess of the two staff associates is that two of the units date from before 1920, another 3 before 1930, and the other 2 before 1940. Some vacancies were seen by the two staff as they drove around.

3.44

Wards 7 and 8 are on "the mountain" and are generally a newer section of Hamilton. Of the 5 properties inspected, only one was vacant. That one was a small house in poor repair, apparently dating back to the 1940's. A torn-up "for sale" sign was lying on the side of the house. The other units were a small house, a dwelling unit attached to a variety store (in need of some painting), and apartments. These were all constructed probably in the 1960's, the late '50's at the earliest. One of the locations was a new apartment house with 180 units, listed on the assessment records as all being vacant. There were no vacancies. While the assessment rate per dwelling unit was under \$2,501, the 180-unit structure did not appear to be "economy". The other "vacancies", except the actual vacancy, appeared to be sound but generally on the small side. Very few vacancies were observed in driving around. There were some single family dwellings under construction, but these appeared to be larger than the ones listed as "vacant", and one would guess that their assessment is higher.

3.45

One of the disturbing aspects of the housing picture is the very limited availability of data. C.M.H.C. collects vacancy rates on dwelling units in apartment houses of six or more. Hamilton Assessor's office has total vacancies in single-detached houses for the city. Any composite picture of the metropolitan area is largely guess-work. The census has gathered information on occupied dwelling units. Intelligent planning in the area of housing requires frequent periodic information about vacancies in rentals, properties for sale, ranges of prices, and variations according to number of bedrooms, at a minimum, and no one is compiling this kind of material, certainly not on a regional level.

HOUSING FOR LOW-INCOME PERSONS

3.46 We have argued elsewhere that the standard of living made possible by an income at the poverty line, as defined, is not a satisfactory one. This is supported further by information on the availability of housing to low-income groups.

3.47 An estimate of the average income of a wage-earner family head in Hamilton in 1969 is \$6,479.*

3.48 If we compare these figures with the incomes of N.H.A. borrowers in 1968,

TABLE VINCOMES OF N.H.A. BORROWERS*, HAMILTON METROPOLITAN AREA

AVERAGE	\$ 0-	5,000-	6,000-	7,000-	8,000-	9,000-	10,000-	11,000+
\$8,531	4,999	5,999	6,999	7,999	8,999	9,999	10,999	
	0.3%	3.4%	15.2%	24.5%	22.8%	8.2%	8.2%	10.5%

SOURCE: C.M.H.C.

*Not Family Income

it is clear that N.H.A. mortgages are making little impact on the housing problem for average families, let alone low-income families. Fewer than 3 in a thousand borrowers are at the poverty line (family of four, \$4,800). The average wage-earner family in Hamilton has a better chance, with almost one in five borrowers being at \$6,999 or below.

3.49 Another way of looking at housing costs is to examine cost of new construction.

*Est. 1968 Personal Income Per Capita (Ont.) x Average 1961 income, head = \$6,47
1961 Personal Income Per Capita (Ont.) of Wage-Earner Families
(Hamilton)

SOURCE: Ontario Statistical Review, 1968, and D.B.S.

TABLE VIESTIMATED COSTS OF NEW BUNGALOWS FINANCED UNDER NATIONAL HOUSING ACT,C.M.H.C. FIELD OFFICE, HAMILTON

YEAR	TOTAL COST	% INCREASE	LAND	% INCREASE	CONSTRUCTION COST per Sq. Ft.	% INCRE
1966	19,947		5,349		12.31	
1967	21,341	7.0	5,999	12.2	13.10	6.4
1968	23,087	7.6	6,914	15.3	13.55	3.4

SOURCE: C.M.H.C.

Table VI indicates a rapidly rising housing cost much of which is attributed to an increase in the price of serviced land. In 1968, of the 41 C.M.H.C. field offices, land costs for construction were second highest in Hamilton* (after Toronto). Though construction costs here were twenty-ninth, total costs (land plus construction) were still second only to Toronto.

3.50

Recent news indicates that efforts are under way to expand the quantity of available serviced lots by 38,000 by 1974, using 1,100 acres of land on the Hamilton Mountain, under control of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation and Ontario Housing Corporation. While the Hamilton Board of Control has approved the idea, it is still to be approved by O.H.C. According to the Hamilton Spectator, November 12, 1969, Controller J. MacDonald said that if O.H.C. approves, "...Hamilton would be one of the two cities in Canada assured of having more available serviced land than is needed for the next decade". One would also expect such a development to have a deflationary influence on land prices in the area. Most of the Hamilton Mountain housing will be for "moderate" income families under The Home Ownership Made Easy (H.O.M.E.) program, with some public housing. Land in the H.O.M.E. program will be leased rather than sold, to cut cost.

*The C.M.H.C. Field Office in Hamilton serves Brant, Haldimand, Norfolk and Wentworth Counties and that portion of Halton County included in the Townships of Nelson and Trafalgar.

- 3.51 1,550 acres of land in Saltfleet is being held by Ontario Housing Corporation in a recently formed land bank. This area is planned for development as an integrated community - housing, industry, and business. The development would be gradual, and the beginning of activity after a land bank assembly is ordinarily five years away from the bank formation. The amount of housing available to low-income persons in this development is not known.
- 3.52 At a meeting of a Social Planning and Research Council committee in 1966, a committee member in construction said that his company "had abandoned low-income housing schemes, because they are unable to place a house e.g. a 3 bedroom bungalow, in a good area, on the market under \$22,000." The problems are the high cost of servicing the land and the mortgage market. "He sees subsidized housing as the only answer to the problems of the low-income groups." In fact, it was noted at that meeting that Hamilton has more public housing per capita than any other city in Canada.
- 3.53 Michael Wheeler, of the Canadian Welfare Council, in a memorandum the following year, states:
- Given the current pattern of income distribution, the market alone is unable to supply adequate housing at price levels within the reach of a significant proportion of the total population. Given mounting costs in practically all the constituent elements of housing supply, income redistribution to the extent that would be required to solve this problem in its entirety is inconceivable, even if it were desirable. The solution depends in large part on the development and determined implementation of a public housing policy.
- 3.54 Informants from the field of real estate indicate that they see no way in which our hypothetical family of four could purchase a home in the Hamilton area. The next question is one of cost of rental accommodations. The Hamilton office of C.M.H.C. has provided figures for 1969:

TABLE VIIAVERAGE RENTS, APARTMENTS IN THE HAMILTON AREA, 1969

LOCATION	SIZE DWELLING UNIT	AVERAGE RENT
Hamilton	1 bedroom	\$140-145
	2 bedroom	155-166
	3 bedroom	177-192
Burlington	1 bedroom	145-150
	2 bedroom	155-170
	3 bedroom	235-255
Stoney Creek	1 bedroom	130
	2 bedroom	140-145
	3 bedroom	165-170

SOURCE: C.M.H.C.

- 3.55 Since the C.M.H.C. does not have data on the range of rents, we contacted the Public Welfare Department and real estate informants about low rents. Hamilton Public Welfare Department informants indicate that there are a very few apartments available at \$85 to \$90 per month, but generally the lowest rate is \$100. The cheapest house rental is in the neighbourhood of \$125, and that is exceptional. One real estate informant referred to the current shortage of housing for low-income families in the Hamilton area as "appalling". Another, commenting on the \$95 per month allowed a family of 4 by Ontario Welfare regulations for housing, said that nine or ten years ago he rented a 2 storey, 6 room house on a small lot, a house of average quality, for that rate. One thought that there might be a very few old row houses in the North End at \$95 per month, in questionable condition.
- 3.56 The Hamilton Public Welfare office housing specialist gets about 3 to 4 calls a day from persons looking for living accommodations. Many of those calling are non-recipients of service, for example, a head of the household making \$70 to \$90 a week. There is a definite shortage of inexpensive rentals, in the view of the Department.
- 3.57 The Public Welfare Department and real estate informants agree that landlords are reluctant to rent to families with children, especially small ones, and give preference to those with few or none.
- 3.58 One obvious type of low-cost housing is public housing. Compared to other Canadian cities, Hamilton has been fortunate in the number of units here, and His Worship Mayor Copps has been very active and outspoken in seeking more public housing. Currently, public housing is under two different administrations, with housing for older people administered by the Hamilton Housing Company and other public housing under the Hamilton Housing Authority, both acting on authority from the Ontario Housing Corporation.
- 3.59 As of October 23, 1969, there were 803 units for senior citizens, with an additional 594 under construction. The waiting list consisted of 1,237 applications for bachelor apartments and 306 couples. The Hamilton Housing Authority has 1,693 units. Their

TABLE VIIIUNITS ADMINISTERED, TO BE CONSTRUCTED, AND WAITING LISTSAS OFOCTOBER 30, 1969, HAMILTON HOUSING AUTHORITY

BEDROOM COUNT	NO. OF UNITS ADMINISTERED	WAITING LIST	NO. OF UNITS SCHEDULED FOR CONSTRUCTION, 1970
1	17		
2	431	775	51
3	949	336	296
4	252	168	40
5	42	58	
6	2		
TOTAL	1,693	1,337	387

SOURCE: H.H.A., Hamilton Spectator, November 5, 1969

major shortage appears to be in housing for smaller families, though one would expect the most acute shortage to be felt by larger families. It is only with the three bedroom units that new construction appears to begin to meet the waiting list problem, and the publicity around new construction may serve to bring more applicants, directly from individual families learning of vacancies through the media and from persons referred by agencies. The number of new public housing units scheduled for 1970 equals about 12% of Hamilton's building permits for residential construction in 1969.

3.60 There are also 50 units of public housing in Burlington and 24 in Stoney Creek.

3.61 Since adequate accommodations for low-income are in short supply, what are the consequences? The Social Planning and Research Council collected observations about the housing situation in 1965, and at that time Catholic Children's Aid Society of Hamilton reported:*

*Housing in Hamilton, 1965, p. 22.

- 3.62 We have done a quick survey only of open Protection cases of families served on an on-going basis. Of 164 families being served as of November 1, 1965, 26, or approximately 16% of active cases, had definite "housing problems", constituting a degree of inadequacy sufficient to contribute to potential neglect of the children or in turn because of the lack of housing, contributing to keeping children in our care because there was literally no dwelling available for the family's reuniting.
- 3.63 It was interesting to note that with most of these families usually several factors were applicable in concluding this or that constituted a housing problem and were composed of a combination of basic physiological, psychological, protection against contagion, and protection against accident, "needs".
- 3.64 Many of our families now appear to "think poor" as a result of years of inhabiting "poor" housing. Most dwell in houses inadequate in the first instance from the point of view of accommodation in relation to the structural soundness, cleanliness, inadequate services, (heat, lighting, plumbing). Some of our people with particular health problems, (cardiac conditions, crippled children, blindness, epilepsy, etc.) are forced to live in second or third floor "apartments" and there is constant danger of accidents on stairs, or a worsening of the physical handicap.
- 3.65 Most consider themselves fortunate to have, at the minimum, a "home" and either feel it is useless to seek alternate accommodation because of its lack or unsuitability or their inability to pay for same at any rate.
- 3.66 Many people seem to have developed "landlord syndrome", for want of a better term, in that they will not complain about inadequacies, accident hazards and the like, for fear of eviction for if such does happen, they are in no position financially to seek redress in the courts.
- 3.67 We note quite often the number of people whose sole income is from some form of Public Assistance. The parents earning minimal or marginal income in relation to the size of family also have unique problems in that most are not eligible for the presently available subsidized housing.
- 3.68 Many people too present problems for the landlord because of a previous history of failure to pay rent, damage to dwellings, disturbed and retarded children and mentally deficient adults. Of course, these latter problem areas are more related to community attitudes but do have a bearing on housing problems when it comes to renting.

QUALITY OF HOUSING

3.69

The question of the quality of housing in the area is difficult to pin down. Each municipality in Wentworth County has its own by-laws on the question of the quality of dwelling units. In Hamilton, most of the pertinent matters related to existing dwellings fall under one of three by-laws - a 1969 minimum standards by-law, affecting only the urban renewal area; a building by-law which includes provision for nuisance abatement and fire hazard abatement; and a health by-law. Enforcement is by the Building Department, the Fire Department, or the Hamilton-Wentworth Health Unit, depending on the violation.

3.70

The characteristics of dwelling units are not kept very up-to-date in governmental reports. Most recent statistics come from 1961:

TABLE IXDWELLING CHARACTERISTICS, HAMILTON METROPOLITAN AREA, 1961

No. Occupied Units	In Need of Repair		Lacking Exclusive Use of:		Average Month Rent		Median Value Owner-Occupied Single, Detached
	Major	Minor	Flush Toilet	Bath or Shower	Cash	Gross*	
105,240	3.1%	17.1%	10.2%	7.7%	\$73	\$83	\$14,078

SOURCE: C.M.H.C., D.B.S.

*Including water, electricity, gas, and fuel.

Burlington is fairly recent and would presumably not present a problem relative to quality of housing.

3.71

Real estate informants asked about a dwelling at \$95 for a family of four felt that the quality might be a problem. One commented that the place would have to be "substandard, marginal, of poor construction". A woman who was formerly employed by the Hamilton Public Welfare Department spoke of conditions she and her colleagues had seen in dwellings in which clients lived. She indicates that by poor conditions she is speaking about serious problems with plumbing or heating, structural damage or deficiencies in the foundation, or other major defects. Such conditions exist in from a fourth to a third of the cases, she estimates.

Other clients lived in units with less serious deficiencies, such as needing painting, etc. Hamilton Alderman William Scandlan states that he could at any time provide a list of 1,000 dwelling units in such serious condition that they would be immediately vacated by the Hamilton-Wentworth Health Unit. He does not do so, he said, because there would be no place for the inhabitants to go.

3.72 Looking at the question of constructing new rental apartments for low-income families one soon discovers the impossibility.

3.73 Calculating that a family of four require 800 square feet at the very minimum multiplying by \$13 per square foot for construction, and adding \$1,000 per unit for land, costs come to \$11,400. Interest at 10% is \$1,140 and taxes are about \$280. Interest plus taxes are \$1,420 per year. Rent of \$95 per month brings in \$1,140 per year, the amount of the interest only.

3.74 Our Public Welfare informant found that most of the housing in which her clients in Hamilton's North End lived was poor, but there has been, she understands from other workers, a marked improvement in over-all quality of accommodations in which recipients live in that area, due to urban renewal. There still, however, remains a substantial quantity of substandard housing scattered throughout the older area of the city.

SUMMARY OF THE HOUSING SITUATION

3.75 The tight housing market in Hamilton and District exists in spite of a tendency for the number of dwelling units to increase at a somewhat more rapid rate than population. Crowding, defined as a condition in which two or more families occupy one dwelling unit, declined between 1961 and 1966. Residential building starts have fluctuated markedly from year to year. While data on vacancy rates are not readily available in any comprehensive form, the vacancy rate in Hamilton in mid-1968 in single detached houses (for rent or sale) was only 1.7%; in apartments (where there are 6 or more units), the vacancy rate for rentals was only 1.3% in 1969.

3.76 N.H.A. mortgages do little for low-income persons, with the typical borrower having an income in the \$6,000 to \$8,999 range. The cost of new construction in Hamilton has risen markedly, with the most spectacular increase coming in the cost of serviced land, which constitutes roughly 30% of the cost of land and house. The quantity of housing in the Hamilton area may be adequate with the development of C.M.H.C. - O.H.C. acreage on Hamilton mountain in this decade, but how much of this will be accessible to those of low-income is another matter. Certainly private developers are not able to create low-income housing.

3.77 A few apartments are available for rent at \$85 to \$90 a month,

but more typically low-income apartments would be at \$100. The cheapest house rental would be \$125, and there are few at that rate. The housing specialist of the Hamilton Public Welfare Department gets 3 to 4 calls a day from persons looking for accommodation, many of them non-recipients of public assistance on low-incomes. There is a definite shortage of low-income rentals, in the view of the Department.

3.78 Public housing in the Hamilton area meets part of the need, and in fact Hamilton is well provided with public housing compared to other cities. However, the amount of public housing does not begin to meet the need for low-income housing.

3.79 Lack of adequate housing for low-income families results in some rather spectacular and disastrous situations for families. A 1965 report from Catholic Children's Aid Society of Hamilton reported that 16% of their active cases involved housing problems. Inadequate housing had a depressing influence on a number of the families, and in some cases the particular facilities were inadvisable for reasons of physical handicap. In some cases, families were kept separated because there was literally no place for them to live together.

3.80 While information about the quality of housing available to low-income families is not readily available in a quantified form, one former worker for the Hamilton Public Welfare Department felt that from a fourth to a third of the dwelling units occupied by her clients had serious defects.

REMEDIES FOR PROBLEMS IN HOUSING

3.81 Housing, especially low-income housing, is an area of concern which is not a single problem entity. It is a collection of problems, and the ways of attacking these problems are numerous. It must be recognized, however, that not all solutions are "equal" in the kind of impact they have on the problem. It is also important to understand that the kinds of governmental action required for dealing with the housing problem complex raise major issues of political philosophy and challenge the values and interest of many.

3.82 The first issue that strikes one in examining the housing picture is the paucity of statistical information - information about vacancy rates and information about quality of dwelling units. The lack of reliable data on these issues makes intelligent overall planning and policy-formation most difficult. One lacks information on the number and type of vacancies needed and the rates which people can afford. It is important that such material be gathered on a regular basis for central cities, metropolitan areas, and provinces, especially as various kinds of responsibilities must be taken by various governmental bodies. The information should be gathered from a sample of all dwelling units, occupied and vacant, rentals and otherwise.

3.83

It is important that Government recognize the priorities it sets by its own policies. Thus, it should clearly be faced that certain kinds of deflationary policies will add to the housing problem. The Economic Council of Canada has expressed its view on the priorities that should be involved: "The use of housing as an economic regulator should not be continued to such an extent in the future."* One may disagree, but all who feel that the housing situation in Canada is acute must weigh the alternatives carefully - so much deflation with so much less housing, less deflation with more housing. The problem of the lack of housing is especially acute in the Hamilton area, but the problem is also national in scope. Use of manipulation of the housing market for deflationary purposes intensifies the housing problem nation-wide.

3.84

Ancillary to the principle of carefully weighing policies which have a side effect of reducing the number of housing units available compared to the number there would be with another, different policy is the idea of Government having a land policy, just as it has monetary and fiscal policies. Thus, one might argue, Government should buy and sell land in order to affect its price. The land on Hamilton Mountain to be developed by Ontario Housing Corporation might be used in this way. Of course, objections might be made about the cost of such a program.

3.85

One area of possible activity is in ownership of land. Since the cost of land is such a large part of the cost of housing, and since land costs have been rising so markedly, one might consider the common European practice of municipal ownership of land.** Such ownership could in fact take place at the provincial level also. In Europe, municipalities do not ordinarily purchase all of the land but do purchase some of it with the purpose of controlling its use and influencing the use of land which was not purchased. If municipal government did purchase land in order to keep prices down, it would find itself at cross-purposes because of the reliance of local government on the property tax. One must also face the value question here, as many people have a strong commitment to the right of the individual to own his own piece of land and house.

*The Canadian Economy from the 1960's to the 1970's (Fourth Annual Review). Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1967, p. 265.

**Eva Hamrin and Erik Wirén, Town and Country Planning in Sweden Today, Stockholm: Swedish Institute, 1964, p.p. 6-7. "In Stockholm, a conservative local government began buying up land systematically in 1904. By parcelling out the land under a system of leaseholdship rights, the city could keep prices of building land under effective control".

3.86 The question of ownership is, however, not so simple as that of a person having all rights to a piece of land and a house thereon. Ownership is a much more complex concept, as it has always been. Essentially, it consists of a set of rights and duties related to a piece of land. These rights are not and never have been absolute. Today, rights to use of land are defined by zoning laws, limits placed by right of expropriation, covenants, easements, taxation legislation, etc. Another way of looking at the question of "Governmental ownership" would be to see it in terms of redefining the right to use of land in such a way that conveyance could only be to the government, and government could convey through an instrument similar to what we call a lease. In fact, the H.O.M.E. program utilizes a lease approach in keeping housing costs low. Whether such policy should be widespread is a question related to values and the importance one places on continued reliance on the property tax base, for if such a system did not cut property tax revenues on land it would not meet the purpose of decreasing the cost of housing.

3.87 Imposition of a capital gains tax on land would have limited impact on the increasing land prices*. Part of the cost of residential land is due to speculation, which would only be partly affected by such action. In addition the increasing price of land is also related to increasing population and the current small number of vacant dwelling units. Differential taxation policies for farm and non-farm land would have the effect of raising the cost of non-farm land by lessening the availability of land for residential use. A direct tax on speculative land profits could help, if the proceeds were utilized to build homes, but unless the tax were 100% the residual untaxed portion would still be inflationary.

* "Dean Gerald Carrothers, head of York University's School of Environmental Studies, says, however, that 'a capital gains tax won't reduce the cost of housing in the Hamilton area.

"It would simply siphon off extra revenue and redistribute it throughout the whole country.'

"But he does offer an adaptation of the taxation solution which might work to direct effect on housing.

"A more direct taxation could, he says, be aimed at speculators' 'excessive profits'. The yield from this could then be ploughed directly back into the housing field where it could be put to the good of those in need of homes."

Gerry McAuliffe, et al. "The Great Land Rush," in Hamilton Spectator, December 31, 1969, p. 21.

- 3.88 Raising the quality of substandard dwelling units is another matter for legislative concern. At the municipal level, to what extent should enforcement of by-laws related to quality of housing be distributed among different governmental agencies? We recommend further centralization of responsibility, so that one department enforces all of the pertinent by-laws.
- 3.89 Legislation to provide for different taxation criteria for dwelling units seems appropriate. Perhaps entrepreneurs who purchase substandard properties and make them standard could be rewarded with a tax holiday on the value of improvements for a given number of years. (This principle might also apply to repair of owner-occupied dwellings). Provision should also exist for municipal trusteeship of substandard dwellings, with rents to the municipality until deficiencies are eliminated through rent payments. There should be no right to be a slumlord and no advantage to being one.
- 3.90 Some would see rent control as at least a partial solution to rising rents, as they directly limit rental costs. In fact, total rent controls present many problems, and while they might serve as a partial stop-gap, they are possibly too difficult to enforce, especially in a tight housing situation. The well-known war-time difficulties give evidence here: problems around "key money", rental agencies paying fees back to landlords, charges for minimal furniture, etc. The violations of rent control occur primarily at the point of moving in, and there are therefore, relatively few illegal acts per rental to detect. On the other hand, policing of substandard conditions involves an ongoing situation and can be detected at almost any point in time.
- 3.91 There are other Governmental measures which could be taken to improve the quantity and quality of housing, especially for low-income families. The Government could insure or directly provide more low-cost mortgage money, perhaps requiring that a given portion of pension fund money be allocated to such use. The Government should also encourage all kinds of non-profit and cooperative construction and renovation and allocate enough money to make such work possible, through low interest and/or no-interest long-term loans, loan guarantees, and grants especially for low-income home owners to repair their houses. The renovative programs would probably have greater direct impact on low-income housing than those programs aimed at new construction. Therefore, there is also a need for more public housing. Cost seems to be a major hang-up in implementing such policies, but we must also keep in mind the costs of neglect, costs illustrated in the statement of Catholic Children's Aid Society of Hamilton, for instance.
- 3.92 One might think that the quality of housing of people on public assistance might be enhanced by increasing the housing allowance in their grants. This idea is questionable. If a recipient of public assistance is spending more for housing than he is allocated (i.e., the

rent payment must be made from some money budgeted for food, etc.), there is certainly every reason to raise the grant to a level where the housing cost is met. However, if additional money beyond what is being currently paid to landlords were given for rent, especially in cases where the Department makes direct payments to the landlord, the result would be an increase in the cost of housing.

3.93 To clarify, imagine that government said that it recognized that \$95 per month rent is unrealistically low in the Hamilton area for a family of four. Families are in fact paying \$125, and so the rent allocation will be \$125 so that it will not be necessary for poor families to cut into food, etc. to pay the rent. So far, so good. But if the government then decides that the quality of housing at \$125 is often poor and that welfare families of four should be granted \$135 for rent, then the result will be higher rents for the same facilities, not better facilities.

3.94 An increase in rental allowances will result in an increase in rents for three reasons - 1) the shortage of housing; 2) the inability of the construction industry to build low-income housing profitably and 3) the relatively inflexible way in which the law of supply and demand operates in the field of housing.

3.95 Because housing is in short supply, a renter, even with slightly more money in his pocket, will not find new quarters very readily. But if a person must move, the money available for him to pay is apt in fact to be paid, for he will get the best quarters he can at the money he can afford. At the same time, other people will be bidding for dwelling quarters in the same market (a relatively fixed quantity of housing), and so they also will bid higher. The consequence is that the price will rise, as effective demand rises while supply remains relatively constant (especially the supply of low-income rentals).

3.96 We have already indicated that rising costs make it impossible to build low-cost housing. But let us suppose that a ceiling were imposed on existing rentals but not on new ones. At that point, the bidding up of housing and then the freezing of existing rentals would represent an incentive for new construction. Even so, the supply would not expand rapidly, for several reasons:

1. Housing is a large item, taking time to construct;
2. Payment is generally not in cash, and the quantity therefore responds to the availability of mortgage money. The would-be owner or entrepreneur's ability to spend more money per month for housing is not enough. He must also be able to get a mortgage, and much of the cost is the cost of mortgage financing;

3. It is ordinarily necessary to recruit a large number of producers for each unit - electrical contractors, plumbing contractor, etc.;
4. In construction, the producers are relatively small operators;

TABLE XSIZE OF N.H.A. OPERATIONS OF BUILDERS OBTAINING N.H.A.LOANS FOR NEW HOUSING, HAMILTON OFFICE, 1968

1-25 Units		26-50 Units		51-100 Units		101+ Units		Total	
No.Bldrs	No.Units	No.Bldrs	No.Units	No.Bldrs	No.Units	No.Bldrs	No.Units	No.Bldrs	No.Units
33	252	3	104	3	208	1	203	40	667

SOURCE: C.M.H.C.

5. The construction industry has been characterized by cut-throat competition, and instability in the capital market, with the result that producers are often driven from the field. As a result, many who are left may be wary about taking chances;
6. Builders must be reliant on local licensing bodies.

All of these factors together make the operation of the law of supply and demand very sluggish in housing. For that reason, more direct intervention is needed to promote home construction.

3.97

The small and precarious nature of construction firms minimizes the amount of research done in construction. Research on improved construction techniques should therefore be supported heavily by government. If such research is under federal auspices, improvements in techniques and building materials which might otherwise be banned in local building by-laws might be more readily accepted nation-wide.

CASE HISTORIES

- 3.98 This report on housing has provided a picture of housing from a statistical point of view and a discussion of some kinds of policy that might be put into operation to deal with the housing problem complex. But it is people who feel the effects of housing conditions, and for that reason we include two case-histories, illustrating some of these problems. It is for these and other Canadians and in another sense for all of us that we must come to grips with this problem complex and make it possible for every Canadian to have decent accommodation.

A LOW-INCOME HOME OWNER

- 3.99 Mrs. Smith* is a low-income home owner in Wentworth County. She and her family moved into their modest 3-bedroom home in 1960. In 1961, her husband died in a work-related accident leaving her with three school-aged children. She has owned the house free and clear since 1967, paid by her husband's life insurance. Her current income is from Workmen's Compensation, in the amount of \$275 per month. In 1961, she was getting \$150 a month, with a raise to \$195 in 1963 and to \$275 in 1968. Earlier, she received an additional allowance from the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services for oil in the winter, but currently she is not eligible for oil because of the higher Workmen's Compensation. She owes \$114 for last year's oil and has trouble getting oil for this year.
- 3.100 Expenses are hard to estimate precisely, as there is the odd broken window from playing ball, etc. She has a friendly neighbour who has done her plumbing work free. In 1965, she had imitation brick siding installed, both to cut down on the need for paint and to provide insulation. The cost was \$1,200. She also had painting done that year at a cost of \$50. In 1962, she lost a tank of oil in a flood.
- 3.101 Averaged over recent years, her expenses on the house include:
- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Furnace | - \$30 per year. |
| Repair of well pump | - \$20 per year (\$65 since 1966). |
| Fire Insurance | - \$25 per year (\$75 for 3 years). |
| Property taxes | - \$291 this year (plus interest). |
| Pumping septic tank | - \$10 (\$20 per 2 years). |
- 3.102 Currently, she has had dirt put into a ditch (\$100) and plowed (\$42). She will need another 10 loads (at \$150 in all) to finish filling the ditch. She feels this step is needed to prevent flooding and cut down on pollution of her well. A child was hospitalized from the water

*A pseudonym.

with dysentery, she reports. Street lighting is soon to be added, at a cost of \$45.54 plus an extra \$5 per month on the Hydro bill.

- 3.103 The house needs new roofing. It needs some electrical work. Back and front stairs need repair. The area needs storm and sanitary sewers, and in the absence of storm sewers she feels the house should be raised to provide greater protection from flooding. When sewers are installed, she will be assessed for sewer services. Water service is also likely to be added. None of these items have been estimated.
- 3.104 Assuming that extraordinary expenses will be at about the same rate she has already paid in 1969 plus anticipated costs for street lighting, it appears that she will be putting out about \$49 per month on the house. Even though her housing cost is well below the \$95 a month allowed in the \$4,800 yearly budget for a family of four, a recalculation based on this rate of housing costs would find her over \$1,000 below the poverty line if all other things were equal. In fact, all other things are not equal.
- 3.105 This family lives in an area rather remote from facilities of virtually all kinds. The shopping is done at one butcher and one small grocery-variety store, the only places in the vicinity. Because the grocery-variety has a small turnover of merchandise relative to, say, supermarkets, and because she is unable to "shop the specials", Mrs. Smith pays more for food. She has no car, and so trips into shopping areas for other goods make her reliant on friends and acquaintances to drive her or occasionally on taxis. Public transportation does not exist in the area.
- 3.106 Mrs. Smith responds to her difficulties by spending a considerable amount of time contacting government officials, both civil servants and elected persons, at all levels of government. She is only sometimes successful in getting what she wants. Some of the officials resent her taking up their time, which they feel might be spent more profitably in some other way. The cost of this time must also be seen as part of the cost of poverty in this country.

PROBLEMS OF HOUSE-HUNTING IN HAMILTON

3.107 The Pratt* family consists of a husband in his late 40's, a wife, and a seven-year-old son. Mr. Pratt is a pleasant, personable individual who likes to help others. A dislocated disc in his back and his lack of any particular skill or training make it impossible for him to get steady work. He works for a church as a part-time caretaker at night and he gets a disability pension. Mrs. Pratt quite often does day housework.

3.108 The story of the Pratts' difficulties in housing began about five years ago, in 1964, when Mr. Pratt became sick and was unable to keep his job as superintendent at two apartment buildings on Hamilton mountain. The owner of the buildings moved him to an apartment in the older section, but he was asked to move after a month. He then moved to the third floor of a house in the centre of town. He understood the rent to be \$60, but it was raised to \$85. He found the place infested with vermin, particularly bedbugs, so numerous that they dropped from the ceiling. The landlord refused to fumigate, and Mr. Pratt reported the condition to health authorities. They fumigated and sent the bill to the landlord, who evicted the Pratts.

3.109 Mr. & Mrs. Pratt and their son then moved to a third floor apartment on a main downtown street, over a store. They stayed there a year, paying \$80 a month. He had again become ill and was unemployed, and he had to move because the building he was in was torn down to make room for a parking lot. He tried to find a cheaper place, finally finding one at \$75, over a store in the East End business section, badly in need of decoration. The water heater in this apartment broke, and the landlord put another one in with only a 14 gallon capacity. They had to request its replacement because of its inadequacy, and when workmen moved cupboards out to put in the other one, they would not replace the cupboards, as the landlord said that he would have to raise the rent if he did things like that. Mr. Pratt had to replace the cupboards himself. He stayed two and a half years and redecorated the place. The building was sold at that time, and the new owner, seeing the condition of the unit, raised the rent to \$100. Mr. Pratt was afraid he would raise the rent again and therefore this year he began to look again.

3.110 After 3 or 4 months of intensive searching, he found a place in Hamilton's main urban renewal area, a second floor apartment with two bedrooms, a living room, kitchen, and a sun porch, for \$90. Such places are exceptionally rare.

3.111 On some occasions, Mr. Pratt had lost the deposit on units in spite of his improvement of facilities. In the process of searching, Mr. Pratt found many places that were very dirty and in poor repair, renting for from \$85 to \$125 per month. He had himself to settle for

*A pseudonym

places in poor condition, which he renovated, but he selected some of the better ones.

- 3.112 Mr. Pratt is handicapped to some degree by his physical condition. He has also been depressed at times by his housing condition, to the extent that his capacity to apply himself to improving his job skills is sometimes impaired.

PROBLEMS OF HOUSING SEEN BY A TEACHER IN A LOW-INCOME AREA

- 3.113 One mother brought her children to school late because the pipes had frozen and she had to take the children to a restaurant to eat. They paid (in 1966) eighty-five dollars a month for a four room house through the walls of which you could see daylight. It cost them about one hundred dollars a month to heat it by space heater. They couldn't find anything better where they could take six children. One child was often late for school because they had to share the bathroom with a neighbour. There was none in their house and a family of eight. In another home, there were three rooms for eight people. One was the kitchen-dining-living-laundry room combined. They had two babies. There was a hot plate and no evidence of a refrigerator. There was a radio, record player, washing machine and sink, with a few cupboards. Walking room was about three square feet. One room was a bedroom with a double bed and a dresser. The other room was empty except for some odd items. Where did six children and two adults sleep? Total walking room for eight people would be about 84 square feet. It was a second floor apartment with stairs that seemed about ready to collapse. There was no backyard. The children played on the street.
- 3.114 Rats and mice are very common, creating all kinds of problems from soiling food to biting the small children. We had a conversation time at school where the children compared rats as other children might compare pets. "We had a rat at our house and my mother threw her shoe at it, but it wouldn't go away." "How big was it?" "Oh about so big," indicating about eight inches. "That's nothing! We have one this big," indicating about ten inches. The conversation continued, and almost everyone had a rat, rats, or mice. One parent excused her son from class about four times one year because the Board of Health was fumigating the house.
- 3.115 There are other health problems because of poverty. Crowded conditions lead to lack of sleep because they have crowded beds or no bed at all, but rather a place on top of a trunk, etc. They may sleep in the room with the television and can't sleep until the last one goes to bed and the set is turned off.
- 3.116 Frequently these are a transient people. Some move to avoid a month's rent or because rents are raised. They usually stay in the same area, however, just moving a few blocks. Public housing has now been built in our area, and many have a comfortable place for the first time in their lives. One child who moved into a unit last spring, wrote in a story that she now lived in a "whole house" meaning it wasn't shared quarters with one or more families.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCILS IN DEALING WITH POVERTY

THE ROLE OF SOCIAL PLANNING COUNCILS IN DEALING WITH POVERTYGENERAL REMARKS

4.1

Social planning councils are community social agencies designed to enable their local communities to plan their services and take part in solving their problems. Their object is to encourage community-wide planning, through a partnership of community interest - governmental and voluntary, lay and professional, organization and private citizen - and to promote the development and maintenance of adequate and economical health, recreational, welfare and other social services and facilities.

4.2

The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District was set up to carry out three basic objectives:

- Conduct research into social needs and community problems.
- Co-ordinate the work of existing services.
- Assist citizens and community groups to plan efficient and effective health, welfare and recreation services.

Within these three basic areas, the services provided include:

- Surveys and studies of social problems and agency services.
- Consultation with agencies, clubs and other community organizations on matters relating to the health, welfare and recreation fields.
- Information about health, welfare and recreational matters.
- Conducting workshops and conferences on matters of public interest.
- Publishing. . .
 - * Reports of research projects and studies.
 - * Council newsletter.
 - * Directory of Community Services.
 - * Camp Directory.

- * Directory of Community Services for Older People.
- * Directory of Services for Physically Handicapped People.
- * Manual of Agency Policies.

4.3 The work of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District involves a variety of fields and serves a multiple purpose. It endeavours

- To prevent wastage and duplication of effort.
- To encourage co-operation among federal, provincial, municipal and voluntary agencies.
- To promote sound public opinion on health, welfare and recreational matters.
- To advise the United Appeal on the most effective use of voluntary funds.
- To promote high standards of economy and efficiency in tax-supported and voluntary agencies.
- To spot neglected areas in the social welfare field and promotes development of necessary health and welfare services.
- To assist in the recruitment, training, and placement of volunteers for community service.

4.4 The many functions of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District are carried out by a small professional staff and a large number of individual citizens, representatives of various agencies, clubs and other community organizations who contributed their time and talent voluntarily.

4.5 Like most other social planning councils, ours is a member of the local United Appeal. Many are departments of local United Appeals. From time to time, a local United Appeal has reports done on the functioning of existing United Appeal agencies and on applications for admission to the Appeal. Generally, it is the social planning council which carries out the study. Again like others, we receive funds from a variety of additional sources. Faced with the tight budget situation which is common to many reliant on United Appeal and governmental support, from time to time we have been able to obtain special funding for particular studies, such as the current study we are conducting on day care services, made possible by grants from the Canadian Welfare Council

and the City of Hamilton. Unfortunately, there are very few sources to which social planning councils can apply for grants with any hope of success. One of our problems in producing this report was a shortage of funds for the survey material. Foundations to which application might be made are for the most part limited in range of interests, size of grants, or both. It is difficult to obtain money from senior governments because they tend to feel that research into local needs should be locally funded. Or, if the proposal is of more than local interest, because of theoretical or methodological implications, they seem to feel that it might be done equally well by other bodies. If the supply of funds were greater, these considerations might not weigh so heavily, but in a highly competitive situation they are very serious. It is therefore not surprising that few social planning councils have research staff, and these in the larger cities only.

4.6 Another difficulty is that it may take a protracted period of negotiation to obtain funding for such studies. This affects planning bodies more severely than others because in planning it is often important to have specific information available at a strategic moment.

4.7 Social planning councils are in an especially good position to conduct research on some matters because of the network of social agencies in which they are situated and because, therefore, the recommendations flowing from research projects may have a better chance of implementation. It is a general practice of social planning councils to include on advisory committees individuals from agencies and organizations that might be affected by such studies, in that way getting them involved on the need for changes right from the start in a meaningful way.

4.8 Because social needs and community problems relate in many instances either mainly or in large measure to the poor, the kinds of activities that a social planning council undertakes should be of interest in considering the question of poverty. Many agencies, both public and private, provide service to clientele made up of low-income persons to varying degrees. And groups in the community contact social planning councils for assistance around a variety of matters. Sometimes these are groups of poor people, and sometimes they are more affluent groups with concerns that relate to poverty.

4.9 The activities of social planning councils can and should be pertinent in dealing with poverty in helping to achieve higher levels of service (qualitatively and quantitatively) from social agencies in the community, in helping to insure that low-income people receive an appropriate share of these services, and in providing direct assistance to low-income groups requesting such help.

- 4.10 As is obvious from the foregoing, a considerable amount of our agency concern relates to matters bearing on poverty, often in a fairly direct manner. One way in which our activity relates to poverty is in production of pertinent reports and briefs. Currently, we are working on at least three such reports - one on day care, one on the field of rehabilitation services, and one on delivery of services to residents in seniors' apartments. In recent years, reports have been produced on the need for a comprehensive home care programme for the area, on the need for foot care, on the needs of skid row men, on the need to replace the Barton Street Jail, on the provision of service for overindebted families, and on information centres.
- 4.11 Comprehensive home care and foot care are especially concerns of the aged, and older people are often poor people. Comprehensive home care in Ontario is important because of the cost of nursing home care, not covered under Medicare. Foot care is a problem in part, because of a lack of training of nursing personnel at different levels and in part because podiatric services are not covered under Medicare in Ontario.
- 4.12 Skid row is a poverty area that frequently has a number of services but services that are often uncoordinated. The Social Planning and Research Council has attempted to study the local situation and make recommendations for improvement of the local picture.
- 4.13 Jails are also a problem of the poor because poor people are more apt to be in jails than are the more affluent. The whole issue of jail conditions raises the question of the applicability of the Canadian Bill of Rights guarantee against "the imposition of cruel and unusual treatment or punishment." What we have read in the press indicates that the Special Senate Committee has had other reports about jail conditions.
- 4.14 Debt counselling is needed by people at various social strata but especially by the poor. Similarly, information centres fill a need for all classes, but social services that are unknown to poor persons are apt to be of little assistance to them.
- 4.15 An appendix to this brief will summarize and discuss these reports in more detail.

ORGANIZATION OF THE POOR

- 4.16 People who have written about the poor have commented that characteristics that are more common among them than among others are a lack of social roots or guides to behaviour and a feeling that their interests are different from or contrary to those of society as a whole. This is not to suggest that all or even most poor people share these traits, but simply that these traits are found more often among poor

people than among people in general. Organization of low-income people can serve to provide a mechanism to relate to the larger social system and its institutions. Such organization can also help in creating normative standards, to help in dealing with the problem of lack of guides to behaviour.

4.17 In response to a request from a resident of a public housing project in Hamilton, the Social Planning and Research Council has provided staff help to a tenants' association. It is our feeling that low-income citizen groups should receive help in order to make their voice effective in society. By bringing into the social arena a new force, the policies and decisions made by officials both elected and appointed are likely to be more affected by the perceptions of low-income people, and low-income people will be less apt to sink into apathy and despair. Among social planning councils, leadership has been taken in the area of work with low-income citizen groups by Le Conseil de Développement Social du Montréal Métropolitain, which has a large section devoted solely to this kind of work.

4.18 Our Council is considering several possibilities in relating more effectively to the needs for organization of low-income people in the Hamilton area. Among approaches being considered are continued service to one area till that area is relatively self-sufficient, followed by consultative service on an on-call basis; work with another area after termination of on-going service to the present client-community; staff assistance to an over-all body serving to co-ordinate community organization in low-income areas; and recruitment and training of volunteers to work in community organization under the supervision of Social Planning and Research Council staff.

SUMMARY

4.19 Social planning councils are involved in dealing with poverty in a variety of ways, in areas of research and policy recommendations, in co-ordination of existing services, in assisting in the planning of services in the health and welfare field, and in other ways. A number of the reports and briefs of the Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District are fairly directly pertinent to dealing with problems of the poor. Social planning councils often find it difficult to obtain funding for needed activities. Special studies that require extraordinary funding are difficult to implement because of the paucity of funding sources and the limited range which these sources will fund. The Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District has recently moved to provide direct service to low-income citizen organization, following the lead of the Conseil de Développement Social du Montréal Métropolitain.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. As most programs require some degree of adaptation to local conditions, the Government should be aware of the social planning councils as a major resource in making these adaptations. The Government should take steps to make it possible for social planning councils to obtain Federal funds to carry out demonstration projects and to provide a continuing source for the kind of research information which they are in a unique position to supply.
2. Other social planning councils and voluntary agencies generally should become involved in assisting the organization of low-income citizen groups and in involving them more fully in existing organizations.

APPENDICES

- A - METHODS OF ESTIMATING INCOME BY FAMILY SIZE
FOR METRO HAMILTON.
- B - SUMMARY AND DISCUSSION OF REPORTS OF THE SOCIAL
PLANNING AND RESEARCH COUNCIL OF HAMILTON AND
DISTRICT RELATIVE TO POVERTY

APPENDIX AMETHODS OF ESTIMATING INCOME BY FAMILY SIZE FOR METRO HAMILTONESTIMATES FOR 1961

- A.1 Data on family income by family size is not available from the census for areas smaller than provinces. This has required us to make estimates on the distribution of incomes by family size for Metro Hamilton from a series of related tables. Our procedure can best be summarized as a series of separate steps.

Step 1

- A.2 Table 42 in Bulletin 2.1-4 of the 1961 Census provides data on wage earner household size by incomes of household heads. It was necessary, first of all, to remove non-family households.

Step 2

- A.3 Table 14 in Bulletin 2.1-2 indicates the number of persons in each household by household type for all households. It was assumed that wage earner households, making up over 3/4 of all households in the Metro Hamilton area, would be distributed by size in the same way as the total of all households for each household type. Thus, the size of non-family households could be estimated and these could be removed from the table.

Step 3

- A.4 Table 22, Bulletin 2.1-2 provides data on the incomes of wage-earner household heads by household type. It was assumed that the income of household head would be independent of the household size for non-family households. This enabled us to develop from Table 22 the income levels of the households removed in Step 2. We were left with a table estimating the incomes of wage-earner household heads by household size for family households.

Step 4

- A.5 The next step was to remove households where the head was not the family head. This was necessary because in this case the income of the head gave no clear indication of the economic status of the family. This was accomplished in the same manner as the removal of non-family households.

Step 5

- A.6 Next, we were required to reduce the size of single family households in which persons other than the family of the head were present to bring the household size into line of the size of the nuclear family within it. Table XXVI in Bulletin 7.2-3 of the 1961 Census indicates the numbers of households with lodgers by number of lodgers for Metro Hamilton. Bulletin C.T.-8, page 10, indicates the number of lodging families. These tables enabled us to estimate the numbers of lodgers found in the single family households. (The number of single family households with additional persons was greater than the number of households with lodgers. It was assumed that, in the additional cases, there would be only one other person present.) Given the assumption that the income of the family head was independent of the family size, it was possible to "remove" households from the table and to "replace" them at their estimated actual size.

Step 6

- A.7 The final step in preparing a table of wage earner family income by the size of the income of the head was to remove two or more family households to estimate the size of the families they contained, and the incomes involved, then to re-insert them in the table. In doing this, several assumptions were necessary:-

- a) that the proportion of households containing more than two families was the same for wage earner households as for all Hamilton households. (The Hamilton figure could be estimated from Table 14, Bulletin 2.1-2.) All of these for purpose of estimating family size were assumed to be three-family households;
- b) that in two-family households of six or more, where the size of the families involved could vary, the most "balanced" combination, i.e. one where the two families were as close as possible in size, would be twice as common as the next, which, in turn, would be twice as common as the next, and so on;
- c) that in three-family households of eight or more, where the size of the families involved could vary, the most "balanced" combination would be twice as frequent as the next, and so on;

(It should be mentioned that the procedures in b) and c) when applied to all households at the same time as the estimates outlined in Step 5, produce a distribution of family sizes very similar to the actual distribution.)

- d) that where the family differed in size, the head of the larger family was the household head;
- e) that the income of the household head and the size of his household were independent.

A.8 On this basis, it was possible to remove multiple family households from the table. In cases in which the household head's income could be estimated, they were re-inserted in the table in accordance with their estimated actual size. In the case of families whose heads were not household heads, it could not be determined how many were wage earners or what their incomes were. However, Table 86 of Bulletin 2.1-10 provides figures on the numbers of wage earner families by the incomes of their heads. From this, the numbers of these families which were headed by wage earners could be determined by subtracting the number of families we had accounted for from the total in the table. The distribution of incomes of the heads of these families could be determined by the same means. On the assumption that the income of the head was independent of the size of the family, they could be replaced in the table.

A.9 The next problem was to determine how to allocate the earnings of other family members than the head. This was approached in four steps.

Step 1

A.10 Table 23 in Bulletin 3.1-16 gives the number of married women in the labour force for Metro Hamilton. Table 91 in Bulletin 2.1-11 gives the number of cases in which wives worked, but not husbands. Subtraction gives the number of working wives in families with heads in the labour force. It was assumed that ninety percent were in families headed by wage earners. (This is slightly above the proportion of wage earner heads among heads in the labour force. For wage earner families, however, the proportion of working wives is related inversely to the income of the husband. Non-wage-earner family heads who are in the labour force have higher incomes than wage-earner heads. Thus, it seemed reasonable to assume that a lower proportion of working women would be found among them.)

Step 2

A.11 It was next necessary to determine how many would be working at each family size, and what proportion would be working full-time. Table 16 in Bulletin 3.3-12 indicates the earning levels of female wage earners in Metro Hamilton by the number of weeks and the number of hours worked. From this, we extracted the distribution of income for women working full-time (forty or more weeks, for thirty-five hours a week or more), and for women working less than full-time. Table 20 in Bulletin 3.3-6 gives the earning distribution of female wage earners in Metro Hamilton by marital status. From examining the upper and lower ends of this distribution, where there is little overlap of the full-time and less than full-time distributions, it was estimated that approximately fifty percent of the full-time workers were married. On this basis, the number of married women working full and part-time could be estimated.

Step 3

A.12 There is no information available on the labour force participation rates of married women by family size for Metro Hamilton, or for

the different proportions, by family size, who are working full and part-time. Estimates were made for these factors by calculations based on the results of the 1956 Department of Labour survey of working wives.* Participation rates were obtained by comparing the number of working women by number of dependent children with the number of families in metropolitan centres in 1956 with the same numbers of children, then adjusting upwards to allow for the higher overall participation rates in Hamilton in 1961. Upward adjustments were greatest for smaller families to allow for the increasing number of women whose families had reached an age of relative independence who were entering the labour force during the 1950's.** The percentage working part-time in the National survey in 1956 was considerably lower than the estimate for Hamilton, partially because of a different definition of part-time work. We attempted to maintain a similar relationship among family sizes at the higher levels found in Hamilton.

Step 4

A.13 With the resulting estimates of the numbers of women who worked full and part-time, by family size, we could estimate the number of wage-earner wives by earning levels by family size. It was decided that, since wage earners make up about ninety-four percent of the married women in the labour force, the distribution of earnings for all women in the labour force could be approximated by the wage earner distribution. The numbers at each family size were increased proportionately to allow for this.

A.14 Next there arose the question of how to distribute the wife's earnings by the husband's. We had no local data to go on, but Table 94 in Bulletin 2.1-11 gave the distribution of husband's earnings by wife's earnings for families in which both husband and wife were wage earners for Ontario. It was decided to distribute the wife's income in Metro Hamilton in accordance with this table.

A.15 This resulted in a table showing wage earner families by size of total earnings of husband and wife. One further step was required to convert this into a table showing total family income. Some allowance had to be made for other income of husbands and wives, and for the income of other persons within the family. We could find no way of determining how these earnings should be allocated by family size, so alterations were made proportionately at all levels of family size to bring family income into line with the total family incomes of wage earner families in Metro Hamilton as given in Table 86, Bulletin 2.1-10.

* Married Women Working for Pay, Department of Labour, Ottawa, 1958, page 35 ff.

**J.D. Allingham, "Women Who Work", Special Labour Force Studies, No.5, D.B.S., Ottawa, 1967, page 12, passim.

- A.16 Wage earner families make up over 3/4 of the families in Hamilton in 1961. Two other groups, making up about eighty percent of the remainder, could also be isolated: retired couples and families headed by someone in the labour force who is not a wage earner. The income by family size distribution for these two groups could not be specified as clearly as the distribution for wage earner families. But it was considered more desirable to make separate estimates for these groups than to simply lump them together with others and to distribute income randomly.

1. Retired Couples

- A.17 Table 74 of Bulletin 2.1-7 indicates the number of couples with husbands over sixty-five and no one else present in the family for Metro Hamilton. Tables 73 in Bulletin 2.1-7 and 88 in Bulletin 2.10 indicate the numbers of such couples in the Province of Ontario, and the number where the head is a wage earner. On the assumption that the Hamilton situation was similar to the Ontario situation, the number of retired couples could be estimated. The income distribution applied to this group was that given in Table C.12 in Bulletin 4.1-3 for families in Ontario whose major source of income was not employment.

2. Households Headed by Labour Force Members Other Than Wage Earners

- A.18 The size of these households could be obtained by subtracting the figures for wage earner families in Table 42 of Bulletin T.1-4 from the totals given in Table 40, Bulletin T.1-4 for all households headed by labour force members. It was assumed that the size distribution of families within these households should be modified to the same degree as the size distribution of wage earner households. That is, the cumulative distribution function of household sizes was shifted to the same degree as it had shifted for wage earner households to give the size distribution of families. No data was available for Hamilton on the employment income, so the basic income of these family heads could be estimated from a ratio with national data. The ratio was -

National Non-Farm		National Non-Farm
<u>Wage Earner Income</u>	=	<u>Self-employed Income</u>
Metro Hamilton Wage		Metro Hamilton Self-
Earner Family Head Income		employed Family Head Income

- A.19 Since the two distribution on the left and the numerator on the right were known, incomes of self-employed family heads could be developed.*

*National data was taken from Table B4 in Bulletin 4.1-2. Metro Hamilton wage-earner family head income comes from Table 86 in Bulletin 2.1-10. National data is for employment income only.

Some modification was required in that for self-employed persons, income other than employment income becomes a significant factor, averaging 6.3% of employment income. (This can be calculated from data in Table B4 in Bulletin 4.1-2.) It was assumed that the importance of investment income would decline from ten percent for family heads earning over \$10,000 to seven percent for those earning from \$7,000-\$10,000, to four percent for those earning \$6,000-\$7,000, and to one percent for those earning from \$5,000-\$6,000. This yielded a total increase of just under 6.3%. It should be noted in passing that even if this allocation is somewhat inaccurate, it will have no effect on the proportion of the population in poverty, since virtually all of these families will be above the poverty line.

- A.20 It was then necessary to make a correction for the influence of other earners. It was decided that this influence should be estimated by assuming that the effect of other earners would influence the cumulative distribution function of non-wage earner family head incomes to the same extent that it influenced the cumulative distribution function of wage earner family head incomes. This assumption enabled us to develop a table of family income by family size. There were gaps in the table showing the total number of families in Metro Hamilton by family size (Table 47 in Bulletin 2.1-5) and in the table showing total family income (Table C5 in Bulletin 4.1-3). It was decided to distribute family income randomly by family size to fill the remaining spaces in the tables. This yielded the income-by-family-size table from which our 1961 poverty estimates have been made.

ESTIMATES FOR 1969

- A.21 No independent data was available for 1969, but estimates on the extent of poverty could be developed on the basis of assumptions about family size, income levels, and the distribution of income.

1. Family Size

- A.22 Average family size in Metro Hamilton rose slightly between 1961 and 1966, due to a change in population structure, with a larger proportion of younger families being present. We do not have figures for 1969 for Metro Hamilton, but, nationally, family size appears to be falling, as the declining birth rate has outrun the shift in population structure. Accordingly, we have assumed that family size in 1969 is equal to that of 1961.

2. Income Levels

- A.23 Family incomes vary in extremely close relationship to personal income per capita.* We have no data for Hamilton, but 1961 and 1968 figures for personal income per capita for Ontario could be taken from the Ontario Statistical Review. The 1968 figure was modified upward to allow for inflation and real growth estimates for Ontario for 1969. This yielded an overall increase over the period of 63%. This was applied to the Metro Hamilton income distribution of 1961 to get an estimated distribution for 1969.

3. Distribution of Income

- A.24 We have no data on the distribution of income by family size in 1969. Nor do we have information on possible changes in the shape of the income distribution. But the latter factor, at least, is known to change quite slowly.** Accordingly, it has seemed reasonable to assume that the distribution of income has remained stable between 1961 and 1969.
- A.25 On the basis of these three assumptions, it was possible to estimate the income distribution by family size for 1969. While any of the assumptions might be somewhat inaccurate, it was felt that they would be unlikely to result in serious distortion of the overall poverty situation.

* See for example, Urban Family Expenditures Survey, D.B.S., 1969, page 9, passim.

**See for example, Table 12 in Income Distributions: Incomes of Non-Farm Families and Individuals in Canada, D.B.S., 1968, page 78.

APPENDIX BSUMMARY AND DISCUSSION

of

REPORTS OFTHE SOCIAL PLANNING AND RESEARCH COUNCIL OF HAMILTON AND DISTRICTRELATIVE TO POVERTYCOMPREHENSIVE HOME CARE

- B.1 The Brief to the Geriatric Committee of the Hamilton-Wentworth Health Unit on the Need for a Comprehensive Home Care Programme for the Hamilton area came about because of concern with an apparent shortage of chronic beds for older people. The Brief states that some older people needing such care are at home or in nursing homes while some in chronic beds could get along with less intensive care in nursing homes. Cause of the bottle-neck appears to be the fact that chronic bed care is covered under an Ontario Hospital Services Commission (O.H.S.C.) programme and nursing home care is not. There also appears to be a slight but increasing shortage of chronic beds aside from the question of some being in chronic beds who should be in nursing homes. The full Comprehensive Home Care Programme would lessen the need for the quantity of chronic beds by providing the care at home or in a nursing home. The nursing homes themselves should be classified as to different levels and kinds of service and differentiated by personnel and fee schedules. Some are in nursing homes who could use the even less intensive care of a home for the aged, but it appears that another such home is also needed, especially as indicated by the size of waiting lists.
- B.2 Low-income elderly persons are apt to attempt to get into chronic beds, paid through hospital insurance, rather than into nursing homes, and are apt to try to stay in chronic beds longer than optimal. As a result, chronic beds are in short supply for all older persons needing them. Some are in nursing homes inappropriately, waiting for chronic beds, and they tend to create a nursing home bed shortage as well.
- B.3 More recently, the Social Planning and Research Council has

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endorsed the idea not only of classification of nursing homes but also of coverage of appropriate classifications under hospital insurance. The primary recommendation of the Council relative to home care and its implications is as follows:

RECOMMENDATION: That the Hamilton-Wentworth Health Unit establish a "Services & Supervision" function in our community, as outlined in the report prepared by the Inter-departmental Committee on Home Care of the Ontario Department of Health and Ontario Hospital Services Commission (O.H.S.C.).* This "Services & Supervision" function will complement the "Treatment" function of the existing Home Care Programme, administered locally by the Victorian Order of Nurses, and will provide the Hamilton-Wentworth area with a Comprehensive Home Care Programme.

Comprehensive Home Care consists of two parts - "Treatment", which is currently offered through the Hamilton-Wentworth Health Unit, and "Services and Supervision", which is not available in the area. A description of these two parts follows:

Comprehensive Home Care(a) "Treatment"

- For selected patients in their own homes. This is a specialized program providing the equivalent of hospital care.

"Selected patients" are those accepted because -

- Treatment can be provided in their homes;
- needs cannot be met on an out-patient basis;
- the home is suitable, physically and psychologically;
- the services required are available in the community.

"Treatment" services exist in the Hamilton-Dundas-Burlington area under the administration of the local branches of the Victorian Order of Nurses. They make available the services of a visiting nurse, a visiting homemaker, a physiotherapist and some casework counselling where necessary. In 1968, the "Treatment" services of the Hamilton-Dundas V.O.N. served 538 patients and saved countless days of hospital care.

*Dept. of Health and O.H.S.C. Inter-Departmental Committee on Home Care, The Home Care Program in Ontario, Oct. 5, 1967.

Appendix - Previous Reports of the Social Planning and Research Council(b) "Services & Supervision"

This function arranges for the care of persons in the most appropriate manner, whatever their needs may be, and provides continuing supervision, with necessary adjustments from time to time, in as normal a living arrangement as is possible. It deals with all types of care problems and is much broader in scope than "Treatment" services which is a specialized program for selected patients. "Services & Supervision" makes the best use of all services and facilities, proper referral to other programs, arranges hospital care when needed, facilitates discharge from hospital, arranges for adequate post-hospital care, and provides follow-up supervision as required. It is a service designed for those who are unable to arrange for or manage their own care requirements.

"Services & Supervision" will not only assist individuals, but will aid hospitals, local Welfare Departments, or other branches of municipal government in meeting the needs of the aged, infirm, or chronically ill who require special assistance.

Staff for "Services & Supervision"

The Inter-Departmental Report suggests that staff might include:

- 1) Director - a competent person with administrative experience, either a nurse or social worker.
- 2) Medical consultant - part-time or full time.
- 3) Case workers - full time nurses and social workers, the number depending upon the caseloads.
- 4) Occupational therapist - part-time or full time.
- 5) Secretarial staff - as required for caseloads.

In the "Treatment" service administered locally by V.O.N., staff are required for administration only; direct service is purchased from existing agencies and services. In contrast, "Services & Supervision" requires staff for direct service, such as counselling, supervision, etc.

Appendix - Previous Reports of the Social Planning and Research CouncilHelp Provided by "Services & Supervision"

- 1) Advisory services, counselling and referral for those who are otherwise able to arrange for and manage their own care program with the assistance of relatives, friends, etc.
- 2) Direct service or supervision of the applicant's care plan. This would require a comprehensive assessment, conferences with family, home visits, etc.
- 3) Direct service and continuing supervision of individual cases by the staff:
 - a) Arranging appropriate placements;
 - b) Escorting patients on moves from hospital to home, visits to physician or out-patient departments, etc.;
 - c) Making arrangements for continued medical care and supervision;
 - d) Attention to nutritional needs;
 - e) Arrangements for dental services; optometric services, etc.
- 4) Services arranged from other agencies:
 - Red Cross Loan Cupboard: wheelchairs, walkers, crutches, etc.;
 - podiatric services;
 - visiting nursing service as required;
 - homemakers service, if required;
 - legal aid, etc.

FOOT CARE

- B.4 The report on foot care also relates primarily to the aged. A member of the Board of Directors of the Social Planning and Research Council brought to the attention of the Board a concern for the home-bound and/or crippled condition of older people who had inadequate foot

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care. No survey in Hamilton was done, but a study in 1965 by Dr. Cope Schwenger, using public health nurses as interviewers, found in Toronto and Orangeville that just under half the older persons interviewed had foot problems, with large numbers getting no treatment.

- B.5 Some of the treatment for foot care is provided by physicians, some by others. As a result of activity by the Sub-Committee, training sessions have been arranged for nurses and other nursing staff. These persons are not equipped to provide treatment for diabetics, for horny nails, or for a variety of other conditions. Such conditions require a physician, perhaps one trained in orthopedic surgery, or a podiatrist.
- B.6 The precise role of the podiatrist is in dispute between the Ontario Medical Association and podiatrists. It does seem that there is agreement as to the appropriateness of their practicing their profession on nails, skin, and subcutaneous tissue (i.e., tissue just below the skin). In fact, it appears that many doctors prefer not to deal with nail cutting, etc. because of the many demands on their time to utilize the more specialized knowledge and skills they have. A limited survey of general practitioners, Orthopedic surgeons, nursing services, social agencies, and podiatrists in Hamilton found feeling in each category that more podiatric services are required in Hamilton, as well as more education in foot care.
- B.7 Podiatric services are not covered under Ontario Health Services Insurance Plan (OHSIP). There are relatively few practicing podiatrists in Ontario, and therefore inclusion of podiatry would probably not be very expensive for the province. Currently, as many older people have limited incomes, they are hard-pressed to make use of podiatric services.
- B.8 There is no podiatric training available in Canada, and podiatrists who wish to practice in Ontario must currently be trained in the United States. Those trained in Europe are unacceptable in this province. As a result, relatively few podiatrists from Canada are trained, not all of these return to Canada and a number in Ontario from elsewhere in the world are unable to practice their profession in Ontario without going to the United States for further training.
- B.9 There is one foot clinic in Hamilton, staffed by an orthopedic surgeon and a volunteer podiatrist. The Social Planning and Research Council Sub-Committee on Foot Care successfully encouraged more publicity about this service, as well as themselves urging nursing personnel to refer more to this resource. They suggested to McMaster University that they consider including podiatric training at the new medical training complex.

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- B.10 The Sub-Committee recommended that transportation to foot care be readily available. They observed that podiatric care would cut down on the number of bed-bound patients in chronic beds, nursing homes, and homes for the aged. The decline in the number confined to bed might also cut down on the chronic bed shortage. They also recommend the creation of a sub-professional category of foot care technicians trained by orthopedic surgeons and podiatrists.
- B.11 As a result of this report, training sessions have been held at various nursing homes, etc. by the St. Joseph's Hospital Foot Clinic, with the assistance of podiatric and medical volunteers.
- B.12 Problems of older people are of course more severe for those lacking the wherewithal to have their needs met by reliance on their own financial resources.

THE BARTON STREET JAIL

- B.13 Another area that affects the poor more than the more affluent is corrections. The inmates of jails are apt to be of low-income, and conditions in the Barton Street Jail are bad, even after recent renovations. These conditions have been a constant source of condemnation by Grand Juries. One renovation consisted in construction of two 4½ x 8' interviewing cubicles, without doors and with walls not reaching the ceiling. The facilities make segregation of offenders difficult especially for females, with the result that hardened offenders are able to have a corrupting influence on others in for very minor offenses, especially among the females. It must also be recognized that most persons in the jail have not been convicted and must be presumed innocent. The appearance of the building is institutional, in spite of attempts to cheer it up by renovation. Over-crowding is very serious, both for the residence area for prisoners and for the staff facilities. The Social Planning and Research Council made the following recommendations in a Brief to the Honorable Allan Grossman, Minister of Correctional Services, Province of Ontario, About the Need to Replace Barton Street Jail in Hamilton as Soon As Possible:

RECOMMENDATION I

That the Task Force established by the Minister of Correctional Services to appraise the conditions of the 37 jails across the Province look upon Hamilton as a top priority area for a new regional jail so that construction can begin as soon as possible.

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RECOMMENDATION II That the Task Force consult with the Hamilton-Wentworth Regional Detention Centre Board to take full advantage of the knowledge which the Board has accumulated during many months of planning a regional centre.

RECOMMENDATION III That Barton Street Jail in Hamilton be replaced as soon as possible by a regional detention centre with suitable facilities for incarceration and rehabilitation.

SKID ROW

B.14 The Council also issued a report, The Findings of the Study Committee - Single, Unemployed Men's Report, with recommendations regarding the skid row population:

AREA I - GENERAL RECOMMENDATIONSRECOMMENDATION (a)

"That a network of referral, treatment, and rehabilitation services for single, unemployed men be clearly established in Hamilton; all groups must play a co-operative part in this network if it is to be successful."

RECOMMENDATION (b)

"That appropriate responsibility be determined among the services and agencies in Hamilton which work with the chronic drunkenness offenders among Single, Unemployed Men."

RECOMMENDATION (c)

"That the Addiction Research Foundation be approached by the Social Planning and Research Council to take leadership on a permanent basis in the treatment of chronic alcoholics and in organizing and co-ordinating existing services."

AREA II - MEDICAL DIAGNOSIS AND TREATMENTRECOMMENDATION (a)

"That a detoxication and diagnostic centre for alcoholics be established in conjunction with one of the existing community hospitals."

Appendix - Previous Reports of the Social Planning and Research CouncilRECOMMENDATION (b)

"That until a detoxication centre is established, hospitals be encouraged to improve their emergency and admitting services to drunks so that a sound medical diagnosis can be made when illness or injury is suspected."

AREA III - POLICE AND COURTSRECOMMENDATION (a)

"That a change be made in the law which deals with drunkenness offenders to allow the full potential of a detoxication centre to be realized. This will require the support and co-operation of the Police, Justices of the Peace, and Magistrates."

RECOMMENDATION (b)

"That the police and courts ask the Provincial Probation Services to provide Probation Officers for 'Drunk Court' so that some offenders may be properly referred to psychiatric clinic for examination; sentences might then be based on psychiatric assessment and pre-sentence reports."

AREA IV - RESIDENTIAL FACILITIESRECOMMENDATION (a)

"That more half-way houses be established to fill the gap between detoxication and treatment centres and the community."

RECOMMENDATION (b)

"That special residences, farms and institutions be established as permanent or semi-permanent homes for Single, Unemployed Men in need of these resources."

RECOMMENDATION (c)

"That sheltered workshops centred around work and work opportunities be available to those suitable among Single, Unemployed Men to provide a 'middle-ground' between jail or hostel and the normal labour market, and to teach at least some simple skills or techniques from which a man can make a reasonable beginning in employment."

Appendix - Previous Reports of the Social Planning and Research CouncilRECOMMENDATION (d)

"That Day Care Centres be established in the downtown area of the city so that the hostel population as well as lonely men living alone in single rooms, etc., have a place to go and participate in organized programs or just to relax and chat."

RECOMMENDATION (e)

"That existing hostels and future facilities be encouraged to more specialized work with the diverse groups known to exist among Single, Unemployed Men. The hostels cannot be all things to all people and the community should not expect this of them."

AREA V - EDUCATION AND RESEARCHRECOMMENDATION (a)

"that the Alcoholism and Drug Addition Research Foundation be lauded for its campaign to educate the public about the dangers of alcohol and drugs and that this education be introduced into the schools as soon as possible."

RECOMMENDATION (b)

"That a cost-study be made by the Addiction Research Foundation of services presently given to chronic drunkenness offenders and drug addicts in Hamilton to ascertain if there are methods of dealing with them that are more economical as well as more productive than present methods."

- B.15 While recommendations on skid row have for the most part not been implemented, the interest and concern on the part of the Social Planning and Research Council and of others in the community continues.

DEBT COUNSELLING

- B.16 More successful has been the involvement with the problem of overindebtedness, where recommendations have largely been acted upon. The Report on the Provision of Service for Overindebted Families in Hamilton and District relates to concern within Hamilton and District about the need for and availability of debt counselling. While debt is a problem of families at any income level, it is especially pressing as a problem of the poor.

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Because the Social Planning and Research Council felt:

- a) that the establishment of a new agency to counsel families involved in debt would be uneconomical;
- b) that specialized credit counselling services do not seem able to provide a comprehensive service which might recognize and help clients deal with emotional, personality or family problems related to the debt situation;
- c) that it would not be advisable, therefore, to set up a specialized agency in Hamilton to provide credit counselling service;
- d) that it would be in the best interests of the community that the budget counselling services of the Family Service Agency and the Catholic Social Services be expanded to deal with a larger number of families than at present;
- e) that financial support for this programme should come from a broad base across the community. Support from credit grantors, business, industry, labour and various levels of government could be expected to supplement funds assigned to the programme by the agencies out of their normal budgets.

It Recommended:

- I That the Budget Counselling Services of the Family Service Agency and the Catholic Social Services be operated as separate departments within the Agency structure, but with budgets distinct from the general agency budget;
- II That the two family agencies take the initiative in establishing a body which might be called the Debt Management Advisory Board, of which no more than half the members should be nominated by the Family Service Agency and the Catholic Social Services. The other members should represent the community at large, e.g., credit grantors, industry, labour, the social welfare field, the legal profession, and consumer groups;
- III That any developments in the policy or programme of the Budget Counselling Services of either of the two family agencies be made in consultation with the Debt Management Advisory Board and the United Appeal;

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- IV That the Debt Management Advisory Board be responsible for expanding the service presently provided to the community by the Budget Counselling Services of the two agencies. In order to accomplish this, the Advisory Board should have the following functions:
- a) To ensure the co-ordination of the activities of the budget counselling department of both agencies;
 - b) To advise the Boards of Directors of both agencies in matters relating to the Budget Counselling Service;
 - c) To develop, in consultation with the United Appeal, the financial resources required to enable the expanded services to be operated effectively;
 - d) To act as liaison between the Budget Counselling Service and the business and credit community, between the Budget Counselling Service and the groups or institutions through which therapeutic or preventative educational programmes might be developed, and between the service and neighbourhood centres where service is required and would be considered useful;
 - e) To establish and maintain a planning and research sub-committee charged with the responsibility for evaluating the procedures used by the agencies and the results obtained, and recommending policies designed to reduce the extent of indebtedness in the community at large;
 - f) To recruit volunteers to act as counsellors;
 - g) To establish a programme of training, as required, for volunteer or paid credit counsellors;
- V That the Debt Management Advisory Board be set up in such a way that its structure and method of operation can be readily modified if this proves to be necessary.

INFORMATION CENTRES

- B.17 Another timely area in which the Council has been involved is relative to the importance of information and referral centres. The Council conducted a pilot project in Burlington and has issued reports stressing the importance of a central information agency and neighbourhood information centres. The Report of the Ways and Means Committee on Developing Neighbourhood Services sets out a plan for a Central

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Information Service and a network of Neighbourhood Information Centres designed to provide a comprehensive information service for Hamilton and district residents. The basic purposes of the information service would be to help the general public use more effectively available health, welfare and social services (both public and voluntary) and to identify unmet needs. The network of Neighbourhood Information Centres would be developed over a period of time.

- B.18 The whole area of information in our society has been stressed in recent months in discussion around the report of the Federal Task Force on Government Information and discussion of Information Canada. Essentially, the point is that many people in our Country are unaware of where to turn with any of a variety of problems - governmental, personal, etc. The availability of services for the poor and indeed for all Canadians is little more than hypothetical unless people have some way of learning of these services, and the existence of information centres also makes possible the identification of lacks in needed community services.
- B.19 The first phase would involve the establishment of a Central Information Service as the core unit, and the co-ordination of existing or embryonic neighbourhood and specialized information centres to form a flexible network relating both to the Central Information Service and to the citizen in his own neighbourhood. The second phase would involve the development of additional Neighbourhood Information Centres which could be added to the network as special needs were identified in certain neighbourhoods and as resources were developed to support new centres. It is recognized equal coverage of different areas in the city and district would not be provided in the early phases in developing the network, as the location of Neighbourhood Information Centres is likely to depend largely on the initiative of local groups.
- B.20 Many people are uncertain as to what they are entitled to under legislation or where to go in a community for various kinds of help, be it around physical problems, need for financial assistance, emotional difficulties, etc. Such uncertainty is especially characteristic of poorer people, who lack the right "connections" and who are less sophisticated about resources.
- B.21 The basic purpose of an information agency is to help the general public utilize more effectively the available health, welfare and social services in the community, the identification of unmet needs, and the prevention of social ills.
- B.22 From this basic purpose, these functions follow:

Appendix - Previous Reports of the Social Planning and Research Council

1. To provide information regarding health, welfare, and social services to individuals and to co-operate with groups and agencies to provide information and make known the services that are available.
2. To refer individuals, or others inquiring on their behalf, to the appropriate health, welfare, and social services. This can be achieved by obtaining factual information through telephone or personal interview to determine the agency resource suitable to the need. Adequate information should be given to the client which will enable him to choose appropriate resources. If indicated, appointments should be arranged for the client.
3. To interpret services provided by community agencies and to make available to those auspices information regarding other services.
4. To interpret legislation.
5. To assemble data concerning unmet needs, gaps in services, changes in social conditions and other pertinent material regarding services and to bring such information to the attention of the appropriate planning, research and co-ordinating body.
6. To maintain information regarding community health, welfare, recreation and other social resources.
7. To maintain and distribute appropriate directories and special informational folders.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

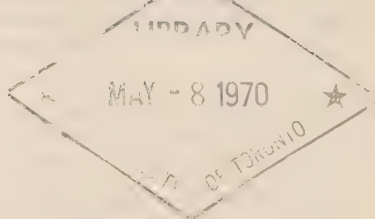
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 29



TUESDAY, MARCH 17, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Welfare Social Services of the City of Montreal: Mr. Jean Séguin,
Director.

APPENDIX:

"A".—Brief submitted on behalf of The Welfare Social Services of the
City of Montreal.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> , <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

Tuesday, March 17, 1970

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), MacDonald (*Queens*), McGrand, Pearson. (7)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witness was heard:

THE WELFARE SOCIAL SERVICES OF THE CITY OF MONTREAL:

Mr. Jean Seguin, Director

(Biographical notes concerning the above witness immediately follow these minutes)

The brief prepared and presented on behalf of The Welfare Social Services of the City of Montreal was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 11.15 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, March 24, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Mr. Jean Séguin, Director, Social Welfare Department, City of Montreal.

Mr. Jean Séguin received his primary education at the Morin and Lamennais schools. After secondary studies at Collège André-Grasset and Collège de l'Assomption, he obtained his B.A. in 1943. In 1946, he received an LL.B. from the University of Montreal, where he also obtained an M.A. in social service in 1965. He is a member of the Corporation of Professional Social Workers of the Province of Quebec and of the Canadian Association of Social Workers.

He was hired by the City of Montreal in 1954, and has occupied various posts in the Social Welfare Department. On November 17, 1966, he became Assistant Director, and on March 1, 1969, he was appointed Director.

He is a member of an interim committee representing French-Canadian agencies serving families and children. He is Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee of the Pointe St-Charles Community Centre. He is also active in various committees set up by the Conseil de développement social and the Montreal Council of Social Agencies. He is a member of the Canadian Welfare Council. Mr. Séguin is married, and has six children.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, March 17, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, this morning we are to hear from Mr. Jean Séguin, Director of the Social Welfare Service of the City of Montreal. Mr. Séguin completed his B.A. degree at the Collège de l'Assomption in 1943, and his B.A. in law at the University of Montreal in 1946. He recently graduated from the University of Montreal with a master's degree in social services.

He joined the City of Montreal in 1954. Since then he has done various jobs in the Social Welfare Service of Montreal, and became the Director in March, 1969. Mr. Séguin is married and is the father of six children.

Mr. Séguin, you may make an opening statement in any language you wish, and then we will proceed to the questions.

[*translation*]

Mr. Jean Séguin, Director, Montreal Social Welfare Department: Mr. Chairman, you are giving me an opportunity today to familiarize you with a few aspects of poverty in Montreal, and to suggest to you some elements of a solution to this serious problem. For this I am grateful to you, but before saying any further I would like to stress that the author of this brief, far from being a well-informed thinker, is immersed by the nature of his work in practical examples of poverty that he has to remedy immediately.

Our brief is intentionally short. We wished to avoid lengthy dissertations and emphasize practical solutions. Our remarks deal only with welfare recipients. In our opinion, they are a very underprivileged group. Since we rub shoulders with them daily, we believe we know them well.

We shall eliminate poverty when we have the staff and the money we need and are fighting on several fronts simultaneously, since poverty has various causes and it is only when all these have been removed that it will really be beaten.

Though all-embracing, the war on poverty will have to stress certain things in any given context. Thus, in some parts of Montreal, housing is the number-one problem, while in neighbouring districts educational shortcomings may be the most notable. Because of this inconsistency in the seriousness of problems, there must be some autonomy at the local level. Rural poverty differs appreciably from its urban counterpart. So even though the basic objectives of the war on poverty remain the same everywhere, the gravity of some aspects is not identical. The methods used must therefore suit a given situation. In Montreal, for example, mothers who are heads of households deserve very special attention.

The establishment of machinery to redistribute resources among the various social categories constitutes a major weapon in the war on poverty. As an example, we may cite family allowances, but we are seriously questioning this program. First of all, we feel that \$6 or \$8 in no way represents the cost of caring for a child. We would prefer to see the allowances increased in proportion to the number of children. After all, for a given amount of money would it not be better to ignore the first child and pay more to large families? Substantial family allowances might also diminish the abuse of assistance payments. It has often been shown that a man who has a large family and is unable, through lack of education, to hold a sufficiently well-paying job, has very little incentive to go back to work. For such a man, assistance payments may equal or exceed the salary he is able to earn.

It is often said that prevention is better than cure. In the light of that proverb, it is desirable that first-class medical care be provided in impoverished areas. This would prevent new clients from adding their names to the welfare rolls, and would help those we already have to get off them. We note that very few doctors take up practice in poorer areas, but if we placed a multidisciplinary team at these people's disposal, they would not long hesitate before making use of its services.

The war on poverty requires contributions from practitioners in a variety of fields. We are currently involved in a very encouraging experiment. We took part in establishing the Pointe St-Charles Community Centre, where a number of public and private agencies have all come together under one roof. We

work together to rehabilitate our common clients. We learn to know each other, and to assess the contribution each participant can make. This daily proximity, despite all the possible personality conflicts, leads to a sincere desire to work together to serve our clients well. We believe that with government help, similar experiments should be conducted in other areas.

I wish to conclude these remarks by drawing your attention to the basic obstacle confronting the war on poverty. Our efforts will be almost completely in vain if the Canadian people are not convinced that every citizen is really entitled to a standard of living in keeping with his needs and aspirations. If we continue to think in terms of charity, the poor will continue to receive little in the way of money and assistance. If we persist in considering the poor as failures or frauds, then obviously we shall never win the war.

Only a minority really believes in the right to adequate assistance. If this minority is to be increased, more Canadians must meet the poor and communicate with them. They will then note that these people are citizens like any other, and that more must be invested in education, housing, health and welfare if we really wish to help them break the cycle of dependence.

The Chairman: This morning we have Senators Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche), Fergusson, McGrand, Pearson and Carter who will be asking questions.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Séguin, if I understand correctly, you have 16 years of experience with the Social Welfare Department of the City of Montreal?

Mr. Séguin: That is correct.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Then you are certainly qualified to answer our questions, and I am sure there will be many questions from my colleagues. In the light of your years of experience, has there been a difference in poverty conditions in Montreal since Expo?

Mr. Séguin: Well, the major difference is that following Expo, some people stayed in Montreal hoping to find a job there. At that time, the number of active cases in our files went up slightly. That is about the only difference I see. Many people came to Montreal with the hope that, with Expo on, they would find a job; some of them did not succeed, but stayed in Montreal.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): When you say it went up slightly, I think I read an article not so long ago that said the unemployment rate in the City of Montreal was between 16% and 18%. Do you agree?

Mr. Séguin: It is true that the number unemployed in Montreal is rising noticeably, but it is remarkable that the number of people we help who are fit for work is not increasing at the same rate. To give you an example: on February 1, 1969, we were helping 4,057 people who were able to work; on February 1, 1970, we were helping 3,057 such people. It is difficult, perhaps, to understand the decrease of exactly 1,000, but that is the present situation.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): At the present time are you required to assist people who would not be described as poor were it not for the current unemployment situation in Montreal—the effects of Expo, and so on? I am thinking about people who have a skill and who made good money when conditions were good. Let me give you just one example. I know a man who completed his training in draughtsmanship and is now a highly qualified draughtsman, but he has been unable to find a job in Montreal for six months. Are you required to assist people who fall into that kind of category?

Mr. Séguin: This is what happens in practice. I stay with your example of a draughtsman who can no longer find work: when that happens, he must change his occupation. A person who is reasonably resourceful will find other work. You won't find these people on our lists. Our people are much further down the social ladder, as I said. They are the poorest of the poor.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You suggest that this man should learn another trade. Is this an educated man of thirty who received a B.A. and then spent four years studying draughtsmanship? It is rather difficult to say to a fellow like him, "You're in the wrong trade; you'll have to learn another." This has happened in a number of cases and it is happening today in your community. It is easy to train someone who has only grade 5 or 6 education. You send him to a technical school where he can learn one trade or another. He becomes semi-skilled, a qualified assistant, and then perhaps he can get back on his feet. But it doesn't make much sense, you know, to tell a skilled person of thirty or thirty-five—perhaps you cannot call him professional, but he is in a way—"Listen, my friend, you're in the wrong trade. You'll have to change." It is not easy for him to do that.

Mr. Séguin: No, I agree with you that it is not easy. Take the case in Montreal of Canadian Vickers which reduced its activities considerably, not to mention closed down. At that time there were highly qualified people who had 20 or 25 years' experience in an extremely specialized field and they found themselves out of work with no chance of employment in their field. Obviously it was one thing or two

her: either establish industries where these talents could be used, or retrain the men. It has to be one or the other; I do not think there is any other solution. If economic circumstances bring about a stoppage of work at Vickers or a similar type of firm, these men will get their jobs back; otherwise they will have to do something else. It is regrettable. I agree with you that it is very difficult after one reaches middle age. I am putting myself in the place of the draughtsman you talked about. I imagine that perhaps six months he is going to be really upset in his situation. He sees that he is forced to come—I don't know—an office clerk. Yet he has talent, ability and qualifications to be a draughtsman.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Now I will move on for the moment. I shall come back to it.

[English]

Senator Fergusson: I would like to refer to section 1 where the brief says that people before they can be recipients of good health must either produce a certificate or show that they have applied to the employment board. You go on to say that mothers who are heads of families do not have to do this, because it is then for granted that they cannot work. But do not such mothers have to produce something besides the fact that they have children? How do you decide which mothers are going to be eligible?

[Translation]

Mr. Séguin: I shall take the liberty of replying in French, so as to give possibly a more complete answer. I help women with families where the husband has disappeared or is sick, and where he is sick in an institution. What is required of the client in such a case is evidence that the husband is in jail or sick in hospital for a fairly long stay, or has simply left home. For the first month we do not ask the client to apply for a failure-to-provide order. But if the situation persists, we will require the woman to lay a complaint, to sign a failure-to-provide order against her husband. Now, we also make inquiries in an effort to find the husband if we know that he has disappeared.

[English]

Senator Fergusson: What about the working poor, the people who work but do not make enough to meet the poverty line? Do you give them any help at all?

Mr. Séguin: In this instance we assist only families which have a large number of children, because on account of our rates, the rates are low, we cannot do much. Let us take an example. You have a family of four children and the father is earning \$60 a week, which is not too big a salary. If we count that at \$15 per week for four weeks, it is \$240 and that is above our scale, so we cannot assist this client on the regular basis. In some instances we can give emergency assistance.

For example, about two months ago, I had a case of a father of nine children. He was two months in arrears in his rent. He worked at just a little over the scale. So what do we do? Do we place the nine children, or do we accept to pay, let us say, for the arrears of rent? Of course, we elect to pay the \$200. But that is an emergency and is not on a regular basis.

Senator Fergusson: You have that discretionary power in the case of an emergency?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, we can stretch it.

Senator Fergusson: I was also interested in your reference to day care nurseries. Does the Government support day care nurseries in Quebec?

Mr. Séguin: It is just starting in Quebec. I know that we have in Montreal the Garderie de Saint Elisabeth, which is a small nursery attached to a church; it is a new nursery which has just been opened. But on the English side we have more nurseries—in the Province of Quebec—for the English speaking children than we have for the French speaking.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Do you have the service of VON?

Mr. Séguin: We have VON, and its counterpart, SIV, the Société des Infirmières Visiteuses.

The Chairman: Senator Fergusson, will you find out how these nurseries are organized, because the witness is putting in on a basis of English and French. I do not understand that. Will you follow that up?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Mr. Séguin: Do you mean, why there are more English than there are French? It is because there are more opened by volunteer organizations. That is the difference.

Senator Fergusson: They are not all supported by the Government?

Mr. Séguin: Very little. Just a small amount. The Garderie de Saint Elisabeth is about 95 per cent subsidized by the provincial authorities.

Senator Fergusson: Why do they get so much more in subsidies?

Mr. Séguin: You mean, the French one?

Senator Fergusson: Yes.

Mr. Séguin: Because the French one is located in a very grey area.

The Chairman: A very, very poor area.

Senator Fergusson: I see.

The Chairman: How many day nurseries would you have in Montreal?

Mr. Séguin: You mean, not commercial ones? We have commercial ones besides that.

The Chairman: How many commercial ones?

Mr. Séguin: I would not know exactly.

The Chairman: What do you mean by a commercial one?

Mr. Séguin: Where you pay.

The Chairman: Does that mean that the ones we are talking about are available to poor people, free of charge?

Mr. Séguin: Free of charge or a nominal fee.

The Chairman: How many of those would you have in Montreal—English, French or anything else?

Mr. Séguin: On a nominal fee, or no fee?

The Chairman: On a nominal fee.

Mr. Séguin: I would say, as far as I am concerned, not more than five or six.

The Chairman: Between English and French?

Mr. Séguin: That is correct.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Would you say five or six organizations or five or six nurses?

Mr. Séguin: Organizations; but there is about one nursery . . .

The Chairman: One trained personnel.

Mr. Séguin: One location.

The Chairman: Would you have someone trained there?

Mr. Séguin: Some persons are trained, others are not.

Senator Fergusson: Is there any licensing of nurseries?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, there is municipal licensing, and provincial licensing.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): The VON are trained nurses.

Mr. Séguin: Yes but they visit people at home. It is different.

The Chairman: That is not day nursery system. The VON gives you nursing at home, for which you pay a fee, though it may be nominal.

Mr. Séguin: If you cannot pay, you receive the service free of charge. The Société des Infirmières Visiteuses is exactly the same thing?

Senator Fergusson: But they have nothing to do with nurseries.

Mr. Séguin: No.

Senator Fergusson: There is one other section which I have a question. It is 492 in which you refer to the prejudice that exists in Canada, and you say that this must be overcome. How are you going to attack that, or have a campaign that will overcome this prejudice?

Mr. Séguin: First of all, you can use the newspapers. That is one thing.

Senator Fergusson: You may have the idea using the newspapers, but they may not feel that way.

Mr. Séguin: I have a certain confidence in the media, but, even if school children were to help some poor families around Christmas time, that would be one way for them to learn something about the problem. You should not wait until you are about 40 years of age, but should become involved at a much earlier age than that.

For example, if you live in the town of Mount Royal you may never have seen a poor person. However, if you go to Point St. Charles that is quite a different situation. Presumably, though, there are persons from the town of Mount Royal who have never even visited Point St. Charles, and the point is that you need to have an opportunity to get in touch with people in order to know what they are like. The big trouble is not necessarily with the poor people, because the rich people are inclined to give money because they can afford to give a certain amount, even if it is not enough; but the problem is with the middle-class people. Just to give you an example, a friend of mine who is a taxi driver told me that it really infuriates him when he drives indigent passengers to my office. He cannot understand why an indigent person can afford to use a taxi to come to my office. He says that he works to 14 hours a day but these people use the taxicab to come and collect money from me. How can you convince that kind of person?

The Chairman: How do you convince him?

Mr. Séguin: Well, in his case he is a friend of mine.

The Chairman: All right, how do you convince us?
 y it out on us.

Mr. Séguin: Well, I would say to him that, yes, people are using his taxi to go to my office, but some of them are sick and cannot travel otherwise; it's more important than that is that this is a free world and people can do what they want with their own money. If a person prefers to use a taxi and eat hamburgers and spaghetti during the whole week, that is his business. He can do whatever he wants. Perhaps he is not bright enough or perhaps he should do the opposite. Maybe he should buy rib steaks instead of eating hamburgers, but if he prefers to use a taxi that is the way he wants to do it.

Senator Fergusson: Does that argument convince your friend?

Mr. Séguin: Well, slowly it does.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I agree with people who use taxis live in a free world, but isn't it true that the person who used the taxi could have walked perhaps a quarter of a mile or something like that?

Mr. Séguin: Perhaps.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We hear of people complaining because the welfare office has no chairs to sit on or that there is no music to entertain them when they go to collect their cheques. It seems to me that the lady who uses the taxi will spend the welfare money very freely for all kinds of things and then she will always be back at our door for more money.

Mr. Séguin: That happens sometimes, but it is not the case with very many of our clients. As of February 2, we had 28,586 clients, and of that number very, very few would be using taxis to go to one of our offices.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I agree with that.

The Chairman: Was that the total of clients for the month?

Mr. Séguin: There were approximately 28,000 acute cases at the beginning of February.

The Chairman: We learned from Mr. Anderson, the Director in metro Toronto, that there were 60,000 cases on his list, and I understand that the popula-

tions in metro Toronto and greater Montreal would be about the same.

Mr. Séguin: Yes. The numbers I gave you just now did not include the categorical assistance which is given directly to the client from the province of Quebec. That would be another 13,000, approximately, which would give us a total of about 42,000 altogether.

The Chairman: Is there not an assumption that Montreal is poorer than Toronto? That is what I have heard.

Mr. Séguin: From what I hear, too, that would seem to be the case.

The Chairman: And yet there is a difference there of almost one-third. How do you explain that?

Mr. Séguin: Frankly, I don't know.

Senator McGrand: The people who use a taxi to go to your office are those who live a mile or more away. It is not those who live four or five blocks away. Is that not correct?

Mr. Séguin: Yes. That is right. We do have offices throughout the city, which is one way to give better service to our clients, because if we were located in one central locality it would be more difficult for the clients to get in touch with us.

Senator McGrand: According to certain information we received in Toronto, out of 1,700 migrants going into the Toronto area on relief, 1,400 of them were native Canadians and 300 were immigrants from European countries. Can you tell me what percentage of those in poverty in Montreal are native-born Montrealers or have lived in Montreal for most of their lives?

Mr. Séguin: Over 90 per cent of our clients are French-Canadians. We don't have very many immigrants. I think you could probably count on one hand the number of Italians, Greeks and Portuguese, for example. Ninety per cent are French-Canadian.

The Chairman: What percentage of the population in Montreal is French-Canadian?

Mr. Séguin: About 70 per cent or 75 per cent of the people in Montreal are French-speaking. So in terms of our clients, there is a higher ratio of French-Canadian as compared to the ratio in terms of the population of Montreal.

Senator McGrand: Then the ratio between French and English on relief would show that there are more French...

The Chairman: Senator, Mr. Seguin said that 90 per cent are French-Canadians and the rest are other people. The fact is that the population of Montreal is 70 per cent or 75 per cent French. Can we not leave it at that?

Senator McGrand: What percentage of people on assistance would come from rural Quebec or from the maritime provinces? What percentage of them would be blacks from the Caribbean?

Mr. Séguin: I don't know of any Negroes on our lists.

The Chairman: They wouldn't have any.

Mr. Séguin: As to the rural parts of our province, it all depends. Do you mean people coming directly from the rural parts of the province and being eligible for welfare, or do you mean those who have come from the rural parts but have been in Montreal for a generation?

The Chairman: I think he means directly, or who have been in Montreal only a short time.

Mr. Séguin: I presume that about 10 or 15 per cent of our clients come from the rural parts of the province.

Senator McGrand: A group of witnesses from Montreal appeared before us some time ago. They called themselves the "Up To The Neck in Poverty" group. I asked them this same question and they told me that their English-speaking poor in Montreal came from the Maritime provinces and that the French-speaking poor came from the Gaspé.

Mr. Séguin: Exactly. First of all you have to keep in mind — and I would agree partly with your statement that most of the English-speaking poor come from the Maritimes — that in Quebec you have people coming from Gaspé and you also have others coming from other parts of the province, from Abitibi, for example.

Senator McGrand: When I refer to the Gaspé, I refer to the entire area including Kamouraska — the 16 eastern counties.

Mr. Séguin: But you have to keep in mind the fact the people are coming from Abitibi also which is far from the Gaspé area. We also have people coming from the eastern townships too. For example, we have a little place called Cap-Aux-Meules which is situated very far from the Gaspé Peninsula. The first one coming to Montreal from there found a good job as a longshoreman with the result that afterwards everybody coming to Montreal from that area thought he too was going to get a good job as a longshoreman. It did not work that way, of course.

The Chairman: When we got to Toronto, they told us that the people coming in there in need of assistance were from the Maritimes. Now we hear the same thing about Montreal. Is there anybody left from the Maritimes?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): There are very few left.

Mr. Séguin: I think what happens is that people think they have more and better job opportunities in big city such as Toronto or Montreal. They have heard about relatives who have found good jobs in Toronto or Montreal so they think that if they go there they too will find a good job. Where I live in Montreal which is north of the centre of Montreal, there are many families coming from the Gaspé and other rural parts of the province because they know that it is easier to find a job in Montreal than in Gaspé.

The Chairman: Of course if you had not had the people in the last 10 or 12 years you would not have had the tremendous amount of construction in Montreal that in fact you had.

Mr. Séguin: That is right. They are not all welfare. Many of them have indeed succeeded in finding good jobs and in earning a good living.

Senator Pearson: Of the six senators here at the moment, five are from the Maritimes and I am the only one not from the Maritimes.

The Chairman: It just goes to show they are hard workers. What has happened in fact, and we senators know this because we know our way round, is that many people came from the Maritimes to the Toronto area and the Montreal area where there was a great boom in construction. They did all the menial tasks, the dirty work and the heavy work. Now when we find there is a tightening up in both Toronto and Montreal, we hear talk about the immigrants coming from the Maritimes. Frankly those of us who sit here just do not like that sort of thing.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): At the moment there is no more dirty work to be done.

The Chairman: There will be, but we do not want to give the wrong impression. I know the witness does not want to give the wrong impression either. He is being very fair and very competent.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): He is only proving what we have been saying for the past 10 or 25 years, that we export our brains from the Maritimes. We find them all over Canada.

The Chairman: But you export them to the States mostly.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, you must feel quite honoured sitting there this morning with an Irishman on either side of you.

The question I would like to ask here is this; the war on poverty which is one of your recommendations has to be looked at from many angles at the same time. You say you have a great number of outlets in various parts of the city where you look after the poor. What arrangement do you have for bringing these people in the street and putting them through a clinical test? Or do they just come in and say "I want a job"? Is that what happens? And then you look for a job for them.

Mr. Séguin: If we really want to fight poverty, we have to do something else. We have to motivate these people to go back to work. You see, when a man has been on welfare for six months or a year it is very difficult for him to be motivated to go back to work. Secondly we have to find the proper job for such a man.

Senator Pearson: As the Director of Social Services, do you work in other areas yourself? Do you attend meetings of all your representatives so that you can discuss the various problems that happen in particular areas during the day or during the week?

Mr. Séguin: Well, I have 430 employees so I cannot visit all the sections in a week. However, what I do is to delegate somebody, say a superintendent or assistant superintendent, and say "you are going to be in charge of the western section..." or the eastern section as the case may be. I took a special interest in the Pointe St. Charles community services for two reasons. The first reason was because it was a completely new approach and the second was that when my father came to Montreal he came to Pointe St. Charles.

Senator Pearson: Did he come from the Maritimes?

Mr. Séguin: No, he did not.

Senator Pearson: Do you have the same problem in bringing new immigrants established as you do with Canadians who have become poor due to economic and technological changes which have caused them to lose their jobs?

Mr. Séguin: We do not have too many new immigrants. By this I take it you mean people from Europe?

Senator Pearson: Yes.

Mr. Séguin: In Montreal, and I do not know if this is the same situation throughout Canada, we do not have too many Italians to look after, even though there is a very large Italian population. We do not have them on our list, except for a very small number. Let us say,

for example, that an Italian family comes to Montreal. The first thing they will do is to live with another Italian family.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): They will go to St. Leonard. They will not be living all alone.

Mr. Séguin: There may be two or three families in the same place. Afterwards, when they are able to manage well, they spread out.

Senator Pearson: In other words, the Maritimer does not look after his own, but lets everybody look after themselves?

Mr. Séguin: This is the difference between the Canadian mentality and the European mentality. I had an example last year. We were giving some passes to see "Man and His World" to people on welfare or who were nearly on welfare. One day I received a call from the YMCA saying "We have about 200 persons who would like to visit 'Man and His World'." I replied, "Are they welfare recipients, or are they on very low income? I would need the names and addresses, and that is all," but they refused. This was not the lady who was calling me, but the individuals themselves who refused, because this was the International "Y"; they were afraid to get in touch with the government, even though there was no investigation to be done afterwards. It was just to make sure passes would be given to them; that is all. I did not intend to visit them to find out whether or not they were able to pay \$2.50.

Senator Carter: Mr. Seguin, in your brief you speak favourably of the guaranteed annual income.

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

Senator Carter: And in your presentation after the brief you spoke very favourably about family allowances, which you felt perhaps be increased and put on a slightly different basis. Each of these will cost a large sum of money.

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

Senator Carter: If there is only money enough for one, which of the two would you prefer?

Mr. Séguin: As far as I am concerned?

Senator Carter: Which of the two do you think would be best suited to conditions?

Mr. Séguin: As far as I am concerned, family allowances, right away, because the families have greater difficulty in earning a living than the single person. A single person can always, or nearly always, manage,

but when you have four or five children it is more difficult.

Senator Carter: When the children grow up and go, what happens then?

Mr. Séguin: If they go, they can be on relief, but the rates could be increased. Maybe the relief rates are a little too low. Maybe they could not reach a very high amount, but just to give a certain amount.

Senator Carter: Through your experience with poverty in Montreal, you think family allowances would be a better remedy than the guaranteed annual income, even if the guaranteed annual income took into consideration the size of the family?

Mr. Séguin: It all depends on what you mean by "guaranteed annual income." You might pay \$100 a month, but is that enough? I am much more concerned with the children. It all depends on the amount of money you can spend. This is the reason why at one moment I said, given a certain amount of money, maybe we could leave the first child and give more to the other children. It is the same thing with the guaranteed annual income. Given a certain amount of money, what do we do? Do we look after the guaranteed annual income or give a higher amount in family allowances?

Senator Carter: It averages out now to about \$6 a month a child. Is that it?

The Chairman: It is \$6 and \$8, so it would be, say, \$7.

Senator Carter: Say \$7. That is only \$84 a year per child, and if you have five children that is only about \$400. If you had a guaranteed annual income based on a basic allowance for an adult and so much for each child, the guaranteed annual income would certainly average out to be more than \$400 for a family of five.

Mr. Séguin: I hope so.

The Chairman: The Economic Council put it on the basis of \$500 a child.

Senator Carter: Which is far greater than your family allowance would be. What I am trying to get at is if you have a certain fixed concept of what "guaranteed annual income" means. You are not thinking of it as a flexible thing which would vary with regard to the size of family?

Mr. Séguin: It will have to, otherwise it does not mean a thing.

Senator Carter: If it did, would you prefer family allowances still?

Mr. Séguin: No. The only problem is, is the Government or is Canada ready to pay the total amount? That is the problem: How much will it cost? Because you give a real guaranteed income and not a nominal one, how much will it cost?

The Chairman: Do you know what the Economic Council says?

Mr. Séguin: No.

The Chairman: If you will excuse me for a moment Senator Carter, I will give the figures.

Senator Carter: Certainly, Mr. Chairman.

The Chairman: The Economic Council says \$1,800 for a single man, \$3,000 for a married couple, and \$600 on top of that for each child. Then when you get into the big families it goes up to about \$5,400.

Mr. Séguin: This would be quite a good start compared to what people are receiving now on public assistance, for example, and through family allowances.

The Chairman: What Senator Carter was asking you was: Which would you prefer as between the two? And I will add: And what would you do with those people who are no longer in the labour force, if you had the family allowance only?

Mr. Séguin: You have the Old Age Security system.

The Chairman: Yes, that is at age 65.

Mr. Séguin: But it could be dropped to 60 or even lower.

The Chairman: Well, . . . !

Mr. Séguin: I agree with you, if it is possible. I am interested in people receiving a sufficient amount of money, whether it is through a guaranteed annual income or through family allowances. I am a social worker: I am not an economist; I am not an expert in this field.

The Chairman: You say, "I am a social worker; I am not an economist . . ." Really, what you need for this is not a social worker or an economist but a real —and this is what you see around you.

Senator Carter: I would like a little more information on your scale of welfare in Quebec. Is it supplied by the province?

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

Senator Carter: What you pay in Montreal is determined by the province?

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

Senator Carter: Are you free to supplement the provincial rates, in any way?

Mr. Séguin: No, not at all. There is no municipal amount involved, except for the administration. As I said, my budget is \$63 million. \$59 million come from the provincial government, and there is the \$4 million for salaries, and no amount is given directly to the poor.

Senator Carter: You do not receive any money from the municipality of Montreal?

Mr. Séguin: I work for the City of Montreal.

Senator Carter: Well, some cities have their own supplements.

Mr. Séguin: In Quebec it is different. There is no municipal share. When I started with the department it had to be half and half as between the provincial Government and the City of Montreal, and then it went down to 64:36, and then to 18:82, and now it has disappeared. There is no sharing.

Senator Carter: Does Quebec have an agreement with the federal Government with respect to the Canada Assistance Plan?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, it does.

The Chairman: No, not quite. It opted out, and it got the equivalent. Dr. Willard told us that it is about the same as the others.

Senator Carter: Yes, they get the equivalent. They get back the money that they spend, but I am wondering whether they spend it in conformity with the usual agreement under the Canada Assistance Plan.

Mr. Séguin: That I cannot say, and I would not tell you even if I knew. After all, I am working for the municipal government. Do not try to ask me whether the Government is doing something wrong about this. I have had a little experience in politics.

Senator Carter: Can you tell me whether there is any definition of need in Quebec?

Mr. Séguin: There is a scale for, let us say, the rent that you have to pay according to the children that you have, for meals, for gas and telephone, and so on. That is on the list of needs. There is a scale for it.

Senator McGrand: Does it include repairs to the houses?

Mr. Séguin: Not very often, because most of our clients are not owners of houses. I would say that 95 per cent are not, so we do not have this problem.

Senator Carter: In paragraph 1(a) you talk about the Animation Sociale not being too successful in helping the poor because of the feelings of fear and alienation. Would you discuss that a little further, and explain it?

[Translation]

Mr. Séguin: I would like to make a distinction here. Perhaps it was mistranslated. But what I said in French was: "Despite all the social action movements, the poor are often inclined to hide their identity".

[English]

That does not mean that I say the social animation movement does not help the poor because it has helped them, but nevertheless some poor people—well, they do not want to get involved in social animation. They are too shy. I attended a meeting a year ago with the deputy minister of Quebec in Montreal, and there were some "social animators" in the room, and there was quite a fight about the guaranteed income and everything else. But, what happened was that after the meeting I had to stand by the door for about an hour and a half listening to clients one after the other saying: "Mr. Séguin, can you give me some money because my child is sick?" "My husband has disappeared; what can you do?" and so forth. They were asking for individual help, which was much more important to them than the guaranteed income, so far as they could understand.

I do not say that the guaranteed income is not important, but what they were looking for was help in respect of their individual problems, which to them were much more important than the general problems of Canada.

Senator Carter: We met the same thing in Toronto. In answer to Senator Fergusson, you spoke about how you are going to overcome these adverse attitudes on the part of the public, and the prejudice that the public has, and you said that you would put the rich and the poor together. I think that is what you said. But, if the poor are as you have just described them, would they not be too shy to have this done? Would they not feel that the rich were sort of intruding on them?

Mr. Séguin: Some will think as you have said, but it is very difficult. You have to avoid generalizations. You have to take a certain group of people who are ready to do something on either the one side or the other, and work with them. You must not try to involve everybody in this. There will always be some people who will deny being on welfare. They will not accept it. But, there are ways and means of getting closer to them. At around Christmas time, for example, there are ways of getting in touch with them in a very general way. Some will refuse. If they refuse, then they refuse, but nevertheless you can reach a large number of people.

For example, in Montreal we have a group known as L'Aide à la Jeunesse which was formed by the police department. In this group you have some very young girls who belong to the middle class. They visit children in the poor areas, and they take them to Man and His World, and they take them here and there. At the same time they are learning about the poor, and the poor are learning something from these young girls. I think it is a very good experience.

Senator Carter: You have not mentioned much about the working poor in your district. Have you any idea of how we can tackle their problem? What do you think is the best way of tackling it?

Mr. Séguin: The working poor?

The Chairman: Senator Carter, do you mind if I put this question, because it is one that I was going to ask?

At the present time to a family of four you pay about \$278?

Mr. Séguin: We do?

The Chairman: What do you pay?

Mr. Séguin: For a family of four we pay about \$175.

The Chairman: That is without medical, without dental . . .

Mr. Séguin: No, they would have their medical assistance card on top of that.

The Chairman: And dental?

Mr. Séguin: No, if they need some dental care then maybe they are eligible for special assistance.

The Chairman: Let us take the normal situation. In the normal situation they have medical assistance?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, a medical assistance card.

The Chairman: And dental care and drugs are special?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, except for the first \$10.

The Chairman: Suppose a man who is supporting a family of four and eligible for \$175 can earn \$150 by working regularly?

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

The Chairman: Suppose he comes to you and says: "I cannot get along on \$150. I have to pay my own medical bills, my own dental bills, and my own drugs.

I want you to raise my income up to the amount you would give me if I were on relief." What would you do in that circumstance?

Mr. Séguin: I would accept.

The Chairman: You would do it?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, because his income is \$150 compared to my scale of \$175.

The Chairman: If his income was \$125 compared to your scale of \$175, what do you do?

Mr. Séguin: I give him a supplement.

The Chairman: You were asked earlier in the day whether you gave a supplement, and you said . . .

Mr. Séguin: But you do not very often find persons who earn \$125 per month on a regular basis.

The Chairman: You are talking about a man who earns \$60 a week, and four times \$60 is . . .

Mr. Séguin: It is \$240.

The Chairman: But, we are talking about a man who has a part-time job who earns \$125.

Mr. Séguin: If the fellow is working on a part-time basis then I have to find out, first of all, whether he can work on a full-time basis. I can assist him for a certain period. Let us say that he has been on relief for a certain period, and the doctor has said that he can work for two days a week. If he does work for two days a week and earns a certain amount which is less than the maximum for which he is eligible, then I will give him the difference.

The Chairman: Have you had any of those cases?

Mr. Séguin: I should have had advance notice of your question.

The Chairman: Just try to answer it from your general knowledge, because we did not know what you were going to say or what we were going to ask you.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have been told and we know that a man will not work two days a week because he is afraid of losing his social welfare.

The Chairman: No, the witness tells us that if he works two days a week with his permission his earnings are supplemented.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Yes, but this is not general across Canada.

Mr. Séguin: First of all I will say there have been no more than 300 cases, because generally the man is earning more than the scale.

The Chairman: Is that for long or short term?

Mr. Séguin: It will depend; if he is unable to work on a full time basis due to his physical condition he can receive the supplement on a long term basis.

The Chairman: I should make this statement in Senator Fournier's presence. I said this in Toronto one day when you were not there. In every province in Canada, with the exception of Ontario and a very little bit in Quebec, there is supplementation of earnings. Some provide more, some less; some are reluctant, some are willing. In some provinces it is done very well. This is what is done now and what we are talking about. However, there is very little in Quebec, as the witness has indicated to us.

[translation]

Mr. Séguin: To get back to Mr. Fournier's question, it is phrased as follows. The fellow is receiving welfare, and he could work two days a week. That is not the same thing. What Senator Croll, the Chairman, said, is that the fellow is not working and he is capable of working in the morning, every day. The same can be done in the case of a client who is able to work two days per week. You have to know whether he is capable to do more. If he says: I only work two days, and the other three days I can get by on welfare, that is another matter.

[English]

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): That is what happens. That still is not my point. This question is not clear in my mind as to a man being offered a job maybe for one day of casual labour. He may be a plumber or a painter. I can relate a personal experience. I needed a painter during the wintertime at home but I could not get one at any price because they said "No, we will lose our benefits."

Mr. Séguin: If it is a single person, that is right. However, if the man is married with a certain number of children he can earn a stated amount without deduction.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): This is not means well understood.

The Chairman: But, Senator Fournier, the Province of New Brunswick is one of those provinces that is doing more in the way of supplementing than any other province except Nova Scotia. What the witness is saying is eminently true, it is done to a more or less extent throughout the country. According to the evidence we have heard that plumber is misleading. I do not know why he should not work unless he is a single man. The married people get some relief. How much would you let him keep, for instance, without deduction?

Mr. Séguin: If he is considered able to work he can earn up to \$300 a year. If he is unable to work he can earn about \$600 per year.

The Chairman: In the Province of Ontario it is \$32.

Mr. Séguin: If the person is unable to work, let us say it is a mother with a family, she can do some babysitting, and the amount she earns will not be deducted, except if she is sitting every night of the week.

Senator McGrand: Further to the discussion with reference to Montreal, you work for Montreal and not for Westmount?

Mr. Séguin: That is right.

Senator McGrand: That is the answer to the question I raised a moment ago.

The Chairman: You mean he works for the poor people.

Senator McGrand: I understood you to say that there were very few people from Jamaica and the Caribbean on relief. You said that you may have 100.

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

Senator McGrand: At the same time you say there is prejudice against the poor. I have read several articles regarding Jamaicans in Montreal. They are on the increase, there is prejudice against strangers coming in and there is prejudice against the poor. These people coming into Montreal are not entering the higher brackets of employment. How are they able to manage and why are there only a few of them on relief?

Mr. Séguin: As I said, it all depends. You have some people who are afraid to come to government, whatever government it is. However, if a person comes to us we do not care whether he is French, English, black or white.

Senator McGrand: How do they get by? I understand the Italians and most of the Europeans have a system, the Chinese especially, whereby they will not allow their people to go on relief. Have these people a sort of fraternity?

Mr. Séguin: I presume they help one another within their group. That is what happens. We do not have too many black people on our rolls.

The Chairman: What is happening with respect to Jamaicans, whether in Toronto or the other place, is obvious. They come to this country and the last thing they are going to do is to apply for relief, because they are afraid of being deported. If in need they go to their families and their groups.

Referring to the English section of the summary, number one, we find the story of what we have heard: 44 per cent are from 60 to 64 years of age; 82 per cent have not reached grade 8; many have no family relations. Over 20 per cent are psychiatric patients and 47 per cent female heads of families. We have heard this throughout the country. It is no different in Montreal from any other place. It is always age, education, lack of family environment, illness, psychiatric trouble and female heads of families. The only class not mentioned is the working poor.

Senator Carter: They are included in the 80 per cent who are not at grade 8 level.

The Chairman: Yes, and that is the whole story.

Senator Carter: Mr. Séguin, when did this scale come into effect and how up to date is it?

Mr. Séguin: We had some interim scales last year but now in Quebec there is a certain bill, called Bill 26. We are waiting for that new bill to be implemented.

The Chairman: Mr. Séguin, while we are at this, we are not here to criticize. We have an overall job and the people you are referring to are those we hear and see all across the country. We were in Toronto last week; it does not make any difference whether it is Toronto or any other place. In Ontario a family of four can receive \$300 plus medical, dental and drug payments. A similar family can receive that in Alberta, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and many Maritime provinces. However, forget them. In Ontario a family will receive \$300 plus \$40 for medical expenses and so on—\$165 more a month in Ottawa than in Hull.

Mr. Séguin: That is right, about that.

The Chairman: How do we explain that or justify it?

Mr. Séguin: It is very hard to justify it. Maybe it is a political question. Maybe the government is not ready to include all these amounts in a social welfare budget. Maybe the government has decided that we have too many clients, that we cannot afford to do this financially. However, I am not here to discuss politics.

The Chairman: It is not politics. These are facts.

Mr. Séguin: For example, during perhaps the past ten years the government has put a lot of money into education. Maybe the government decided to put it into education instead of into welfare; I do not know.

The Chairman: You mean the priorities?

Mr. Séguin: The priorities. They perhaps decide to give priority to education. If priority is given to one thing, one cannot at the same time give something else a large amount.

Senator Pearson: The \$300 a year that can be earned before deductions are made is for a single person, is it?

Mr. Séguin: A married person able to work.

Senator Pearson: With no children?

Mr. Séguin: Able to work.

Senator Pearson: Suppose that man was allowed to earn \$50 a month before any deduction was made, would that not give him an incentive to do the extra work and stay at it?

Mr. Séguin: If a man starts to work we do not cut him off immediately. We have to be careful. We deliver our cheques at the beginning of the month for the current month. We pay nearly in advance. The cheques are issued on the third day of the current month. If a man starts to work, say, March 15, we will not ask him to reimburse us. If he starts at the end of the month working for, perhaps, the C.P.R., he will not receive his pay before the end of the following month, and we will give him an allowance for the month even though he is working, because he will not have received any money.

Senator Pearson: My point is that the man who is receiving help from you is part of the working poor, and we must try to get that member of the working poor running on his own. I would think that building up that incentive might help him to do that.

Mr. Séguin: The real incentive would be to have a real plan to help him. To have him work one day here and two weeks after that a day somewhere else is not a good policy.

Senator Pearson: No.

Mr. Séguin: I think the best policy is to see the man's potential, what he can do, motivate him to work and then find him a proper job, and perhaps give him a month's allowance to start with even though he has started to work.

The Chairman: We are talking about \$60 a week which is \$240 a month. The scale is \$300, there is a problem in Quebec, where it is \$175.

Senator Carter: I am not sure how old that scale I asked the question but Mr. Séguin said that there were some interim scales. Is that an interim scale? How far back does it date?

Mr. Séguin: The actual scale for about four children would be \$175 to \$185 for regular assistance.

The Chairman: The question is when that scale was last adjusted up or down?

Mr. Séguin: Up or down? There were some minor changes, but the scale has existed for years.

The Chairman: When was an adjustment last made? Ten years ago, three years ago, last year, last month?

Mr. Séguin: It changed, I would say, five years ago, a small change. The provincial government has made some minor changes, but the basic scale has been in force for many years.

Senator Carter: This basic scale now is worth about 2 per cent less than when it was introduced?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, but on the other hand, they have changed the regulations, not the scale. In other words, we were able to give the maximum. Order in Council 31 gave us permission to give \$25 per month to a family. It was not on the scale, but if there was any urgent need not covered we were able to give \$25 per month. It means we give that \$25 a month to about, I would say, 95 per cent of our clients, though it is not in the scale itself. That is one way of doing it.

The Chairman: It gives a little flexibility.

Mr. Séguin: The scales are different throughout the province. They are not the same in Montreal as in Gaspé.

The Chairman: That is another point.

Senator Carter: You have a city scale and a rural scale?

Mr. Séguin: We have three scales: a rural scale, a scale for small cities and one for Quebec and Montreal.

Senator Carter: I take it that for Quebec and Montreal they are the biggest scales?

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Is it Quebec City or the Province of Quebec?

Mr. Séguin: Quebec City. There are scales for the rural parts of the province, the small cities and the cities of Quebec and Montreal.

The Chairman: Could you equate the \$175 to the other two areas?

Mr. Séguin: I would not know in the rural areas.

The Chairman: Semi-rural?

Mr. Séguin: I do not know.

The Chairman: If you do not know then there is no use giving us a rough figure. What is the percentage of single people on relief?

Mr. Séguin: Single persons at this moment?

The Chairman: Yes.

Mr. Séguin: Out of 28,586 there are 15,800 single persons.

Senator Pearson: More than half.

Mr. Séguin: It is a little more than half.

The Chairman: Single persons?

Mr. Séguin: Yes. "Single persons" means people living by themselves. They may perhaps be married.

The Chairman: That could mean a man or a woman single person.

Mr. Séguin: Yes.

The Chairman: Last week in Toronto when we were given a figure I questioned it. We checked it in Halifax, Winnipeg and Ottawa and found that is what it is, about 50 per cent.

Senator Carter: Senator Fergusson asked a question about deserted wives. How many cases do you have where the husband and wife have agreed to separate because by doing so each one can get more than by living together?

Mr. Séguin: No, they cannot get more, because this is one way to trace the husband. If we are helping Mrs. So-and-so and Mr. So-and-so comes and asks for relief we will not assist him.

Senator Carter: Suppose he changes his name and lives in a rooming house somewhere?

Mr. Séguin: When he comes to our office he has to identify himself and we will then visit him. There are different ways of finding this out. Of course, some succeed, I agree, but not too many.

Senator Carter: Not too many?

Mr. Séguin: Not too many. As I say, I wrote my thesis in university on fraud among public relief recipients.

Senator Pearson: How successful are you in chasing down husbands who run away and will not pay?

Mr. Séguin: Not too successful, because there are too many. The police say they have too many other things to do besides looking for missing husbands. Of course, the police have the name and if by any chance the man gets involved with the police and is arrested they will notify us, but they will not otherwise be looking for him.

Senator Pearson: I have a feeling that many of these husbands do not get too far away.

Mr. Séguin: That is right. They can go right next door and live with another woman.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): With two women.

The Chairman: When you have caught the husband what do you do with him, throw him in jail? Does that get any money for the woman to help the family or does that assist a proper reconciliation?

Senator McGrand: It is usually a man who has not earned much in the first place.

Mr. Séguin: Somewhere in my brief I mentioned that one of our functions was to look after the rehabilitation of married persons. We have an agreement with the municipal courts where the husband is brought in for non-support, assault, et cetera, towards his wife. Very often the judge will refer the family to us to find out if reconciliation would be possible and if not, whether the husband would be able to pay a certain amount. Sometimes there is no use in bringing him home because he will just leave the next day. We have some welfare officers who get in touch with the husband and wife and discuss the problems and sometimes they succeed and sometimes not.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Many of my questions have already been answered. How many officers do you have in Montreal?

Mr. Séguin: We have about nine sections.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Some time ago we discussed the problems of immigrants and the fact that there are so few of them on welfare. One of the reasons mentioned, which should not be overlooked, is that when an immigrant comes to Canada he is really under pressure, having gone through all the machinery of getting into this country. When he arrives in Canada he will work under conditions which

our Canadian people would not accept. I remember seven or eight years ago going to a restaurant to find that everybody damned the immigrants because they were taking the cook's job and working in the kitchen. In the hotels the immigrants were damned because they were taking the elevator operators' jobs and others. The point is that when these immigrants come to Canada they are still unspoiled, but we spoil them within a few years.

In your brief you mentioned something new, that is possibly your opinion that there should be a Family Allowance for the first children. I think this is the first time that I have heard that. Maybe it has a lot of merit. My question is, when the second child arrives would you pay for one or two then?

Mr. Séguin: We would only pay for the second or

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Never the first one?

Mr. Séguin: Never the first one.

Senator Carter: It is better that they don't have the first one then.

Mr. Séguin: First of all, I think you have to keep in mind the fact that the second child, if he is not too far from the first one, will not cost too much. This is only a suggestion.

The Chairman: That was put forward a couple of years ago by the Province of Quebec on that basis before they put in the Youth Allowance. It was discussed at that time, but they decided not to go ahead with it.

Mr. Séguin: This is not a new idea at all.

The Chairman: Senator Fournier said it was the first time that it has been presented to us.

Senator Carter: I would like to follow Senator Fournier. Is Family Allowance included as income on your scale?

Mr. Séguin: No.

Senator Carter: So if they get Family Allowance that is extra?

Mr. Séguin: Yes. That is the same thing even with provincial Family Allowances; we do not count them.

Senator Carter: And Youth Allowance, as well?

Mr. Séguin: The same thing applies to Youth Allowance.

Senator Carter: Thank you.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We spend a lot of time in training people, having consumer training, because the women are usually the bank managers and the buyers. I am not referring to poor people. It is the rich people who have the money to do it. If you watch a lady in the shopping centre, you will see what these people on welfare are buying.

Mr. Séguin: It is true. There is a movement called L'A.C.E.F., which is the L'Association Co-opérative de l'Économie Familiale.

The Chairman: That is the Co-operative Association of Family Economy.

Mr. Séguin: I do not think it is exactly the same as the Consumer Association. You have some who are members of L'A.C.E.F. who are also members of the Young Canadians. This movement goes like this: we go to different parts of the city and try to educate people about their rights with regard to rent, and so on. They even fight the finance companies before the courts in order to help people and they give courses as to whether or not one should buy sugar, depending upon one's diet. They also give general information and try to educate the people. They are doing a good job in Montreal. As a matter of fact, they have been giving courses to my employees so that they will be able to pass along a certain amount of information.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): When I am talking about consumer training I hope that I am not referring to the poor only. I know that my wife spends a lot of training, because upon entering a market she is tempted by many things which she does not need. The first thing that happens is that she has a wagon full of groceries worth about \$30. Fifty per cent of these groceries are not needed, because we have them on shelves at home.

The Chairman: Let us go off the record.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have only simple questions. Sir, do you think this commitment will be welcome in Montreal?

Mr. Séguin: It will be welcome.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You do not have to answer that.

Mr. Séguin: Why not?

The Chairman: Why not? This has never occurred to me. We have been welcome in every other place. I do not know why the question even arises.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I am satisfied. In your brief, sir, you mention "a Canadian objective in the war against poverty". What would be that Canadian objective? Could you elaborate on that, please?

Mr. Séguin: What I meant was that it should be a fight fought by everyone. It should not be fought only by a small group. If Canadians at large really felt that the poor should get more services and more money, things could change, but the attitude of most people is that it is too bad that there are poor people, but it is not up to them, individually, to help pay the cost of services. You can see that from the fact that there are numerous charity campaigns in Montreal, as there are all over Canada, and the people who are getting good salaries are not giving much to these campaigns. As I say, their attitude is that, yes, there are poor people and there are services to be given, but it is not their responsibility; it is somebody else's responsibility. They are not going to pay for it. And then, of course, they try to rationalize why they should not give.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): They find arguments not to give money, you mean?

Mr. Séguin: Yes, afterwards.

Senator McGrand: Is it not a fact that in the current renewal of the churches more emphasis is being placed today on the problem of charity than ever before? Perhaps the churches are the ones to take that message to the people.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): But people don't go to church any more.

The Chairman: We are going to have the churches appearing before us at the end of next month. Perhaps they will have answers to some of the questions that have been raised so far.

If there are no further questions, may I thank you, Mr. Séguin, for appearing before us this morning. You have given us a practical brief, one showing deep understanding. You have been very good in answering the questions and in helping us to understand the problem, particularly in Montreal, and to realize what hardships and difficulties are faced there. We are very much impressed. Thank you for coming.

The committee adjourned.

Special Senate Committee

APPENDIX "A"

A BRIEF

presented to the

Special Senate Committee on Poverty

by the

Welfare Social Services

of the

City of Montreal

March 17, 1970

PREFACE

This brief deals exclusively with the clients of the Welfare Social Services of the City of Montreal, that is, those who receive public assistance allowances through the Department.

We help both those who are able to work and those who are not, the latter being by far the larger group in numerical terms. Some characteristics of our clients:

1. 44.7% are between 50 and 64 years old.
2. 80.2% did not reach grade 8.
3. Many have no family ties.
4. A high percentage fall into the categories of unskilled, service or recreational workers.
5. 19.8% of those of our clients who cannot work suffer from psychiatric disorders.
6. 47.5% of the mothers with families we serve live apart from their husbands.

Our recommendations may be summarized as follows:

1. The war on poverty must be waged on a number of fronts, simultaneously.
2. Nevertheless, there must be a strategic emphasis on certain areas.
3. A multidisciplinary approach and participation by welfare recipients are essential.
4. The war on poverty should begin among welfare recipients, who are the most impoverished of all.
5. A guaranteed minimum income should be introduced step by step.
6. Medical clinics should be set up in depressed areas.

7. Mobile clinics should be introduced to give at-home treatment.

8. Higher tax exemptions should apply where a member of a family is physically or mentally handicapped.

9. More protected workshops should be provided.

10. Women raising families need

(a) the establishment of family courts;

(b) day nurseries; and

(c) greater severity in dealing with husbands who refuse to pay maintenance.

11. Programs for a return to normal life should be put into effect.

12. Financial assistance should be provided for clients returning to work.

13. A degree of local autonomy is necessary.

14. In order to encourage the whole country to take part in the struggle, we should

(a) convince people that it is justified;

(b) combat prejudice; and

(c) disseminate information about the poor.

1. *Defining Poverty*

1.1 There is certainly no shortage of definitions for poverty, and this is explained by the variety of forms it can take. Poverty is blamed on economic, cultural, sociological, psychological, political and a whole host of other factors.

1.2 We shall deal only with our own clientele—welfare recipients who receive public assistance allowances through the Social Welfare Department of the City of Montreal.

1.3 They exist at the lowest level of poverty; the allowances they receive are well below the

- guaranteed minimum income recommended by a number of authorities, and constitute their sole source of income.
- Almost all these people are without any means of support. They do not qualify for benefits under the many assistance and insurance plans operating in Canada, and they come to us as a last resort.
- Some are on our lists only briefly, while others merely follow in their parents' footsteps. The former will soon be able to support themselves and their families, but the latter need various kinds of professional help in order to change their financial circumstances.
- Poverty in Montreal—urban poverty—differs markedly from that found in rural areas. In the latter case, it often happens that a given area simply does not have adequate resources to support its population at a reasonable level. Montreal, on the other hand, is relatively prosperous and has a high growth rate.
- In towns and cities, poverty is often an impersonal thing, because the dazzle of wealth blinds us to the shadows of poverty. Beside the skyscrapers, the symbols of power and wealth, crouch the hovels that house most of our clients.
- Despite all the social action movements, the poor are often inclined to hide their identity. They avoid participating in the life of the community because they are fearful or unsure of their own worth. They develop a distrustful and fatalistic attitude towards society.
- Many Montrealers are thus unaware of what poverty really is, and find it difficult to believe that some of their fellow citizens live in deplorable conditions.
- The press, radio, television and the wealth around them tell the poor what could be theirs if they had the money. They find this an intolerable situation, for they are frustrated in their quite legitimate aspirations.
- Most of our clients owe money to loan companies. Advertising and the very ready availability of credit have encouraged them to acquire goods, but they experience tremendous difficulties in meeting their commitments.
- The Functions of the Montreal Social Welfare Department*
- We are authorized by the Quebec Government to administer the Quebec Public Charities Act within the Montreal city limits.
- Our main task is to study applications for financial help, make decisions, issue cheques where appropriate, and make periodic checks after an application has been approved.
- 2.21 Without going into the details of the eligibility requirements, we can say that the applicant must show that he has registered recently with the Canada Manpower Centre or, if he is ill, show us a doctor's certificate to that effect. An exception is made for mothers raising families, who are not required to present either of these documents, and who, because of the presence of young children in the home, are classified as being unable to work.
- 2.22 The following table shows the situation as on February 1, 1970:
- | | |
|------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Clients able to work: | |
| Heads of families | 1,907 |
| Childless couples | 339 |
| Single people under 30 | 22 |
| Single people over 30 | 789 |
| | 3,057 |
| Clients unable to work: | |
| Heads of families | 8,778 |
| Childless couples | 1,756 |
| Single people | 14,995 |
| Total: | <u>25,529</u>
<u>28,586</u> |
- 2.23 Monthly expenditure is about \$4 million, and we are fully reimbursed for this by the Quebec Government.
- 2.3 Our second function is the placing of adults in supervised hostels or provincially-licensed establishments.
- 2.31 On February 1, the total of adults placed by us was 2,099, and the monthly cost was close to \$350,000.
- 2.4 We are also responsible for placing handicapped children and normal French-Canadian Catholic children.
- 2.41 On February 1, the total of children on the Department's books in this respect was 5,684, with monthly expenditure at about \$275,000.
- 2.5 We administer the Meurling Rehabilitation Centre, which can accommodate 90. It is open to single men, and provides them with bed and board and assistance in their return to society, or places them in homes or institutions.
- 2.6 We also perform other tasks, such as the rehabilitation of married couples, legal representation, the burial of the indigent, the issuing of licences for charitable campaigns, etc.
- 2.7 We have a staff of 430, and an annual budget of about \$63 million, \$59 million of which is reimbursed to us by the province.

3. *The Clientele of the Montreal Social Welfare Department*

- 3.1 In order to familiarize you with our clients, we shall make some comments on a survey of them that was carried out in November, 1965.
- 3.2 44.7% of our clients are aged between fifty and sixty-four. Age is an important factor affecting the possibilities of finding work. The society in which we live is likely to favour the young far more than the not-so-young when a candidate is being sought to fill a vacancy. In addition, the lack of a trade is a very serious handicap when a man of fifty or more is looking for a job. Finally, health deteriorates with age.
- 3.3 80.2% of our clients had not reached the eighth grade. Those who lack education are natural prey to unemployment, since modern technology requires from the workers a body of knowledge that our clients often do not possess. Once, a man with but a few years' schooling could nevertheless get by on the labour market. Today, things are different, and the lack of a fairly high standard of education constitutes a handicap that is very difficult to overcome.
- 3.4 "The city has become the preferred habitat of young adults, small families and people without family ties" (Tr.).¹ The cities attract rural youth, either because advertising helps to convince them that the chances of making good money are better in the cities, or because a desire for independence leads them to quit their villages." They often arrive penniless, unprepared, uneducated and unskilled. They become discouraged and panic when they do not find a job at once. (Tr.)"² Furthermore, the number of large families is decreasing in Montreal. For one thing, it is mainly apartment blocks that are being built in the city, and for another, people who do have a number of children dream of owning a house in the suburbs. Finally, the anonymity the cities offer suits a certain kind of person, and because of the large number of hospitals in Montreal, many people take up residence there so as to be able to get the treatment they need.
- 3.5 The number of technical and white-collar workers is constantly increasing, and service occupations are becoming more and more important. Our clients rarely have a trade, so many of them are manual labourers. Prorating the figures for the population of Montreal, we find that 9.1% of those in the service and recreational fields are

receiving allowances from the Department. This phenomenon can be explained by the fact that work in those fields is often sporadic.

- 3.6 The very great majority of our clients are unable to hope for an early return to work, either because they have a temporary or permanent incapacity as shown in the medical certificate they have given us, or because they are mothers who are heads of households.
- 3.7 There is often a relationship between poverty and poor health, since the poor find it difficult to obtain the medication they need, and a sick person is at a disadvantage on the labour market. We have noted that very few of our clients have medical insurance.
- 3.8 Our studies of medical diagnoses show a high incidence of psychiatric disorders—19.8%. At first glance, it appears that the frenzied pace of modern life—especially in the cities—is conducive to this kind of disease.
- 3.9 47.5% of the female heads of households are separated *de facto*. Many husbands do not pay maintenance, either through negligence or because they have disappeared. They have lost their sense of family responsibility, and show no affection for their children. Some leave and form new family units elsewhere, others prefer to leave the country.
- 3.91 We can sum it all up by saying that the majority of poor people are "ordinary human beings grappling with problems caused by rapid and complex social changes".¹

4. *Recommendations*

- 4.1 In order to win a war, one must attack the enemy on a number of different fronts simultaneously, and the war on poverty is no exception to the rule. This enemy is present in a number of places, and cannot be beaten by an attack on a specific point. It would be stronger in other areas, and this would delay and endanger victory.
- 4.11 Since poverty may stem from economic, social, logical, psychological or cultural causes, in all these causes we must attack.
- 4.12 In any given area, however, it will doubtless be necessary to emphasise one particular point of strategic importance. Obviously, the dominant cause of poverty requires more intense and more sustained action.
- 4.13 It must not be thought that there is any simple solution to the problem. He who would attack it must seek the assistance of people with various skills. He must also be very attentive

¹City of Montreal, "Families and Households, 1951-1961", Town-planning Bureau, Technical Bulletin No. 2, Feb., 1964, p. 2.

²Pierre Laplante, "Pauvreté et militants syndicaux—poverty and union membership", *Bien-Être social canadien*, May-June, 1965, p. 73.

¹Louis Beaupré, *Elimination de la pauvreté—utopia*, p. 15.

- the wishes and opinions of the poor, for things should not be forced upon them for which they do not feel a need.
- 14 Long-term and short-term objectives must be defined. The former are goals which, however desirable they may be, are for various reasons impossible of achievement in the immediate future. Since the latter, on the other hand, can be realized quickly, there must be no delay in exercising every effort to ensure that this is done.
- 2 The war on poverty should begin with welfare recipients, for they are at the lowest point on the poverty scale. Furthermore, since in our modern society the poor are getting poorer and the rich richer, we should not merely stop the gap from widening, we should make every effort to eliminate it.
- 21 Unemployment, a lack of education, poor health, technological progress and psychological problems are the major causes of the deplorable situation affecting our clients.
- 3 The guaranteed minimum income could be a valid answer to the problems of many of the poor, but there is some reason to wonder how such a thing would be administered.
- 31 The Government of Canada provides the elderly with a form of guaranteed minimum income. We recommend that this policy be extended to cover other groups of Canadians. Thus, a guaranteed minimum income should be granted to invalids and to mothers who have been abandoned by their husbands for more than a specified amount of time.
- 32 Instead of introducing a universal guaranteed minimum income immediately, governments should move progressively in this direction by adding different groups of people from time to time to the ranks of those qualifying.
- 4 Since education is under the jurisdiction of provincial authorities, it is up to them to promote education for the poor.
- 41 We are pleased to point out the quite unusual effort that the Montreal Catholic School Commission plans to undertake in impoverished areas. Children from such areas are handicapped from the start, and in addition to the services normally provided by the School Commission, they also need special services in order to be assured of equality of opportunity.
- 4 In some areas, doctors are few or non-existent. We therefore recommend the establishment of government-financed, multi-disciplinary medical clinics for diagnostic services, minor treatment, counselling and citizen education.
- 41 We also recommend the establishment of mobile clinics for home treatment in short-term cases where the patient cannot leave his home.
- 4.52 We recommend an additional tax exemption where a child or dependant is physically or mentally handicapped. Care is often expensive, and this strains the family budget.
- 4.53 There are very few protected workshops for the handicapped. We therefore recommend that governments and industry cooperate in establishing the needed facilities. We are convinced that clients of ours who are unable to compete on the labour market might very well be successful if they were given the opportunity to learn their skills in a protected environment.
- 4.6 With regard to mothers raising families, we recommend:
- (a) the establishment of family courts;
 - (b) day nurseries to assist working mothers; and
 - (c) in cases of desertion, greater severity in applying the law in order to guarantee the payment of maintenance.
- 4.7 In order to encourage the poor to get themselves off the welfare rolls, we recommend the implementation of programs for a return to normal life. The Government of Quebec has already begun to institute these programs.
- 4.8 We recommend that when a welfare recipient returns to work, his welfare allowance be paid to him nevertheless for one month if he has been out of work for a fairly long time.
- 4.9 It is up to the higher levels of government to draw up general policies designed to eliminate poverty. There should, however, be some degree of local autonomy in the implementation of such policies. Senior governments should decide the basic outlines, and agree to the local agencies' taking whatever action they wish, provided it is in accordance with the basic philosophy. For in the cities, we have to cope with situations that do not exist in the country. A fair amount of decentralization often ensures better services.
- 4.91 In order to encourage the whole country to take part in the war on poverty, we should:
- (a) convince people that the war is justified;
 - (b) combat prejudice; and
 - (c) make the poor known to their fellows.
- 4.92 If a war is to be won, those fighting it must be convinced that the cause they advocate is a just one. If the attitude of the Canadian people towards the poor does not change, all thought of victory will be in vain.
- 4.93 There are certain prejudices against the poor that should be condemned.
- 4.94 It is claimed that welfare recipients are so lazy that they do not wish to work. It is true that there are a few socially disturbed people, but the prosperity that followed the Depression

brought about a marked reduction in the number of people on welfare, which shows that when conditions are favourable, the poor will rapidly return to the labour market.

- 4.95 Some people affirm that many of our clients are frauds. Various studies of this aspect indicate that, on the contrary, fraudulent use of welfare allowances is rare, varying between 2% and 5%.¹
- 4.96 People readily link poverty with a whole series of other social problems like delinquency, alcoholism and immorality. Delinquents, alcoholics and immoral people, however, are found in all social strata.
- 4.97 There are various ways of educating people about poverty. We recently had an opportunity to see the film *La belle vie et l'autre*, produced

by the United Appeal. It is often said that a picture is worth a thousand words. All those who see this film will be struck by the message it bears.

- 4.98 The twinning of rich and poor areas is another way in which we can get to know each other better.
- 4.99 Well-to-do young people should meet those who are not so well-to-do. They would note that the latter are basically similar to themselves. As they grew older, they would be more inclined to help them because they would know them better.
- 5.00 In a rich country like ours, poverty is intolerable. If we really want to, we can defeat it. "We should define our objectives clearly, and then ask ourselves what are the best means of achieving them."²

¹Jean Séguin—"Usage frauduleux des allocations d'assistance publique—fraudulent use of welfare allowances," Master's thesis in social service, 1965.

²Opération: Rénovation sociale—Conseil des Oeuvres de Montréal—Décembre, 1966, p. 34.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

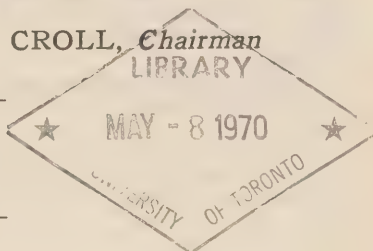
ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

LIBRARY

No. 30



TUESDAY, MARCH 24, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Canadian Association of Social Workers: Dr. Brian Wharf, Chairman; Mr. Leonard, E. Levine, Board Member; Mr. Kenneth E. Calmain, Eastern Branch, Ontario A.P.S.W.; Miss Pauline VanLammers, Officer of Eastern Branch, Ontario A.P.S.W.; Mr. A. Campbell McCallum, Eastern Branch, Ontario A.P.S.W.

APPENDIX:

A.—Brief submitted by The Canadian Association of Social Workers.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche,</i> <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday,
October 29, 1969

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, March 24, 1970

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Cook, Eudes, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart.—(10)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE CANADIAN ASSOCIATION OF SOCIAL WORKERS:

Dr. Brian Wharf, Chairman;

Mr. Leonard E. Levine, Board Member;

Mr. Kenneth E. Calmain, Eastern Branch, Ontario A.P.S.W.;

Miss Pauline VanLammers, Officer of Eastern Branch, Ontario A.P.S.W.;

Mr. A. Campbell McCallum, Eastern Branch, Ontario A.P.S.W.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

A brief submitted by the Canadian Association of Social Workers was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 11.40 a.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Tuesday, April 14, 1970.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Miss Pauline VanLammers: Officer of the Eastern Branch, Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers; Senior Social Worker, Catholic Family Service, Ottawa.

Dr. Brian Wharf: Chairman of the C.A.S.W. Committee on Poverty; Member of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, Central Branch; Professor, School of Social Work, McMaster University.

A. Campbell McCallum: Member of the Eastern Branch, Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers; Member, C.A.S.W. Committee on Poverty; Supervisor and Caseworker, Children's Aid Society, Ottawa.

Leonard E. Levine: G.A.S.W. Board member; Member of the Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers, Central Branch; Assistant Professor, Dept. of Psychiatry, McMaster University.

Kenneth E. Calmain: Member of the Eastern Branch, Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers; C.A.S.W. Staff Secretary, Committee on Poverty.

EVIDENCE

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

Ottawa, Tuesday, March 24, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, I call the meeting to order. This morning we have before us the Canadian Association of Social Workers. On my immediate right is Dr. Brian Wharf, Professor of the School of Social Work, McMaster University. Next is Leonard Levine, Assistant Professor, Department of Psychiatry, McMaster University. Miss Paulette VanLammers is Senior Social Worker, Catholic Family Service, Ottawa. Next to Miss VanLammers is Kenneth E. Calmain who is the C.A.S.W. Staff Secretary, Committee on Poverty, and last, but not least, is A. Campbell McCallum, Supervisor and case-worker for the Children's Aid Society, Ottawa.

Professor Wharf will open the meeting.

Dr. Brian Wharf, School of Social Work, McMaster University: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, my fellow social workers here and I deem it a privilege to be appearing before you. We believe that you are making a great contribution by bringing the problem of poverty to the forefront of attention and keeping it there. All too often in the past there has been sporadic interest in this problem but never the kind of systematic attention which this committee is giving to it.

I should first like to make some introductory remarks before turning to a summary of the brief. These remarks are by way of addition to the brief rather than clarification.

At the outset, I should emphasize that many of our recommendations that call for improved social services and improved allowances are going to cost a great deal of money. We believe that a rich country like Canada can afford the price it will have to pay for eliminating poverty. We are also conscious of the fact that with the experience the committee has gained over the period of its hearings

the committee has become very knowledgeable on the subject of poverty. In fact, the Senate committee may have outstripped many of the groups appearing before it in terms of the knowledge of the incidence and extent of poverty and in terms of awareness of possible solutions.

Hence, the committee might find that future briefs contain, largely, points and recommendations that are already known to the committee. For example, many groups have expressed approval in principle of the guaranteed annual income; yet few, if any, have given any real, specific consideration to the various ways of implementing the guaranteed annual income. As you will see from our brief, we are really no different in this regard in that we have come out in favour of the principle of the guaranteed annual income without carrying it much further. We are, however, preparing a statement on the guaranteed annual income and we would like to present that statement when it has been completed.

We have also noted that various professional people appearing before you have stressed the limits imposed by their professional specialization. Thus, the economists say they are not social workers and therefore do not know about social services; and social workers say that they are not economists and therefore do not know about fiscal policy. This explicitness is, of course, realistic and serves to underscore the complexity of the problem.

In view of these points I have just made, I should like to raise some suggestions which the committee may already have considered or may be considering. Nevertheless, they may be worthy of attention.

First, it might be constructive to invite representatives from some of the countries that have accomplished a good deal in eliminating poverty. In respect of that, we do make reference in the brief to such countries as Sweden and New Zealand, for example. I am not very knowledgeable about the particular people involved, but one name that comes to mind is that of Richard Titmuss of

Great Britain. He has visited both the United States and Canada and is regarded internationally as one of the leading authorities on social policy.

Second, I am wondering about the advisability and possibility of establishing an interdisciplinary task force—a term that has come into very popular usage—which would have the specific charge of looking at various ways of implementing a guaranteed annual income—for example, the demogrant approach, the negative income tax. It would also assess the cost that would be involved there and would look at the administrative arrangements required and would examine the political feasibility of implementing each of these proposals.

Thirdly, about groups who may be antagonistic to some of these concepts such as the guaranteed annual income, I wonder whether inviting them to appear before the committee might not be a useful thing to do in order to get a cross-section of opinion and in order to get a different body of opinion from what has been appearing before you.

I have one further observation which is somewhat unrelated to the above and some suggestions that are additional to the brief. I have been impressed as have the senators by the discrepancies that exist between the intent and provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan, and the way it has been implemented in various provinces. There are many variations with regard to the provisions of the Plan. I wonder if there would be any interest in launching a study to describe in detail the discrepancies and the variations and perhaps to speculate on the reasons for this. I have a secondary axe to grind here in that I am presently attempting to assist the Canadian Welfare Council to develop the second part of its social policy statement. This one would be focused on social planning and the implementation of programming issues rather than the rather lofty goals contained in the first statement, and I thought this might be a useful part of this second social policy statement. That is a study of the Canada Assistance Plan and the way in which it has been implemented in the various provinces. I would like your reactions to that at some point.

The Chairman: We are doing that. It has been under way for six or seven months by a member of our staff.

Dr. Wharf: With regard to the brief that we have presented, you will find the main con-

clusions and recommendations summarized on pages 2 and 3 in point form with reference to the paragraphs in the body of the brief. I would propose now to mention some of these and afterwards we can go on to the questions. The first point refers to the value issues—the value section of the first portion of the brief where we talk about the attitudes of the majority setting limits on what has been done about poverty—that relative poverty is an important determinant of a sense of discontent and the illustration of Caesar's light bulb is used to illustrate this point. We emphasize that the worst effects of long-term policy are on children and we do have, as we have indicated, Mr. Chairman, a member of the Children's Aid Society of Ottawa with us today. Despite the odds that face them, many poor people are able to survive and persevere because of unusual special strengths and special talents. Then we make the point that we have already mentioned that we have not done in comparison with some other countries as much as we could have done to reduce the element of poverty or to eliminate it. We refer to the doctrine of political democracy, high productivity and universal education and we feel that this is insufficient to deal with poverty as it exists today.

We talk at some length about economic incentives as reflected in the welfare system and in the proposed tax reform. We support the general thrust of the White Paper on Taxation, feeling, contrary to some groups who have expressed themselves to date, that it does not go far enough. We stress also that Canada draws a sizeable amount of revenue from the poor through direct and indirect taxation, and one of our main recommendations is that the poor should not be taxed at all.

Finally, while awaiting a plan of guaranteed annual income, there are improvements which can be made in the present public assistance system. These would not be as far-reaching or as difficult to undertake and they would serve as antecedents or as a preparation to the introduction of a guaranteed annual income.

Following this our recommendations on page 3 are that income maintenance should be provided to those in need without conditions and administered with minimum investigation, and here the phrase "without conditions" is referring to social services such as job training, job placement, counselling, et

where, as I think the brief makes clear, we make a clear distinction between income maintenance—that is income to assist the poor who need income—and other social services which some of the poor may need but which other people also need. In line with this we feel that social services should be expanded, extended to all and publicized. The rather cute phrase “social services should be established in neighbourhood locations within pram-pushing distance”—is a quote from the Leeborn Report from Great Britain which has just recently been published. Obviously it does not have as much reference to Canada where prams are not as frequently pushed.

Again, point 3 is the provision that social services should be separated from the administration of financial aid and we have given some reasons for this in the brief which we could refer to if the senators wish to look into this in detail.

Next we say that appeal procedures should be improved and we note here that this was a condition of the Canada Assistance Plan and that somewhat belatedly provinces are getting round to instituting these procedures. Some are more advanced than others, but in general they can stand to be improved.

Then there is a set of recommendations with regard to adjustments in allowances having regard to increased cost of living to effect changing needs, and the reform of the tax structure to reduce regressive elements, and, as I say, to follow more closely the principle of ability to pay.

Finally, the reduction of barriers to education and the early introduction of a program of guaranteed annual income.

That concludes my opening remarks, Mr. Chairman, but perhaps some of the other members of the panel would like to comment.

Senator Carter: Thank you, Mr. Chairman, I should like to congratulate the Canadian Association of Social Welfare Workers on this brief which I found very interesting. I think it is one of the best briefs we have had before and certainly the best documented brief I have seen since I have been on this committee. There was one point in the brief that is intended at but not very fully developed. Now I like it that your Association is made up of professional people in all provinces working with departments of welfare. What proportion of your time is spent doing professional work as against the proportion spent doing, say, investigatory work, clerical work and other non-professional work?

Dr. Wharf: The Association is composed, as I say, of professional social workers, and these are defined as graduates from a university school of social work and the present requirements which stand to be revised during the summer involve the obtaining of a Master's degree in social work. As I say, we hope to revise this during the summer to a Bachelor's degree.

We anticipated part of this question, and we tried to find out what percentage of those employed by public assistance departments are graduate social workers. We were not able to find this, but I would say without much hesitation that there is a very small percentage of the people employed in public assistance departments—that is determining eligibility for assistance—who are professional social workers. The figure in the United States is somewhere around 4 per cent and I would doubt that it is much higher here. The majority of people in these public assistance departments who are graduate social workers are in administrative positions. Mr. Godfrey who appeared before you would be one example and there would be other examples in Calgary, Edmonton and similar places. But the main point is that by far the vast majority of the people employed in public assistance departments are not graduate social workers.

Senator Carter: I appreciate that, but that was not quite my question. My question was: You take any individual worker out in the field; he is hired to give a professional service. How much time does he have to give that professional service, and how much of his time does he end up doing work other than that involved in his professional service?

Dr. Wharf: I would say that the vast majority of his time is taken up in doing what in the U.S. is referred to as DOCE—determination of continuing eligibility. It is routine, administrative work, checking on certain financial circumstances. It is not the whole thing, but by far the majority of the time is consumed in this area.

Senator Carter: Yes. So the people in the department are not getting the benefit of the professional training of these social workers?

Dr. Wharf: That is correct.

Senator Carter: In paragraph 1 on page 4 you state that:

Public attitudes set limits to what can be done.

Can you tell me what The Canadian Association of Social Workers has done to influence public attitudes?

Dr. Wharf: This is a rather embarrassing question. I would make a personal observation and then urge my fellow social workers to add their comments here.

As a national association—and there are provincial associations in each of the provinces—I would think we have not done nearly as much as we should. I think individually, and on the provincial level, we have done more; but as a national association there has not been as much as many of us would have liked to see.

Mr. Kenneth E. Calmain, Staff Secretary, Committee on Poverty, Canadian Association of Social Workers: I think the association has tried very steadily, through the years, to present issues of all kinds to the public. I do not say that they have been markedly successful, but there have been policy statements that have received publicity on a wide variety of subjects, including income maintenance.

There have been attempts in other fields related indirectly to the problems of poverty—corrections and this kind of thing. The association, of course, has presented many briefs to committees of government—the Carter Commission, and so on—that related directly to income maintenance.

I can only say that these efforts have been duplicated by many of the provincial associations of social work, and the provincial associations have sometimes differed in their emphasis on certain points that do have national implications, but the efforts of social work generally have been, I think, pretty consistent, considering their numbers, at least.

Senator Carter: People in poverty sometimes complain about social workers being cold and impersonal people who do not understand the problems of the poor. They look upon social workers as part of the middle class and probably more devoted to the Establishment and the status quo than to their particular problems. Will you comment on that?

Mr. E. Levine, Board Member, Canadian Association of Social Workers: I wonder if I may make a few comments in that regard because that is something one tends to hear a great deal about.

I think many of our difficulties in the whole social milieu is historical in terms of limited perspectives. I think part of the difficulty has arisen due to a particular approach or ethos that tended not to include people who were directly involved in aspects of decision-making, in providing adequate feed-back mechanisms whereby the particular impact of a regulation or procedure is communicated in terms of its effect on people.

Also, and perhaps not too surprisingly and quite legitimately, one tends to hear of the abuses and difficulties, although the manning and the provision of services, not only in terms of public assistance but also social services in which there are many people involved, do provide a great deal of help and support to a great number of people across the country.

In considering some of the limitations of numbers, of qualification, of training, the steering between, at times, rather local, limited response because of local, limited situations to people in poverty and various attitudes, as have been discussed in the brief, compared to, at times, rather enlightened legislation or an enlightened desire to perform differently, very often the provider of the service has to stick to the letter of the law or feels he must.

I think we have gone into some aspects in the brief as to seeing how sometimes the bureaucratic structure and administrative complexity will tend to limit the more human aspect.

I think too in this connection we want to stress that sometimes the separation between the provision of income maintenance and the provision of other kinds of services, is not a denial of any other kinds of services, but it is a way of providing this in a more humane or more people-oriented approach.

The other thing that has been found in the variety of the different pieces of legislation is that the more the provision is universal, the better it is manned; that when a special program is available to the poor, then it is handled as if it is for the poor and it is treated in a different way. When there is a comprehensive health service or a comprehensive service such as family allowance, then you do not have quite the abuses because it is available to the total community rather than to a special group.

The history of all social and health welfare has tended increasingly to assume the universality of social problems and difficulties,

whereas historically they have always been partialized with the provision of special institutions or special services. These have never effectively worked.

Senator Carter: If you were advising the Federal Government and you had \$1 billion suddenly at your disposal, what would be the first thing that you would advise the Government to do, the most urgent thing that needed doing?

The Chairman: I am sure you expected that question too.

Mr. Levine: That is a very fair question.

Dr. Wharf: We probably have a variety of answers on this.

My off-the-cuff answer would be to put it in the direction of increased family allowances and to make family allowances taxable so that you get away from family allowances going to the middle- or upper-income groups. You get that portion back in the taxes. But I think, consistent with what Mr. Levine is saying, I would opt for the universal services rather than selective services, so the extension of family allowances, the upgrading of family allowances and the recoupment of some of this through tax provisions would be one approach that I would favour.

Senator Carter: You would put family allowances ahead of the guaranteed annual income?

Dr. Wharf: I would say family allowances; one of the ways of achieving a guaranteed annual income, at least to the families with children I think one of the causes of poverty; that the more children one has, particularly in the low income groups, the more difficulty one has getting along.

I think the other kind of universal service I would see would be the extension and improvement of the Old Age Security program, and I think through these two mechanisms or provisions you would introduce many of the components of the guaranteed annual income.

The Chairman: In talking about family allowances you covered it a little but not quite. What troubles us is that we have to cover the old people, the people without children and the single people. That is our difficulty: if you are going to have a guaranteed income, you have to cover everybody somehow.

Senator Carter: What disturbs me about it is that the professional people come before us and opt for the family allowance instead of a guaranteed annual income, and it seems to me they do not envisage a guaranteed annual income as being geared to the size of the family, because the family allowance is geared to the size of the family.

My concept of a guaranteed annual income would be a basic income to adults, and if there were another group, there would be an increment and so forth, but apparently you do not like that concept because you would substitute the family allowance for the guaranteed annual income.

The Chairman: I think they are going to say that you have misunderstood them.

Mr. Levine: We consider the family allowance as being part of a total program of guaranteed annual income. We think it needs some scrutiny and improvement, but it has to be seen in that context for exactly the categories of people you have mentioned. I have the feeling that any kind of guaranteed annual income plan must be comprehensive in terms of the people for which it is provided. That is, it must be for all, and not just for people with families.

Dr. Wharf: My approach was based on the assumption that you asked me to state my priorities.

Senator Carter: Yes.

Dr. Wharf: If I could do only a very limited thing...

Senator Carter: No, if you had \$1 billion you could do a lot of things.

Dr. Wharf: I would use the demogrant approach to cover families of two, and family allowances for families with children. I think the evidence is that one of the points of real stress is the birth of the first child, when the two incomes usually cease. If both have been employed, then one income ceases at that time. For a period of time when the children are at school and growing up there is a continued period of stress with respect to income. At the point when the children leave the home there arise opportunities for the wife to go back to work, and there is a lessened outgo in terms of expenditure and that sort of thing.

Senator Carter: I have many more questions, but I think some other members of the committee should have a chance.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): First of all I should like to ask whether this is a national, regional, or provincial organization.

Dr. Wharf: It is a national organization.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): How is it that we have only Ontario people in this group this morning?

Mr. Levine: That is a very fair question. We are representing a national association, and we have been asked to be witnesses at this hearing this morning. The committee which prepared the brief included a variety of people from other provinces. How we operate nationally is that we appoint a committee for a brief the members of which are geographically close together, and through the mechanisms of the board, which has representatives in all provinces, briefs are submitted to the board and then to the executive which has representation too from all areas of the country. This brief is not just a study of the committee. It is the result of the committee's preliminary distribution, and also of submissions made originally to the board and revised by the executive, which has a total representation. It was pointed out to you that on the last page of the brief is a list of the entire membership.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Yes, I saw it.

Mr. Levine: That tends to cover the country.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): As a former politician I should like to follow up this question that was asked by Senator Carter about your recommendation of spending more money. Senator Carter asked Question No. 2, but I am going to ask Question No. 1, which is: If you need \$1 billion, then from where are you going to get it? I can imagine myself on a platform in my riding telling the people that they are going to have a minimum income, that everybody is going to be paid, and ending up by saying: "You are the ones who are going to pay for it." It is very easy to say this, and we have had this attitude for a number of years. Everybody says: The Government can take care of it; what's a few millions of dollars? And the Government can take care of it. \$30 million is not really a problem when you have a budget running into the billions. But, this may run up to \$1 billion, and nobody yet has ever come out with a recommendation of

how we are going to get that money. Will we get it through taxation, or will we ask Mr. Caouette to make it in his little mill? How will we get the money? I know that you have not the answer to that.

Mr. Levine: We have proceeded in a direction towards an answer—at least, we hope we have.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): However, this is not the question intended to ask. I have gone astray here. You mentioned basic need, which is another thing that many committees have never been able to establish. What actually is basic need? Have you an answer to that?

Dr. Wharf: I would say that the Economic Council has answered that one.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): No, they did not. I want to know what basic need is. Is it one telephone or two telephones? Is it one car or two cars? Is it a black and white television set, or a colour television set? What is a basic need?

Dr. Wharf: These things get into the matter of personal choice. Some families might opt for two telephones at the expense of a television set, or vice versa. We would not want to get into saying that everybody has to have, and everybody needs to have, these kinds of things.

Miss Pauline VanLammers, Eastern Branch Ontario Association of Professional Social Workers: We do a great deal of budgeting in our work with people, and we look at basic need as being very simply food, clothing, shelter, health care, and education, which include things like transportation, et cetera. We do not go into the business of telephone and TV's, although all of our families have TV's, but that is their choice. From our point of view we have to state what we see as basic needs. How they take it from there is their choice and their business because we cannot decide whether somebody should have one telephone or two.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You do not make much difference between the basic need and the living standard. Another question is: "What is the living standard? I imagine that Senator Croxall's living standard, for example, is much higher than mine. I do not doubt that at all, but he is talking about the poor people.

Dr. Wharf: This is one of the things we were trying to convey in the brief. These things are relative, and it really depends partly upon how we interpret them. If we are to determine what should be the standard for the poor then this is exactly the kind of thing that we cannot do. One of the reasons why so much of our work with people has not sufficiently met the needs is because we may have interpreted needs—whether from the middle class standard or any other standard—in a way which may not reflect the true aspirations, desires, and needs of any other group of people.

As we proceed to better mechanisms of feedback, review boards and implementation of our concepts as they relate to people who are experienced in the reality of their existence we find that this is the way to determine his question. I might do it according to my own standards, but this would reflect a particular group or family in society. We have been providing health services in a variety of other dimensions based on an assumption of limited feedback and data as to the true implications of a particular approach which may sound extremely humane and appropriate, but is not relevant to particular groups or persons.

The Chairman: Dr. Wharf, you are professional people. If there is anyone who knows anything about this problem, you ought to know. I think you do. We have been involved in this for almost 40 years. Why have we not achieved a program to indicate a family budget that fits a family of two or four persons? The knowledge must exist somewhere, where is it?

Dr. Wharf: Living standard budgets are reduced in numerous places. The Toronto Social Planning Council developed a set of standards which has been made use of in many centres. The important lesson is that wherever this has been done, particularly in the terms indicated by Miss VanLammers, it has been higher than that allotted under present standards for income maintenance by provincial legislation.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I am glad to hear that something is being done about it. This committee has received close to 100 briefs, nearly all with a long list of recommendations, but none has specified exactly what should be done. We have to ask these questions as to what should be done. We do not have the answers, but you

and the public do. We need guidelines. That is why we ask some foolish questions.

Dr. Wharf: The chairman has reminded me that the brief of the Department of National Health and Welfare contained some of this information.

The Chairman: Yes; it contained two budgets one on Montreal and one on Toronto, yet no one pays attention to them. However, it was submitted as something of value.

Senator Fergusson: I found this brief most interesting and, like Senator Carter, I consider the documentation to be invaluable. I do not think we have ever had as helpful documentation in any other brief. We were discussing family allowances and you mentioned that with universality you do not have as much abuse as you do with other systems. Is it the opinion of your association that there is little abuse of family allowance in Canada because it is universal?

Mr. Levine: There is little abuse in terms of its implementation, availability and accessibility. In fact, the people are neither demeaned nor humiliated. This relates to Senator Carter's question with regard to people who apply for help. It is true in terms of the universal and comprehensive health service where the very fact of its universality tends to place it on a more accepted total basis.

Senator Fergusson: What is your opinion of the use made of family allowances by the recipients?

Miss VanLammers: It depends on the family. Unfortunately, the poor have had to use family allowances in ways for which they were not intended, such as supplementing rent. This easily comes out of family allowances.

Senator Fergusson: That is really not abuse.

Miss VanLammers: No, I do not think there is any specific abuse of family allowances.

Senator Fergusson: We read of people criticizing the system and saying the allowances are used for certain purposes.

Miss VanLammers: How do those people relate that particular \$8 to the family allowance? They cannot fault family allowances at all.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I will not pursue this point, but I spend too much time around the liquor stores hearing from the supervisors how welfare recipients spend their money.

Senator Fergusson: You mentioned the New Jersey guaranteed income experiment. Do you think this would be applicable in Canada?

Dr. Wharf: Yes, many of its aspects would be applicable to Canada. For instance, I can think of two: one is that this experiment so far seems to have shown that the people involved can complete the required documentation forms and eligibility checks on their own, obviating the necessity for an investigating social worker to make rounds. That is an important aspect. The second and perhaps more important part is that the experiment has shown that the provision of a guaranteed floor does not reduce incentive to work. In fact, the reverse occurs. People who are assured of this are spurred to further efforts on their own. These two lessons are applicable to Canada.

Senator Fergusson: Witnesses before this committee have many times referred to the female head of a family and her great problems. This is not mentioned in your brief, but I am sure you must be aware of it.

Mr. Calmain: We are very much aware of it. The only reason that it is not specifically mentioned in the brief is that it is implied in the broad terms of the previous references to persons who have financial difficulty. We are concerned with all the poor, including the single female heads of families. Obviously their problems are magnified and of more concern than other groups.

Senator Fergusson: There being so many of them, should they have special consideration?

Dr. Wharf: This is one of the reasons we recommend a separation of income and services. The female head of the household needs many services apart from income maintenance. If the whole service has to be obtained in one package, we feel, for the reasons we advance in the brief, that it can be self-defeating. Senator Carter referred to the fact that welfare investigators do not have time to devote to social aspects of problems. This was very much in our minds when we advocated the separation of the two so that the woman with children would be able to

obtain income and have social services available at the same time to assist her with other problems in terms of raising children on her own.

Senator Fergusson: I presume that through your various groups in all parts of Canada you have some experience of the appeal procedure under the Canada Assistance Act. Could you tell us if you think the Appeal Board procedure now set up under the Canada Assistance Act is effective?

Dr. Wharf: I think the provisions for setting up the Appeal Board are excellent, and it is one of the most progressive steps yet developed. My personal experience is that the Appeal Board procedure is not working as well as was the intent of the plan. For example, there is a great time lag between the point of appeal and the decision. I recognize that one swallow does not make a summer, but in one case the applicant was denied assistance and had no recourse from the Welfare Department until the appeal was decided, which was some six weeks later. During that time he had to exist on his own resources. The appeal decision was in effect split. They said he was not entitled to regular assistance on an ongoing basis, but at the point he applied he was eligible for emergency assistance. That is really a contradiction. How is a person eligible for emergency assistance in November when he applies expected to survive until January when the Appeal Board decision is handed down?

Senator Fergusson: You speak of a special case, of how somebody is to exist if on emergency assistance in November and not able to get any until January.

Dr. Wharf: This is exactly the point. This person managed through loans from friends. Because he was attending university he received a special loan; he was already in debt to the university but he got another loan to cover this.

The Chairman: I should like to read honourable senators something very pertinent on this very question:

The U.S. Supreme Court yesterday gave more than 9,000,000 Americans or welfare the right to a formal hearing before their benefits can be suspended.

The 5- to 3- decision requires welfare officials to allow any individual threatened with a cutoff to appear in person and to challenge and cross-examine wit-

nesses, including the caseworker. Meanwhile, the welfare payments would be continued.

This is the first time the United States Supreme Court has dealt with a welfare case. There has been only one case in this country dealing with a welfare appeal to Ontario courts, which was turned down. Is that right?

Dr. Wharf: Yes.

The Chairman: This, of course, is of great importance. A declaration by the Americans of welfare rights, which we have emphasized one and again. It must lead to only one thing, that we will have the hearings. There must be the right to be heard, and assistance allowance must continue until such time as that appeal is disposed of. Inevitably the committee must deal with this.

Senator Fergusson: What is that clipping?

The Chairman: It is from the *Globe and Mail* this morning.

Dr. Wharf: Perhaps I could make one further point on Senator Fergusson's question. In the case to which I referred the individual was refused the right to apply. In other words, he was not given the right to make an application. When advised that he should appeal, he returned to the welfare office and asked for a Form 6, which he has to fill in for the Appeal Review Board in Ontario. The department did not know that such a form existed, and asked what a Form 6 was. They did not have any on hand, and we subsequently got them some from Queens Park.

Senator Pearson: I would like to know from the witnesses what they mean by a guaranteed annual income, and how it would be integrated with the present welfare system. In other words, what part of the welfare system could be dropped, both federal, provincial and municipal, if there were the guaranteed annual income?

Dr. Wharf: The guaranteed annual income is an umbrella term, an omnibus term, that includes a number of ways of implementation. It depends which method is chosen to implement the guaranteed annual income. If it is done through a negative income tax and benefits are low, probably some form of provincial assistance as presently instituted will be needed. To make the point clear, the negative income tax might very well assist a family with employment but below the subsistence level. However, we manage to define

that in our ingenuity. It would not assist a family not employed with no income. In other words, the amount of income obtained through a negative income tax might be less than the present entitlement through existing legislation, in which case that kind of provision would be needed to make up the difference.

I think there is a variety of ways in which it can be implemented. Some advocates have said that we need to shore up the provisions we now have through the Canada Assistance Plan, the Canada Pension Plan and the family allowances, and make up a "floor". Really the guaranteed income talks about a "floor" income, as I understand it, under which nobody would be allowed to go, and this would be guaranteed as a right. As I say, there is a variety of ways of achieving this minimum income floor. I think it depends which method is chosen.

Senator Pearson: Is it not possible through the guaranteed annual income eventually to get away from all the different groups of welfare agencies that we now have?

Dr. Wharf: One of the real advantages is that it would simplify this. I think inherent within all the schemes I have seen has been a reduction of eligibility determination and eligibility requirements as they presently exist. To some people's minds, as for example a very conservative economist like Freedman in the United States, this is one of the main preferences, for a guaranteed annual income, that it would do away with a lot of the administrative machinery presently set up.

The Chairman: Of course, Freedman goes further than that and says we should do away with all of them. That is the objection to Freedman.

Dr. Wharf: The return to the market place.

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Pearson: It would save a great deal of money on doing away with all these different agencies, and that is where the guaranteed annual income plan would work a little easier.

Dr. Wharf: Another point arising from the New Jersey experience mentioned in the brief is that the costs of administration declined.

Senator Pearson: On page 8 you talk about the program in Sweden, and how they almost got rid of their poverty. Can you give us some

thoughts on how Sweden accomplished their projects?

Mr. Calmain: That is dealt with on the pages before and after page 8, because the issue is fundamentally one of values and the intent of public policy. If there is a determination to eliminate or minimize poverty it can be done. Anything short of that obviously fails.

The Chairman: For your information, this morning we are determined. What do we do?

Mr. Calmain: We would have to allocate all kinds of resources, as Sweden has done in accomplishing this purpose. There is no other route; there is no other golden way. It has to cost money. The history of this in Sweden shows consistent dedication to this purpose. Fifty years ago Sweden was known as "the poor man of Europe". Since that time they have reached the point where they can brag about their position. I regret to say that in my brief holidays in Sweden they have shown this to be one of their least desirable qualities, that they do brag a great deal. However salutary the accomplishment, it is sometimes less than attractive as a national feature. I do think they desire all kinds of credit.

Dr. Wharf: This was in our minds when we made the earliest suggestion. One of the real lacks in the study of social issues has been the comparative study between various countries to see what has happened and what will work here and what are the unique situations that allowed it to work in one country and not in another. This is really only the beginning of an attempt to develop a serious area of study in the whole social policy field. For instance, it is much less developed in international law, where this has been a subject of inquiry and where there is documentation and evidence available.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I believe this is what you mean in paragraph 49 when you mention:

... effective level will require a major input of resources and the co-operation of all levels of government.

Mr. Calmain: Exactly.

The Chairman: It is not that we are without knowledge in regard to the Swedish situation. I think we should try desperately to find out what it is Sweden has. Sweden has an equality that we do not have, one which they

attained over a long period of time as a result of a collective bargaining process that covers 90 per cent of their people. There are some but few who are not subject to collective bargaining. If you take a look at our country and not what the Prime Minister said yesterday—regard to the labour force, which is 8,000,000—you will see that 2,000,000 belong to labour organizations. The suggestion was that wages and salaries take 72 per cent of the pie. That would leave only 28 per cent for 6,000,000 other people. That is one of the answers to your problem.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, when I was in Sweden last September, I did what I could to dig into this problem. You have mentioned collective bargaining where all the employees bargain as one unit and all the unions bargain as one unit. That is simplified and it is fine for a small country such as Sweden, but it is not something you could impose on Canada. It would be ludicrous.

Another point in the brief deals with the values between the public sector and the private sector. It is pointed out that Sweden has transferred much more of its production and wealth—revenue—to the public sector. Douglas Fullerton mentioned in his brief that the percentage of population of producers was very small in Sweden and diminished with regard to people too young to get into the labour market, and the number of old people getting welfare benefits is increasing. I found that the young people, in particular, were worried that Sweden was rapidly approaching the point where it would not have enough producers to carry the burden of supporting those drawing benefits.

Sweden is a free enterprise country. The officials went out of their way to stress that and to tell us that they are not a social state. There is no doubt about this. I found it difficult, however, to figure out whether the Government or the engineers were running the country. Certainly the engineers are a very strong fraternal body; they exert tremendous influence. In Sweden everybody knows everyone else, whereas in Canada that is not the case. They are able to get together over the dinner table or at a cocktail party. You do not have that sort of thing in Canada and cannot have. It is very easy to stand back and say that this is what they have done in Sweden and that we should do the same in Canada. These are two absolutely different situations, and it just cannot be done.

Senator Pearson: On page 8, paragraph 13, you say:

The association believes that Canada may have relied too exclusively upon what has been termed "the three pillars of liberal doctrine, namely, political democracy, high productivity and universal education".

You proceed in the next few paragraphs to criticize those attitudes quite severely. I sort of agree with you, but I would like you to enlarge on it if you would.

Mr. Calmain: We are not fully criticizing any of those points. We are very much in favour of political democracy and productivity, as well as commercial education. We are criticizing that each one in some degree has been misapplied or insufficiently applied or that the supporting factors to make them realities have not been either understood or practised. If you take the illustration of universal education as an important pillar, who could quarrel with it?—yet in practice we have failed very severely to develop this in our way of life.

Senator Pearson: We have failed to benefit the country with the educational program we have.

Mr. Calmain: This is so. I think we state it in the brief, and we do this quite fully in order to show the extraordinary waste of certain talents in this country, as has been shown by almost every study undertaken on the subject. All we can say about high productivity is that by itself it is something of a sacred thing and requires an apportionment of the results of productivity to have any real extensive social value. There is no point at all in a small number of people reaping the exclusive rewards of that high productivity. We are against the misapplication of the hypothesis on which this doctrine is based. In political democracy, we have demonstrated again and again quite conclusively within the brief that the poor, in the signal instance, are prevented for a variety of reasons from participating effectively in this great doctrine. It is fine, but it just does not apply to them.

Senator Pearson: Our educational program is tending towards developing an elite in Canada and leaving a great mass of people outside all together—do you think there is anything in that?

Mr. Calmain: I would say there is certainly a great mass left outside.

We should include all those people to the full limit of their capacities.

Obviously, not everybody can reach the same level of educational attainment—I do not mean exclusively in academic terms, but in all sorts of ways. I doubt if I myself could ever become an electrical engineer. It is well beyond my capacity and I would never reach it. But that is not beyond the capacities of other people. So I am not trying to delimit this point of everyone reaching the maximum to which they can develop in purely an academic sense. It is a broad spectrum and a goal, of each person reaching the point he can, as the ultimate idea of education for this purpose.

Dr. Wharf: As a further supplement to Mr. Calmain's point, the reliance on these three doctrines has failed to achieve any substantial change in the distribution of income, despite the fact that we have made advances in social welfare legislation, the distribution of income remains substantially unchanged over the last ten or fifteen years.

Senator Pearson: Thank you.

Senator McGrand: On page 4 of your brief, in point 3, you say there are many of the poor who have to pay union dues. Are there many people who are now in poverty who are union people, who work, who belong to a union; and if there are, in what trades do you find those people?

Mr. Calmain: If I may answer, I think the inclusion of the trade point there was agreed upon primarily, senator, not in any way to reflect upon unions, because we are strongly in favour of the union idea. I think the chairman, Senator Croll, has said that they walk the picket line in order not to have to walk the bread line.

The Chairman: Yes, but that is not the question.

Mr. Calmain: However decent the wages may be, and they may be substantial, they are not reflected right through into the family. A person may have a very large family and be pretty poor, and still may have a reasonable income, above the median.

Senator McGrand: In what trades do you find them?

Mr. Calmain: I do not know the relationship between large families and trades, senator, I am sorry.

Miss VanLammers: I think it has been our experience that they are more in the service trades.

The Chairman: But there again, the service trades in the main are not organized. Some of them are just beginning.

Miss VanLammers: Yes, some are beginning to organize.

The Chairman: But that is not Senator McGrand's question. The Senator is 30 years in political life and knows what he is asking about. That is not quite the answer.

Senator McGrand: It is not the answer, but I will let it go.

Dr. Wharf: I think the point is well taken.

Senator McGrand: On page 8 you say that children do not go to school because of poverty. Do you know of cases where poverty stops children from going to school? I can understand this, and we get the story that they have not got proper clothes, that the children are laughed at because they are not well dressed, and so on. But is it really a lack of money that stops children from attending school?

Mr. A. Campbell McCallum, Supervisor, Children's Aid Society, Ottawa: I believe that this has to do with the climate in which children are raised in our society. Speaking about poverty, certainly in my experience, when you talk about the availability of education for all children—which we recognize we do not have—in order to try and implement that, this runs back into the points made in the brief about the importance of a guaranteed income or a guaranteed level of living for these people. The psychological factors these children suffer, in living in poverty ridden areas, are immense and complicated. Many of these children, as I think we have tried to point out, have great latent talents. You cannot bring up those talents unless you change the climate, so that they can begin to fit into the educational system. The important point would be that there are a great number of children at the poverty level who never get the opportunity for education because of the very complicated factors in our environment.

Senator McGrand: These are complicated factors that make up the environment, but it is not always an actual lack of money. There are children going to school from very poor families with very little money, but they go. The lack of money contributes to the environ-

ment, but it is not the essential thing in the question of their going to school.

Mr. Levine: If I may add, on this very important point, one of the difficulties about the provision of social services is that generally it is difficult to particularize. It is true that the additional money may not alone deal with this, it may not help, but this is something we cannot do. This is something much greater than our power to provide.

I would like to have the opportunity to make a point generally, that one of the things we are increasingly finding, whether in the end of providing services or in legislation, or in some other sector, is that we cannot isolate problems as conveniently as we would hope. It would be more fitting if we could maintain this kind of partialization. That is why there has to be an emphasis on comprehensiveness of service. In this brief we are concentrating on things within our capacity in the immediate future. We would hope for some changes that might improve the total fabric of life.

The Chairman: I would remind honourable senators that at one of the meetings—Senator Cook, Senator Inman, Senator Fergusson and Senator Everett will remember this—we had a woman in Toronto who told us she left the centre of the city with her children and moved to the outskirts and then found she could not dress the children for school in the way the other children in the suburbs were dressed, so finally she moved back again into the city centre.

Senator McGrand: That was one thing that I wanted to stress.

The Chairman: Yes, I am sorry, senator.

Senator McGrand: It leads right into my next question. It has been said here several times that if we changed the system and got away from all the organizations all over the country handling welfare, that less people would be required. Do you think that regardless of whether it is a guaranteed annual income or what it is, that is going to put more money into the hands where it is needed? Do you not think that the very things which contribute to the environment will still be present, and that there will be just about as many people to investigate the people and their environment as we have today?

Mr. McCallum: I think, senator, there would be a transfer from the process of investigating to that of supporting the individual.

Senator McGrand: You have to investigate the cause of these things and help people make decisions. The woman I referred to moved from one place to another and moved back again. Somebody helped her and gave her a little guidance, and that is all that would be necessary.

Dr. Wharf: We struggled with this point in the brief. We did not in any way want to minimize the contribution of social services, and we felt that, in saying we wanted them split, it might in fact do this. But we would want to emphasize that we see the social services being very important. We would feel, however, that they could be better utilized if they were not operated in the same way as the public assistance system is operated.

Senator McGrand: On page 13 of the brief you refer to something Douglas Fullerton says concerning Sweden. You quote him as saying, "Have we North Americans maybe overemphasized higher pay as an incentive in our economic system?", and in respect of that quote you give your opinion that you believe this may very well be the case.

Do you really feel that this emphasis on incentive—to get ahead, to get more money, to get more work out of people by giving them more money—has really contributed to the welfare of the general people? The fact that you say it may well be the case would seem to so indicate.

Dr. Wharf: Yes. I feel that in our society we have over-emphasized material success as being the key to status. There are other ways people can achieve and can contribute.

Senator McGrand: That is all right. Several of the other senators have already asked where this billion dollars is to come from. I too feel that question must be answered by the people who present us with suggestions. The people who appear before us have many suggestions, but their suggestions never include where the money is to come from. Reference was made this morning to New Zealand, Sweden and Holland and the elimination in these places of dire poverty. Admittedly, they still have the working poor, but apparently they have no dire poverty. And yet, despite Sweden's excellent steel industry, these three countries are not giants of industry but are, rather, basically agricultural economies. That is true especially of New Zealand. But we in this country in the last two generations, especially in the maritime provinces, have followed a philosophy of get-

ting off the land and going to the big cities. We have been telling the young people that there is no opportunity for them on the land and that they should go to the large centres like Toronto. Well, if a country like New Zealand, on a strictly agricultural economy, can find that billion dollars, then I must ask where they get it?

Dr. Wharf: It is true, as you say, that New Zealand is an agricultural country. An important point to observe, however, is that the distribution of income in New Zealand is far less extreme at either end than it is here. There are not the gaps between the very affluent and the very poor. The median income is more likely to reflect the income range than are the two ends. So I would see the distribution of income as being the key in New Zealand.

Senator McGrand: There are more one-car garages than three-car garages, I suppose.

Senator Cook: Mr. Chairman, I agree with all my colleagues that this is an excellent brief. I found it very interesting reading and most persuasive. I believe I knew a little more when I finished reading it than I did before. However, it does suggest that we recommend that we paint with a fairly large brush. As all the other senators indicated, the question is where are we going to get the paint.

The brief takes a few sideswipes at the White Paper, and, without saying that I am for or against the White Paper in any way, I have read that a number of taxpayers seem to say that the White Paper is merely increasing taxation under the word "reform". If there was a reasonable blueprint procedure for social improvement, I wonder whether the taxpayers would not be more agreeable to paying increased taxation. In any journey that we take we have to start with first steps, but what troubles me about all the briefs so far is that they seem to end up at the end of the journey without those first steps. Would it be possible to get more detailed proposals than simply the generalities we have heard so far? Would it be possible for your provincial organizations to produce suggestions for a more detailed blueprint of social improvement? Instead of suggesting a guaranteed annual income, could they suggest how much and what would be achieved from it? Could they suggest why they favour, for example, increased family allowances? I understand you favour them not in lieu of guaranteed annual income but merely because there is not enough money to go around, but could

you tell us whether the social benefits from increasing the family allowances would be greater than immediately increasing the old age security?

In summary, could you give us some more detailed recommendations for improving the system?

Dr. Wharf: I acknowledged this point right at the beginning, senator. I realize that you are at the point where you need more specifics. I can say that we do suggest some changes that would lead to or would serve as antecedents of the guaranteed annual income. We do talk of some ways of improving the present social services program. And I can say that if the provinces would only agree to live up to the provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan that in itself would be a further contribution. We do talk of the social services in neighbourhood locations, and the like, as being the sort of thing we can do; and there are some figures available estimating the cost of various kinds of guaranteed incomes.

Professor Thur of the Economic Council prepared a statement in reply to the Canadian Welfare Council statement, in which he estimates the cost of negative income tax at certain rates, giving a rate of an income of \$1,200 for a single person and \$2,000 for a family, and estimating what this would cost, what would be saved and what would be the total. He then raises the level somewhat and again goes through the same procedure. That is only one example, and I am sure such figures are available.

But, despite the most sophisticated sort of cost-benefit analysis schemes that would list the benefits and costs in terms of economic costs and benefits, and would list the costs in figures, nevertheless, the best of these are likely only to be best guesses, particularly where there are difficulties that can only hint at problems involved in administration and their effect upon the families themselves.

One of the ideas I have toyed with at times is whether there would be some way in which Canada, with its regional discrepancies and differences, could institute some experiments along the lines of the New Jersey experiment, but using different ways of introducing the guaranteed annual income, for example, so that in one area you would use the demogrant approach and in another area you would use the negative income tax approach and then at the end of a certain period see which approach has the greatest effect on the family

itself. We can forecast in fairly precise ways the monetary costs, but what we cannot foresee are some of the other problems involved particularly with these families and the effect on the families themselves.

Senator Fergusson: That would take a long time to do. It would even take years.

Dr. Wharf: That is the trouble with experiments. They postpone decisions.

The Chairman: But the one thing that is emphasized is that we do not have the time. Everybody thinks they have been studying poverty for years but they do not realize that we are the very first to have been doing it.

Senator Quart: I am coming back to the social workers because I know there is a tremendous amount of frustration in trying to help the applicants. On the other hand, I believe that frequently some of the social workers give applicants the brushoff. We have had that explained to us here by many witnesses. Now can the Canadian Association of Social Workers on a national or provincial level, when you receive complaints of this kind, take any disciplinary action? If you have been listening to television recently, you will have heard from some of these poorer people about suggestions made to them that have not been at all nice, relating to morals and so forth. There have been cases where the officer's name has been mentioned by two or three people who were willing to come even before this committee and testify. So my question is, have you any authority to take action in a situation like this?

Dr. Wharf: We might have a variety of responses to this, but I would like to say first of all that social workers are the employees of agencies. And I think that one of the things we have neglected, and this is brought out in the brief, is ways of bringing accountability to the people served rather than being only accountable to what we have called the input constituency, the taxpayer or the municipal level of government. I think the two suggestions we have made, and there are probably many others, for improvement in appeal procedures and for development of client groups do offer some way of providing accountability to the agency or to the organizational structure so there would be a way for an individual not simply on his own but through an organization or through a recognized appeal procedure to complain about the practice of an individual worker.

I think this is one instance which has been neglected. It was pointed out even in a discussion last night that although social workers are much criticized, and I would not want to whitewash ourselves entirely, one of the things we did do and still continue to do is to protect the clients receiving public assistance from having their names published in the local newspaper or posted on a bulletin board for all to see. I think social workers have fought against this practice because they feel it is their duty to protect the client. I think maybe what we have done is to have over-protected and now we are accused of paternalism and of not recognizing the contribution that the clients themselves can make.

Mr. Levine: About this question of the Association, we do have disciplinary functions. Part of the difficulty is the fact that this is true of our membership. But very often people may not be members of the professional group *per se* which is not again related to Dr. Wharf's point. Are we content only with that? I think it is related to the question of accountability to the particular structure or agency and to the whole question as to how they are accountable and what can we as a professional group do, and I think we are very much committed to doing things around this nature of the protection of people and the mechanisms whereby they will have their rights preserved. I would like to emphasize Dr. Wharf's point. You see, historically we seem to have different perspectives. Our concern and the thrust has been the protection of the client. This may have been seen or is now emerging as perhaps too partial a view and the client may require the protection of assistance or protection from abuse. This was never the intent or never the thrust, but is again part of our increasing understanding of the fact that we have not been as responsive as society—not only as social workers—to the kind of problems that people are experiencing when they have to accept service.

Senator Quart: Just one further question. Is it necessary to have all the questions that a social worker asks of the average applicant?

Mr. Levine: We are saying no.

Dr. Wharf: Absolutely not.

Senator Quart: Maybe some guidelines could be set so that so many questions are not asked, because it seems dreadful and humiliating to the person who is applying for assistance.

Mr. Levine: These questions are due to legislation quite frequently, and this is where the bind comes in. In part these questions have been part of the procedures that have been established but I think again I prefer to go back to one of the recommendations where we recommended the separation of the receiving of benefits that are financial from the kind of questions that may be relevant in other contexts.

Senator Carter: On this question of accountability, you refer to your brief and Dr. Wharf referred again this morning to the underutilization of the Canada Assistance Plan and the discrepancies and variations as between provinces. Has your organization done anything to bring these discrepancies and deficiencies, underutilization, etc. to the various provinces and what have you done to try to get these things remedied as an organization?

Mr. Levine: I think there have been a variety of specific things related both to the national association and to the various provincial groups in terms of the interpretation and the programming. I think there are also vast differences in the country where this is done. I think you can point with a certain amount of pride to the fact that where social workers have been in a position of power and authority there have been some vast differences in terms of the implementation of the Canada Assistance Plan.

Senator Carter: Have you made formal representations to a provincial government or to a municipal government as well as the federal?

Mr. Levine: Yes, indeed.

Dr. Wharf: On a provincial basis?

Senator Carter: Yes, on a provincial basis.

Dr. Wharf: Yes. Also—this may be a side point, but I would like to bring it out—I think the Canada Assistance Plan has been recognized as a piece of progressive legislation, and social workers were very heavily involved in the preparation of that plan. At the federal level social workers have made a contribution towards the development of progressive social policies.

Senator Carter: You refer in your brief to the weak political position of the poor as a group. Whereas worry will stir up people who are wealthier and more affluent to protest, it

works the other way with the poor and it inhibits them from taking any action or exerting any pressure. Can you give us instances where social workers have helped these people to organize and exert pressure and to remedy that situation?

Dr. Wharf: Yes. I would admit that this is a fairly recent phenomenon in terms of assisting specific groups of clients to organize and to protest, but nevertheless it is happening. You can cite some instances. In Toronto the Family Service Association and the Toronto Planning Council have detached staff members to public housing projects, one of the duties of which has been to encourage the formation of tenant councils that would do this kind of thing.

Senator McGrand: Is not that what the Company of Young Canadians got into trouble over, because they went out to do this type of work?

Mr. Levine: I think it may lead to some troubles, but I would say that you would not be having these hearings if there was not some preparation for attempting new ways and doing things new ways. I think there have been very positive experiences whereby there have been many social workers involved in tenant groups, in client groups, in trying to develop more indigenous responsiveness and responsibility to particular local problems.

This, again, will extend beyond just income maintenance, but again I speak from the point of view of the provision of health services or comprehensive social services. The accessibility of a service is a problem too—Where is it located? What are the provisions whereby people can obtain it?

We suggest the more involvement of people who are the recipients, the consumer, in fact, the more likely will be the relevance of the particular procedures and the particular concentration of services.

Senator Carter: Coming back to these formal representations, can you give us a little more detail on them—when, how many they have made, and what has resulted from them? Did they do any good?

Dr. Wharf: The examples I could most readily cite right now—and perhaps we could supplement this later on—would be examples of social workers who are working out of agencies' auspices in this...

Senator Carter: I am talking of your association as a national organization, or as a provincial branch—I do not care which.

Dr. Wharf: One example I was involved some years ago was the development of a brief which criticized the General Welfare Assistance Act in Ontario, which was presented to the provincial government. At that point I left the country to go back to school, so I am not aware of the immediate follow-ups that were given. That is one example that comes to my mind.

In British Columbia the association has been involved in criticizing many of the policies of the provincial government there. But to give you the chapter and verse would require some digging and a later supplement.

Senator Carter: Perhaps you could furnish that?

Dr. Wharf: Yes.

Mr. Levine: We would be very pleased to send a listing of the kinds of appeals and briefs that were prepared related to these areas.

Senator Carter: What happens when there is a conflict between the needs of the poor, the needs of a single individual in poverty and the interest of the agency? Where does the social worker take his stand? Can you give us cases where they have stood up and fought on behalf of the client...

Dr. Wharf: Yes, many.

Senator Carter: ...or have they just sat on the fence and sided with the agency? What happens in cases like that?

Dr. Wharf: I do not suppose there is any general rule. I think one of the facts of life we have to consider is that there may in fact be a conflict between what is deemed as necessary for the organization and what the client sees as being necessary. I feel that because of this inherent conflict there may very well be a case for having social workers fighting social workers, for having some social workers employed with neighbourhood groups, tenant groups and clients' rights groups, and actively criticizing the practices of other social workers. I think that out of this kind of conflict can come some improvements, rather than too much of an emphasis on consensus and smoothing things over.

Senator Carter: Is there much of that?

Dr. Wharf: Yes, it is developing very much right now.

The Chairman: Miss VanLammers, you are an active social worker. Now, you tell us.

Miss VanLammers: I just wanted to mention somebody on the Senate committee's staff, Joe Dufour, who went through the same type of conflict and resolved it, I think, in a most extraordinary way for us perhaps. I think one of our problems has been, as social workers as a group, that we have not taken the stands we should take, and we are beginning to do so now. I am all for it, and I think the association is all for it and is backing up the individual members who take these stands.

I think there is much more support from the group of social workers, and certainly this has gone on in British Columbia and Saskatchewan, where people have really put their careers in some jeopardy in terms of future employment.

Dr. Wharf: It is going on in Toronto right now.

Miss VanLammers: And in Toronto, yes.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, I would like to pursue a different line of questioning. We have professional people here this morning, and this is a unique opportunity I have.

The Chairman: We have lots of time, you go ahead.

Senator Carter: We have this unique opportunity to get the information we want from them that we sometimes have not been able to get from others.

I assume that all of you people have at some time worked in the field. If you have not worked in the field, you have had access to information, reports, and so forth.

In your personal experience, either in the field or from information you see coming from reports, would you say that broken homes are more prevalent among the poor than among the public at large?

Miss VanLammers: I would. I have not any figures to back it up, but I think it would certainly seem that financial pressures, for me, too, can lead to the break-up of homes, and I have seen many cases of deserting fathers where this is part of the problem, that this man sees no way out of his financial dilemma and pressures on him to meet the needs of his family and he just takes off and leaves the family, hoping that someone else will have the answer that he has not got. I

think family courts find that this is a common factor. I think the other thing is that perhaps among the upper groups there is a tendency to maintain the image of the family. In other words, people will stay in situations because of what the neighbours will say, or because of other things, and perhaps the family should be broken up. There is a difference, I think, in the attitude among the poor. There is not this much feeling about the stigma if they do decide to break up the family. They do not maintain it for the sake of appearances.

Senator Carter: That is what I wanted to get at. You agree, from your experience, that the incidence is higher.

Miss VanLammers: This is my own experience, but I have no figures to back it up.

Senator Carter: Has anybody else formed that opinion?

Dr. Wharf: We tend to lump the poor in one category, and I think that there are many poor families with the kind of familial strength that enables them to hang together despite the odds that face them. There are other families where there may be some strain in the relationships already, and the added pressure of finances is such that the strain rises above the toleration point. There are some families in which both of these things happen, where the strain is already existing and the financial pressure is already existing. So, there are these differences within the poverty group that make it difficult to generalize.

Senator Carter: Yes, I agree with that. You refer in your brief to the outlook of the poor, and you say that their whole attitude is different from that of a person who tries to live on the same income. You give the example of a reporter who tried to find out what it was like to be poor, and you say that while he was doing that he had the knowledge that he could escape from it the very next day if he wished to, whereas the real poor person has no such escape; he is doomed to that for life. Would you say that something like that applies to the marriage of young people who are in this poverty group—that they do not expect their marriage to last? Their parents' marriage did not last, and their grandparents' marriage did not last, and so they do not have the same expectations as people in other groups?

Mr. Levine: This again is a very difficult thing to answer because of the vast differ-

ences in individuals. I think the point that is made in the brief about a different climate of opinion and experience would apply also to this whole question of expectation. I think a point is that very often people in this situation do not have expectations, either in terms of increased finances or a rising standard of living, or even in terms of relationships. This is one of the things that we have experienced, that people tend to be in a morass of confusion and hopelessness where they do not see any hope for improvement or development. So, I think this would apply, from what I understand, in terms of people who are often caught up in relationships or situations where their usual terms of reference of experience is that things go wrong, and they have no control over improving them. This is true even in respect of a problem that may not be financial. There is a sense of lack of self-worth. Obviously a marriage cannot work in this situation, and they cannot really deal with their children, because all of their experience has been against it.

Senator Carter: Would you say that that is transmitted to the children from one generation to another?

Dr. Wharf: I think that we mention this general point you are raising, Senator Carter, in our brief when we talk about universal social service. I have not the page in front of me, Mr. Chairman, but we say that typically social services have been organized around problems such as those of child care, child protection, marital counselling, and that kind of thing. We have not extended them to the level where we can see what are points of stress in respect of which most people, even those in the middle class and upper class, experience some difficulty. In other words, there are some points in life where most families experience difficulty. I think we are seeing some development of this kind of thinking in social welfare. There are points at which many people experience difficulty, so it makes sense to organize your services around these points. We mention adolescence, premarital counselling, marriage, the birth of the first child, and retirement as points where many people experience problems. If social services are organized around these principles and made readily available then people at least would have an opportunity of availing themselves of these services.

The Chairman: Yes. Yesterday's Gallup poll indicated that 27 per cent did not quite know what their troubles were. That leaves roughly

73 per cent who did know, and 47 per cent of those said that their trouble was money.

Dr. Wharf: Yes.

The Chairman: Let us not get away from that. That was the public answering. 47 per cent said that their trouble was money. How do you see that?

Dr. Wharf: I would say that income maintenance is the first priority. That social services are important, but not the first priority.

The Chairman: But if you have read our record—and it is obvious that you have because you have been quoting it back to us this morning—you will know that we have said from the time we started that we think maintenance income itself is not the answer: That we need services with it. We have always said that, and we have always had that in our minds. What are we saying that is wrong? How is our thinking wrong, or are you just supporting what we have been saying?

Mr. Levine: We are supporting it, but we are saying that if there is a choice in terms of priority then the maintenance is something that we can and should be doing something about immediately. We are not suggesting that there needs to be a polarization between a variety of different positions. We are suggesting that social services may be a need, but maintenance is a very clear cut and very specific need, and in the perception of most people it is a concern of absolutely immediate priority. This is something that could be a base or a beginning point. The elimination of this could be a common base, and the social services, as Dr. Wharf said, could be directed at the problem areas among the poor, at the single mother and persons like her.

Senator Carter: I have one last question. The children born in this group have generally the expectation that the marriage will not last, and so forth, but are those children handicapped with respect to access to moral and spiritual influences? Can they get to Sunday School, as most children can? How do they stand in relationship to the moral and spiritual influences?

Dr. Wharf: If you define "moral and spiritual" very widely...

Senator Carter: I am thinking of Sunday School and youth organizations like the Girl

Guides and Boy Scouts, and other organizations that are character building. I am thinking even of religious services.

Dr. Wharf: I would think that they are handicapped if the organization demands a uniform or a price for joining, or the other participants in the program are at a higher economic level. There are disadvantages here from which the poor children suffer. I think there are disadvantages in terms of things like access to reading material in the home. You know, the average poor home is not likely to be well equipped with reading material. There are public libraries, of course, and these are utilized. There is an interesting experiment starting in London where the neighbourhood social service office is being based in a library. It is thought that this would be a way to promote the library and to increase the use of the library. I would say that in these areas those children are restricted.

Miss VanLammers: I would like to say that another thing is that putting housing projects for poor families 20 miles out of town is not helping with respect to their access to the things you mentioned. I think that there is a big problem here.

Senator Quart: You mentioned organizations which require a uniform. I should like to mention that I have been a Divisional Commissioner of Guides, and a member of the National Council, and I can assure you that in most cases arrangements are made without publicity for a girl to be supplied with the uniform. One of the reasons for adopting uniforms for Scouts and Guides is that there will not be great competition in dress such as exists in schools. Many children drop out from school because of dress.

Dr. Wharf: I acknowledge your point, which is well taken. The discrimination arises from the necessity to make the special arrangements.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): In answer to Senator Cook, reference was made by Dr. Wharf to the fact that the province would only agree to live up to the agreement. Can they? We are back in the old duck-passing business where the provincial government blames the federal government and the municipal government blames the provincial government. There seems to be no answer.

The Chairman: There is an answer to that. These witnesses are all from the Province of Ontario, which is the province that can afford it and the one that is doing the least about it. Let us get it on the record and be honest about it. Is that true?

Mr. Calmain: That is correct.

Dr. Wharf: There may be other problems, but the Chairman's answer is very appropriate. It is not only a question of being able, but being willing.

The Chairman: There are problems which do not apply to these witnesses, who are here not as citizens of one province but representing all. They know this is true.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Your brief refers to "the cruel pressure of advertising". That is well put and I agree with it. What has been your experience in consumer training for poor people?

Miss VanLammers: The family agencies have certainly been involved in this, working also with credit unions. We have been involved in training credit union personnel to give some type of realistic consumer training. However, it starts with children being taught the value of money and goods by their parents and should be part of living and family life education in the school.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Who is going to teach the parent? Do you ever follow a welfare recipient on her shopping?

Miss VanLammers: Yes, this is done through the Welfare Department and their teaching homemakers. They take them out and shop with them, teaching them to make out a shopping list and decide what is a good buy. They also train them to use the co-operative which is being developed in lower town.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Is that done on a large scale or is it just beginning?

Mr. Levine: Yes, it is increasing. There is a neighbourhood program in Hamilton which instructs parents not only in child rearing but in home management, including budget planning and shopping trips. It is an increasing effort among social workers in which the whole area of family life is broadly interpreted.

Dr. Wharf: Good shopping depends upon having sufficient income to take advantage of

sales and buying in bulk. Some of the most economically managed homes are those with freezers where meat can be bought in quantity, vegetables in season and stored. This is not available to those on assistance, no matter how astute they may be in devising meals to fit their income.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Again you have points for argument. What is your philosophy with regard to buying now and paying later, which is so appealing to the poor people who cannot afford it?

Mr. Levine: This is referred to in the comments on advertising. It is not a helpful or productive aspect. It affects not only the poor, but other people in terms of the climate in which we find ourselves. There are so many pressures such as "fly now, buy now." It is not a question of whether it is necessary or within one's capacity.

Miss VanLammers: We conducted a survey in Ottawa which revealed that poor people are not so much in debt as are the middle and upper income groups.

The Chairman: Define middle income, roughly?

Miss VanLammers: Between \$5,000 and \$8,000.

The Chairman: Those in the middle of that bracket are in greater debt. That is the record.

Senator Pearson: The same situation prevailed in the rural areas of Saskatchewan where the land was not productive and farmers were poor. They were in less debt than those whose crops were bountiful. The latter were continually buying more expensive machinery.

Senator Fergusson: People and their children are bombarded with reasons why they should buy certain articles. This is sometimes hard to resist. Do you think the advertisers should have responsibility in this area?

Miss VanLammers: Definitely.

Dr. Wharf: The responsibility seems to be more in relation to selling their product than safeguarding public interest.

Miss VanLammers: They are directing their advertising to children, who maybe use the products but do not pay for them.

Mr. Calmain: Galbraith makes a good point with respect to that. He says it is simple psychological exploitation. You induce need and form your corporation around it.

The Chairman: The economy of the country just demands more and more of the same thing. It is unfortunate, but there it is.

Senator Fergusson: Perhaps there should be some education of the advertisers.

Senator McGrand: We have just been speaking about accommodation for the poor. Is there any way of building into housing projects at the time they are erected storage for vegetables in bulk, such as bags of potatoes or carrots, or frozen meat?

Dr. Wharf: Sure.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Very cheaply.

Senator McGrand: But it is not done. Why is it not done? Apparently everybody agrees, so I will pass to another question. The matter of broken homes has been mentioned several times and discussed, and Senator Carter asked about the number of broken homes among the poor compared with those of the better off. What is the comparison in Sweden or New Zealand, where dire poverty has been eliminated? Have you any idea? I understand that in Sweden divorces are quite common, and a divorce must mean a broken home, to some extent, unless there is an immediate replacement.

Mr. Calmain: We do not have the actual figures, but I think the one basic difference in those countries is that the net of security, if I can term it that, is so much more fine, the mesh is more fine. When these unfortunate events occur, at least the disasters to the children or the people themselves are not so extreme, because of the much wider mesh net of social services. I think that is one of the crucial differences. I would not want to guess about the kind of society they have, whether that has a bearing on the rate of divorce or families breaking up.

Dr. Wharf: We would agree that a social problem such as the whole phenomenon of drug use among adolescents is not by any means restricted to the lower class. In fact, it may be more a middle class phenomenon. We argue that social problems reside only with the poor, but we say, as Mr. Calmain pointed out, that one is not an argument for the other,

hat even if there are going to be social problems there is no reason why we should not take care of the income problem.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Judy LaMarsh has the answer to that. Get married five years and have a broken home.

Senator Fergusson: In footnote No. 9, on page (ii), reference is made to Professor Kagan:

(He is quoted as saying, "We should think of changing the behaviour of the mothers of poor children during the first two years of the child's life.")

How in practice will you do that?

Mr. Levine: We made very brief allusions to some of the thrust around family life education, and Walter has done a variety of things in this particular community. This is one potential aspect of again trying to develop neighbourhood based programs, where young mothers have the opportunity of both preparation for having their children and then, as was said earlier, dealing with some of the stresses of first experiences.

Senator Fergusson: Will they accept this opportunity?

Mr. Levine: We have found that again it is a question of accessibility. It depends where it is. If it is to be a downtown centre or a suburban area, then of course not. Again using the limited experience we have had of the family service agency in Hamilton, where they have developed neighbourhood based programs in a church basement or a local shopping centre, they have waiting lists of young mothers who want to attend and participate.

Senator Fergusson: This is very interesting. I want to know whether these young mothers are willing to take this on.

Mr. McCallum: I think I can add to that from some experience we had last year in a program. Preschool children went three days a week in the mornings, and the mothers also attended. The mothers were involved in a family life education program. Unquestionably they are very responsive to it, and can with help carry out the suggestions made to them.

Senator Fergusson: That is very interesting. I should like to say something else that has nothing to do with the questions. On the back

page of the brief there is a list of the board of directors of the Canadian Association of Social Workers. We have here this morning the president-elect, Mr. Levine, who has contributed a great deal to this discussion, but I do not know if it is realized that we also have here the president, Mr. Stubbins. I should also like to draw attention to fact that the executive secretary, Miss Florence Philpott, is with him. Miss Philpott is the sister of Elmer Philpott, who was a member of the House of Commons, and most of us knew him.

The Chairman: I am delighted that you have said that. You and I assumed that everybody knew this, but I am glad you have brought it to the attention of the committee.

Senator Fergusson: I do not think everybody did know it.

The Chairman: Mr. McCallum mentioned the ladies being willing to go to classes with the children. You will remember the Ottawa group who were before us, I think he was referring to the Ottawa group who were doing that kind of work.

Mr. McCallum: There are a number of groups in Ottawa involved in that. I am speaking of our own program with the Children's Aid Society.

The Chairman: This was not the Children's Aid. This was another group.

Mrs. VanLammers: The Family Service Centre.

The Chairman: The Family Service Centre. One of the members of our staff works amongst them, I remember that very well. We were talking about the demogrant and the negative income tax. Can you tell the committee why on balance the Americans, who entered into a new program, took the negative income tax rather than the demogrant? Secondly, even more important do you think that Canadian public opinion would stand for a cheque to any two millionaires in Canada—I will name a couple, Taylor and Roman who say they are millionaires—of, say, \$3,000 a piece sent to them with the hope that we would retrieve it? Do you think public opinion would accept that?

Dr. Wharf: On the first question, my guess would be that the reason the United States have opted for the negative income tax is that the history of their programs has been in a selective rather than a universal area. I

think that is consistent with their whole development. On the second question, I think an important part of any demogrant approach has to be tied in with taxation. Anything that sees demogrant going on a universal basis to very affluent people has to be, I feel, taxed back in order to recoup this. The basic advantage of the demogrant, as I see it, is that it does not differentiate at the point of application between the poor.

The Chairman: Do you think that people believe you tax back?

Mr. Levine: If we do they will.

The Chairman: Have we taxed back the money on Old Age Security? We said at that time that we would tax back that money, but have we done it? Of course we haven't, and you know that as well as I do.

Mr. Calmain: I do not think we have on any demogrant.

The Chairman: We did not suggest that, but we did say that on Old Age Security we

would pay it to everybody and retrieve it you know as well as I do that we have not.

Mr. Calmain: I think this is borne out more emphatically and more demonstratively by the hearings before the United States Senate last year which was investigating the fact that innumerable millionaires paid no taxes at all.

The Chairman: Various senators have indicated to you the extent of appreciation which they have for the excellent brief you have presented to us. We expected excellence from you, because you are concerned with this problem. My own view is that in the days ahead, with appeal becoming more and more important and the rights of poor people being more recognized, the work and the importance of the social worker will grow. They will have to do social work rather than clerical work in order to justify being there at all. That is, of course, exactly what we want them to do. On behalf of the committee, I express my thanks to all of you.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

BRIEF

to the

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON
POVERTY

Submitted by

The Canadian Association of Social Workers
55 Parkdale Avenue Ottawa, Ontario
March 24, 1970

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I. INTRODUCTION

The Canadian Association of Social Workers is a professional association of more than 3,500 social workers, with members in all provinces, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories. One of its purposes is to provide a means whereby social workers may take action on issues of social welfare.

Members of the Association have had close contact with the conditions of the poor and the consequences of poverty through employment in a wide range of social welfare agencies and government departments. A few of these are: Children's Aid Societies, Family Service Centres, Housing Authorities, vocational counselling agencies, various residential and correctional institutions, Day Care Centres, rehabilitation organizations and Community Planning Councils.

Many members have appeared before the Senate Committee, usually as representatives of employing agencies. They have presented, among other things, detailed information about welfare rate schedules and practices in their particular localities.

This Brief represents the views of the national professional association of social workers.

II. SUMMARY OF MAIN CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A.

1. Not only the poor but all Canadians are a target for anti-poverty efforts; the attitudes of the majority set limits upon what can be done about poverty. (Paragraph 1, References 1 and 2).

2. Relative poverty is an important determinant of a sense of discontent. (Paragraphs 5 and 6).

3. The worst effects of long term poverty are on children. (Paragraph 10, Reference 9).

4. Despite all odds, many poor people are able to survive and to persevere because of unusual personal strengths and special talents. (Paragraph 11, Reference 10).

5. Canada, in comparison with some other countries, has done less than she should have done to reduce or eliminate poverty. (Paragraph 12, Reference 11).

6. The doctrine of "political democracy, high productivity and universal education" is insufficient to deal with poverty. (Paragraphs 3, 14, 15, 16, 17 References 12 and 13).

7. The too-exclusive emphasis upon economic incentives, as reflected in the welfare system and in the proposed tax reform, operates to limit assistance benefits to the poor and to limit taxes of the affluent. (Paragraphs 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32).

8. Canada draws a sizeable amount of revenue from the poor through direct and indirect taxation. (Paragraphs 31, 32).

9. While awaiting a plan of guaranteed income improvements should be made in the present public assistance system. (Paragraphs 35, 36).

B. Recommendations

1. Income maintenance should be provided to those in need without conditions and administered with minimum investigation and the use of centralized computer procedures. (Paragraphs 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42).

2. Social services should be broadly expanded, extended to all, and well publicized. (Paragraphs 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49).

3. The provision of social services should be separated from the administration of financial aid. (Paragraphs 44, 45, 46, 47, 48).

4. Appeal procedures should be improved. (Paragraphs 53, 54, 55, 56, 57).

5. Development of a set of living standards adjusted regularly to keep pace with changing needs. (Paragraph 30).

6. Immediate upward adjustment of all benefits to low income groups (minimum wage, public assistance benefits, payments to aged, Family and Youth Allowances) to compensate for loss of purchasing power due to inflation. (In the five years ending 1969 there has been a 16.5% loss of purchasing power).

7. Regular adjustment of all benefits to low income groups to reflect changes in purchasing power and of living standards.

8. Reform of tax structure to reduce regressive elements and to follow more closely the principle of ability to pay.

9. Reduce financial barriers to education.

10. Early introduction of a program of Guaranteed Annual Income.

III. DEFINITION

1. Many worthwhile definitions of what constitutes poverty have been advanced by groups across Canada. Two concepts seem to us to be of special importance. The first,

"psychic poverty" emphasizes that we must not limit our concern exclusively to those with insufficient income, but that the broader public also constitutes a "target population" if we are to materially reduce or eliminate poverty³. Public attitudes set limits to what can be done. The second is the concept of a "poverty band" referred to in the submission of the Canadian Welfare Council. This idea, which extends the notion of specific levels of poverty, has great value because it focuses not only upon those with incomes below some particular limit, but also upon those close to it who must be kept in mind from a preventive point of view. It also provides some flexibility in thinking about such factors as family characteristics and geographic location.

2. We would like to develop three further points that should be made in reference to a definition of poverty.

3. First, although it is still popularly unrecognized, many of the poor are employed.³ They pay for various costs of employment such as work clothes, transportation, union dues, pensions, and contribute to unemployment insurance, various taxes and premiums. Therefore, the point to consider is their net, rather than gross incomes.

4. Second, any definition of poverty or description of poverty must be recognized as an abstraction from poverty as it is experienced. Poverty is a closed book to most people who have not experienced it. We cannot even "go and live with the poor" and thereby get the real gist of it. From time to time, newspaper reporters experiment with what it is like to try to live on an Old Age Pension or some similar allowance, for a month or so, and describe poverty out of their experiences. The trouble is that, however little money the reporter takes with him, however poor the clothes he wears or the food he eats, he knows that he can escape from the situation whenever he wishes. He simply has to go back to his office or to his home and call the whole thing off. Part of the vital difference of the fact of poverty is that the poor cannot call it off. They are in it, and for many of them there is no foreseeable way out. Not only do they lack "things" but they know that they will go on lacking them and for many of them their lives are, at best, tenuously held above disaster by the slenderest of threads. We mention this, not to deter anyone from learning as much as he can about poverty through first-hand contacts

with the poor, but as a reminder that there are limits to what can be gained from that approach.

5. Third, we want to emphasize the concept of relative poverty and related psychological factors. For example, a few years ago an advertisement was current showing a picture of Caesar in his tent, writing his despatches by the light of a candle. The text explained that Caesar, for all his Legions, could command no more than feeble candle-light when night fell. This was contrasted with the cheap and effective light that most people could now afford. This illustrates an important point in our view—that in many respects the privation experienced by today's poor is less extreme in absolute terms than it was for yesterday's poor. Unhappily, this is hardly a source of joy for the now poor; they can get only limited happiness from turning on a light bulb. By the same token, the absence of this minimum convenience would be resented by today's poor. W. G. Runciman⁴ developed this theme that social discontent was based less on actual deprivation than on relative deprivation. The important factor is the degree to which those at the bottom of the pyramid feel that they are being treated unequally and that such treatment is undeserved. The way in which this is measured depends on the range of comparison with "reference groups". A starving man whose reference group is exclusively that of other starving men may have few complaints against the society that permits starvation. The wealthy man whose reference group is exclusively men more affluent than he is may be discontented. We may be reasonably satisfied that neither Caesar nor anyone else in his time felt unfairly treated by the absence of electric light. We are probably all agreed that now it would be regarded as a deprivation, as wholly undeserved, and the cause of considerable discontent. Similarly, other material advantages—television, cars, washing machines, toasters—have come to be expected as part of an accepted standard of life.

6. Obviously, poverty hurts when physical privation is extreme, but it also hurts when there is a clear gulf between "haves" and "have nots", when there is forced attention to this gulf and when the disparity is thought to be unjust and/or avoidable. Since poverty is relative, it inevitably raises the issue of equity. This is referred to in a later part of this Brief.

7. Allowing for these points, then, we find it useful to accept as a common reference point

the (revised) levels of poverty proposed by the Economic Council of Canada.⁵

IV. THE EFFECTS OF POVERTY UPON THE POOR

8. In our changing society, some things do not change. Bernard Shaw, writing in 1905 (Preface to *Major Barbara*), refers to the "silly levity with which we tolerate poverty" and continues:

... If a man is indolent, let him be poor. If he is a drunkard, let him be poor. If he is addicted to the fine arts or to pure science instead of to trade and finance, let him be poor. If he chooses to spend his wages on his beer and his family instead of saving it up for his old age, let him be poor. Let nothing be done for the "undeserving"; let him be poor. Serve him right!

Now what does this Let Him Be Poor mean? It means let him be weak. Let him be ignorant. Let him become a nucleus of disease. Let him be a standing exhibition and example of ugliness and dirt. Let him have rickety children. Let him be cheap, and drag his fellows down to his own price by selling himself to do their work. Let his habitations turn our cities into poisonous congeries of slums. ... Let "the undeserving" become still less deserving; and let the deserving lay up for himself not treasures in heaven, but horrors in hell upon earth...

The crying need of the nation is not for better morals, cheaper bread, temperance, liberty, culture, redemption of fallen sisters and erring brothers, nor the grace, love and fellowship of the Trinity, but simply for enough money. And the evil to be attacked is not sin, suffering, greed, priestcraft, kingcraft, demagoguery, monopoly, ignorance, drink, war, pestilence, nor any of the other consequences of poverty, but just poverty itself.

9. It would be impossible to list all of the effects of poverty upon the people who endure it. For the most desperately poor, those caught in a cycle of poverty, there is virtually no aspect of their lives or the lives of their families that is unaffected. Each consequence becomes in part a new cause, with the final result that the individual feels overwhelmed with a sense of utter powerlessness and worthlessness. "We are born poor and will stay poor, ain't nothing we can do to change it,"⁶ as one welfare recipient put it.

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For people in that position, the entire structure of society seems to conspire to keep them there. As D. Caplovitz⁷ established (in his study of the same title), the poor pay more; very often substantially more. "The low income person often lacks self confidence and has a low level of self esteem, characteristics which make him vulnerable to the blandishments of salesmen who induce him to buy by flattering his ego. He is prone to impulse buying and vulnerable to fraud and deception." Social workers are familiar with some of the predicaments of the poor in the marketplace: the gouging slum landlords; the debt-riddled installment-buying poor putting off the day of reckoning by "consolidating their debts"; the cruel pressure of advertising⁸, creating the desire, especially pronounced in children, for goods that should not be bought; inflation that reduces the purchasing power of the poor who are usually on fixed incomes if they are employed, or fixed pensions or welfare benefits if they are not.

10. The barriers that poverty presents in terms of housing, neighbourhood, post-secondary education and hence well-paying jobs, have all been documented in numerous reports and demographic studies and we believe there is little to add to that pool of information. We believe it is less popularly recognized that prolonged poverty, with its anxiety and worry, may have destructive psychological consequences upon the adult poor and to an even greater degree upon their children.⁹

11. Of course, it is very important to note that large numbers of the poor have at least retained the dignity of employment, even though it may be sporadic or part-time and at deplorable wages. Moreover, social workers know from their experience that many of the poor have strengths and capacities that have helped them to face odds that would surely have crushed many of those who have never had to face them.¹⁰

V. THE VALUE ISSUES

12. Canada, with one of the highest per capita standards of living in the world, is in an economic position to eliminate poverty—at least in terms of the levels of the Economic Council. It appears to us that there is no doubt that the basic issue is one of values and whether the Canadian public wishes to remove poverty from our national life. There are many indications that it does not. Several countries, some with far less in the way of

natural resources than Canada, have directed much more effort toward their poverty problems. Some—Sweden is an example—have to all intents and purposes eliminated poverty.¹¹

13. The Association believes that Canada may have relied too exclusively upon what has been termed "the three pillars of liberal doctrine, namely, political democracy, high productivity and universal education". The limitations of this doctrine and at least some of the reasons for its failure are clear. First, high productivity as a goal in itself is almost meaningless without reference to the form of distribution of that productivity. It is entirely possible that every year could see higher records of GNP and worse poverty. If we distribute income inequitably, then the concept of universal education also tends to be less meaningful, particularly as the demands for increased levels of education are constantly raised, along with the time and money consumed in its attainment.

"Families earning less than \$6,000 cannot ordinarily handle the expenses associated with university education and families earning less than \$3,000. cannot always handle the expenses associated with a complete high school education. The high cost of specialized education together with the existing high degree of income inequality perpetuates the great gap of earnings by restricting the supply of highly paid specialists and maintaining the excess numbers of unskilled and poorly educated who compete for low paying jobs in primary, manufacturing and service industries."¹²

14. As we might expect, the other pillar, political democracy, is vastly compromised by the facts of poverty. The comment has been made at earlier meetings of this Committee that more submissions by or representations of the poor would be desirable. We agree entirely. Considering the large numbers of poor people in Canada, and how great their stake in the matter, it has been a relatively small, though very valuable, showing. For most of the poor, however, the Chairman has put it well: "poverty is a full-time job". It drains off time and energy and people are necessarily preoccupied with the problems of the moment. As a result, governments have attended to the interests of more politically active elements of the community.

15. A typical case in point is the public discussion we have heard about the White Paper for Tax Reform. To date the vocal

groups have been middle and upper income classes who have a particular advantage to seek or to preserve. Because they are often highly trained and can devote time to this "problem" or hire specialists to do so for them, their position has been strongly presented and defended. By contrast, the interests of the poor, though the issues vitally concern them, have not been advanced. The poor are in roughly the same position to the political system as they are to the marketplace and for roughly the same reasons. Thus while it may be debated that there has been some improvement, it still appears to be true that the political system responds very feebly to the needs of the large numbers of poor simply because they are less able to raise their interests to positions of priority in competition with the interests of others.¹³

16. In the opinion of the Association, the three-part doctrine is highly incompatible with the premise that people are of value just because they are human beings. The emphasis upon productivity inevitably means that less productive people are penalized, and for this there is only the shakiest justification. Raymond Williams has put the point very neatly: "It is not an argument against women's suffrage that women are physically weaker than men, nor an argument for slavery that men differ in intelligence... nor finally, is it an argument for inequality that it is supported by "economic law"; these "laws are relative to circumstances and institutions and these are determined by the values, preferences, interests and ideals which rule a any moment in a given society".¹⁴ It is obvious that the vast bulk of the poor are not poor voluntarily. It should not be a basis for exacting the penalty of poverty that this one has an IQ of 80 rather than 120, or that one has skills that have been made obsolete by advancing technology, or that others are single parents with dependent children. Despite research evidence to the contrary¹⁵, it has become part of our folk-lore to talk glibly of people squandering welfare benefits; we scarcely notice how readily we squander human potential. But even if there were no economic returns from refusing to waste such potential, even if the Economic Council had not estimated a "lost output" of something ranging from "just below \$1 billion to something in the order of \$2 to \$2½ billion"¹⁶ it would still be grossly wrong to do so. This understandably, causes people to lose faith in their system of government or become hostile or alienated towards it.

17. Another closely related doctrine that prevails in our society is the theme of the ladder of opportunity. This ladder is more a promise than a reality for many of the poor, educational and other costs are often prohibitive and there seems to be little recognition of the help that many people need to get started. Nonetheless, it is a part of common doctrine and, in fact, does provide an exit from poverty for some. Sometimes special advantages of good fortune, good health, vigour, unique personal contacts and fortuitous opportunities can protect individuals from the worst consequences of long-term poverty and prepare them for the escape from it, despite all the odds. Unhappily, the ascent up the ladder is usually a solitary one for an individual and perhaps his immediate family. Nobody would quarrel with the good fortune of such individuals who are able to make use of such ladders as, for example, the increasing opportunity of student loans. But it is futile to pretend that the existence of the means of escape for these people is sufficient to justify the neglect or scapegoating of the group as a whole. The scapegoating that does, in fact, occur merely serves to emphasize the feelings of worthlessness of the poor towards themselves and intensify the isolation and loss of "sense of community".

18. The domestic unrest that has convulsed the U.S.A. in the past five years and which has involved many poor people, may be prompting some re-appraisal of the values of their culture. Among the many studies that have been recently made is a President's Commission Report on the Causes of Violence. Among the things it found was strong tradition of violence in the U.S.A. which has been popularly paraphrased in the expression "violence is as American as apple pie". While we are thankful that Canada has not yet had cause to establish similar Commissions, we are discovering that economic and social injustice is as Canadian as the maple leaf. For example, while reports such as those of the Economic Council of Canada describe the fact of widespread poverty in Canada so clearly, we have not even been able to take sufficient measures to protect low incomes from the effects of inflation.

19. *Financial Expressions of our Value System* as Raymond Williams observes in our earlier quotation, economic circumstances are determined in large measure by the values, preferences, interests and ideals which rule at any moment in a given society. We believe that this is generally so, and have made ref-

erences where different value systems elsewhere have resulted in large applications of the national effort toward the reduction and/or elimination of poverty.

20. In this context, we believe it is necessary to refer to some of the values and assumptions in our society that underlie two financial activities—providing public welfare benefits and collecting taxes.

21. One of the implicit assumptions appears to be that economic incentives are a sufficient determinant of behaviour to guide policy. In the field of public welfare it has been traditionally assumed that if people could receive from welfare benefits any approximation of what they could earn if they were employed, they would refuse to work. In order to maintain an "incentive" to get off welfare, benefits were kept very low indeed and severe constraints were applied to any extra income the poor might gain for themselves.

22. This interpretation of motivation conflicts with the experience of social workers who know that most people struggle to stay off welfare even, in some cases, when the need is extreme. Peitchinis' research in Calgary¹⁷ showed that fewer than 5 per cent of those on welfare were employable. His study also showed that a common response of many people eligible for welfare seemed to be "no thank you, we will manage somehow". A more recent illustration can be drawn from the partial reports of the New Jersey experiment.¹⁸ Tentative results show that, for better or worse, low-income American families are gripped by the familiar puritan work ethic; that grants or supplements to incomes are not squandered and that far from becoming loafers, the former poor become more productive than ever when measured against control groups. Furthermore, "job stability" was designated as twice as important as any other aspect of a desired job by the recipient group, and 60 per cent indicated they would work at two jobs to improve their status.

23. In the collection of taxes we again see a reliance upon the incentive concept, only now it serves to limit taxation rates of the wealthy. It is assumed, for example, in the recent tax proposals¹⁹ that if marginal income tax rates exceed 50 per cent (plus proposed capital gains tax), "incentive" and productivity will fall off:

"Taxes, by their nature, cannot always promote all our economic goals, but they should interfere as little as possible with

incentives to work and invest and with the directions our economy follows in meeting demands of consumers and foreign markets. Some proposals in this paper are intended to ensure that the incentive to work and invest is not unduly inhibited, that investments needed for productivity and public purposes are not rejected in favour of less desirable alternatives just because of their tax consequences."²⁰

"One economic issue is the influence of the proposed tax changes on the efforts men and women put into their work. Will they work as much of the year, or work as hard, if taxes change? Here there are many individual observations, opinions and experience and some fairly evident arguments. The higher a man's income the less he needs additional income and therefore the less he needs to work harder. On the other hand, he is likely to be a person who will work hard anyway. The higher the total tax a man pays, the more he needs to work or get a better job to support himself and his family, and to attain his other material objectives. The higher the tax he must pay on anything extra he earns—his marginal rate of tax—the less inducement there is to work longer or harder to earn more."²¹

24. These are doubtful propositions judging from experience elsewhere. For example, Douglas Fullerton reports of Sweden:

"By North American standards the rates of tax are brutal. Progressivity is steep, and has been accentuated over the past decade by inflation. . . . On income alone, national and local combined, a single man earning \$10,000 pays \$4,500 in taxes; his marginal rate is 55 per cent. A married man earning \$20,000 pays half his income in taxes; his marginal rate is 63 per cent. Capital gains are taxed (100 per cent on securities held under two years) on a scale reducing with length of time the asset is held. On top of this are special "net wealth" taxes—a capital levy—ranging up to 1.8 per cent per annum on assets in excess of \$200,000."²²

25. Speculating on why these rates of taxation has not led to a brain drain of professional people, Fullerton attributed it to the roots that a person has in his own country and with his friends, the high status that the professions are accorded in Sweden and the rapidity with which bright young people can

reach positions of authority. He asks "with higher monetary rewards almost taxed away in Sweden, what provides the incentives to better performance? Have we North Americans maybe overemphasized higher pay as an incentive in our economic system?" We believe this may very well be the case.

26. There is even more support for a complex interpretation of human motivation in the studies and writings of social scientists. The reputable British industrial psychologist, J. A. C. Brown,²³ lists five points of broad current acceptance:

"Concerning incentives in general, the following facts are significant:

(1) There is no one ideal incentive. Incentives vary from one culture, from one firm to another, from one individual to another, (e.g., one man may value money while another may find greater leisure or opportunity for promotion a more powerful stimulus).

(2) The law of diminishing returns applies to all material incentives—that is to say, as reward increases the desire for further reward decreases until it reaches vanishing point (e.g., as G. R. Taylor points out, the miners, on getting higher rates of pay, increased their rate of absence because the point had been reached at which the need for more money had become secondary to the need for more leisure).

(3) Incentives may conflict with other motives.

(4) Without exception, all industrial psychologists are agreed that money is of much less significance than has hitherto been supposed. Except under conditions when wages are very low or during periods of inflation, money is one of the least powerful incentives.

(5) On the other hand, we must remember that in our own culture, as Taylor has noted, motives tend to become "monetized". "People have been taught that money is the key to satisfaction, so when they feel that something is wrong with their lives, they naturally ask for more money. A demand for money undoubtedly indicates that they want something, but it does not tell us what."

27. Other submissions to this Committee have made the point that little can be done about poverty without a price tag being attached to the efforts. This is notably true of the recommendations we make later in this

Brief. They will certainly cost money. The raising of this money, the determination of priorities for its allocation and the necessity (which the Chairman has repeatedly observed) for greater income redistribution to the poor, are all cardinal issues.

28. As social workers, we agree wholeheartedly with such stated aims of tax reform as "a fair distribution of the tax burden based upon ability to pay; steady economic growth and continuing prosperity; the recognition of modern social needs..."²⁴; the acknowledgment that "many of the wealthy in our society have benefited unduly"²⁵; the indication that 750,000 lower income people would be removed from the tax rolls and that there would be tax reductions for others; that there would be tax allowances for child care and employment expense; that new revenues would be raised from taxes on capital gains and, generally, new levels of taxation from those able to pay.

29. At the same time as social workers generally welcome these principles and urge that revenues will be used for attacking our serious social problems, questions arise about how far the proposals will go to meet the need; that is, how serious we really are. For example, even if the proposed exemption levels of \$1,500 for a single person and \$2,900 for a married couple is enacted in the future, it must be noted that the poverty levels of the Economic Council are even now above these exemptions. Is it really wise to tax the incomes of the poor at all? And is it really wise to tax the near-poor—those who do not quite fall below the poverty line but who are close to it and give substance to the "poverty band" concept?

30. In relation to this issue the Association notes and endorses the recommendation in the Fifth Annual Report of the Economic Council of Canada that a set of differential living standards be developed as early as possible. For example, the U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics developed three standards of living, described as moderate, lower and higher, for an urban family of four persons. In the spring of 1967 the national average cost of the moderate budget was \$9,076. per year and the lower was \$5,915. per year. Such standards are very useful if we are to help those most in need. They could provide a basis of comparison of income needs between regions and between urban and rural locations, and while it is clear that these basic living standards would have to be kept under

constant review to reflect changing needs, this effort would be well repaid in terms of guiding the application of tax exemptions or a system of tax credits. Further, they could be used to derive the size of a basic demogrant or the upper and lower limits of a negative income tax scheme of guaranteed annual income. Applying the point to the present issue of income tax, it is our view that income taxes should at least not be imposed on the "lower" standard of living, whatever that might prove to be.

31. Those who are concerned with poverty in Canada must, of necessity, be concerned with the host of regressive taxes such as sales taxes and premiums, that bear so heavily upon the poor relative to their resources and, in effect, operate to keep them poor. It is obvious that reform of this system of taxation, perhaps by tax credits of some sort, would help the poor a great deal. It is distressing to learn that

"general sales taxes are employed extensively by both Federal and provincial governments and now yield approximately \$4 billion. For most Canadians they are equivalent to a combined retail rate ranging from about 13 per cent to over 16 per cent and applied to nearly all purchases except foods. They have been increased in recent years..."²⁶

and that despite this heavy burden on the poor "reform of the sales tax is less urgent and can be undertaken after action on the proposals in this paper".²⁷

32. We have chosen just a few illustrations to demonstrate that first, Canada has a significant reliance upon low income groups for the provision of tax revenues. (It may also be noted that the taxes paid by the poor and near-poor help to finance items that they are seldom able to use—items as diverse as universities or the National Arts Centre—because of the entrance costs.) Second, some policies seem to be guided by oversimplified interpretations of incentive and motivation which operate against redistribution by keeping both welfare rates of the poor and taxes of the wealthy low. Further, Canada has not embraced the idea of empirical testing to determine at just what levels of taxation certain suspected consequences will occur. For example, experiments designed to improve our knowledge of the effect on work incentives of various combinations of a basic income guarantee seem notably absent. Also, there seems to be no inclination to investigate

more carefully the effects of higher rates of taxation on motivations and incentives of upper income groups.

33. Finally, the Association believes that it is necessary to question the wisdom of focusing tax comparisons primarily upon American practice. While there are many things we can continue to learn from the United States, they have failed to solve distributional problems and have continued to suffer for it in many ways. The choices they could have made as opposed to the ones they are making are outlined in a striking feature editorial of the *Christian Science Monitor*, January 9, 1970. (*The Economic Story*, R. L. Strout). Relying in part upon references to Arthur M. Okum, former member of the Council of Economic Advisers, the editorial states that:

"The United States tends to 'spend' its prosperity for tax cuts instead of for social programs for the cities and such like. This is fine for middle and upper classes, but hard on the poor, at least by European standards. The money ends up in the private sector (cars, night clubs, chewing gum) instead of the public sector (mass transport, slum clearance, police). For 1966, United States taxes (and this includes federal, state and local) were about 28.1 percent of national product (GNP). What is the story in Europe?

For Italy the comparable figure was 29.1 percent; for the United Kingdom, 31.3 percent; for West Germany, 34.9 percent; for France, 38.6 percent.

In other words, if total undistributed national product is thought of as a pie, the slice cut out from it for overall taxes in these four European countries averages just about one-third (33.5 per cent). This is 5.4 percentage points above the United States. The difference isn't large? Well, it amounts to \$50 billion applied to total United States 1969 production. That is a man-sized chunk of money in anybody's reckoning. Apply it, for example, to poverty. If it were possible to identify all Americans below the statistical poverty line today, and simply hand them enough dollars to raise their incomes up to the line, 'it would take only \$10 billion to eliminate poverty' says Mr. Okum. That would be the annual theoretical cost—\$10 billion.

And having done that there would still be \$40 billion left."

34. If we are to be influenced in our tax policies by comparisons with other nations we submit that it should be with flourishing countries such as Sweden who have used taxation to provide a base for the establishment of a high quality of social legislation and the discharge of social responsibilities to human beings.

VI. THE CURRENT PUBLIC ASSISTANCE SYSTEM—SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT

25. We want to emphasize that current levels of public assistance do not provide an adequate standard of living. Moreover, the provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan are under utilized by provinces and municipalities.

36. The Association favours a guaranteed annual income in principle. However, in the expectation that Canada's decision on the subject may take some time, the Association also wishes to suggest a number of improvements and targets for the present public assistance system. They could be useful antecedents of a guaranteed annual income plan and progress need not await all the decisions about choice of method and mechanism that would be involved in such a plan.

37. First, on the subject of income maintenance, the Association believes that it should be made available to those in need. Acceptance of such assistance should not be made conditional upon accepting counselling, day care for children, job training or other social services. While asserting this right to assistance, the Association recognizes that the expectation that individuals assume responsibility for their support is valid and appropriate provided that opportunity for self-support is available. Income maintenance programs should be administered with a minimum of investigation with regard to both initial and continuing eligibility. It should also be administered through centralized operations, utilizing electronic data processing methods. Second, on the subject of social services (counselling, day care, homemaker services, recreational programs), the Association believes that they should be available to all on request, regardless of income and place of residence, though they should be adapted to the needs and requirements of local communities. The availability of these services should be well publicized.

38. *The Right to Income* One of the cardinal principles of social work practice is that of self-determination; the belief that all people

have a right to determine the course of their lives within the laws laid down by society. To require that persons receiving financial assistance accept some form of social service violates this principle and may infringe on the civil liberties of welfare recipients. Canada has endorsed Articles 22 and 25 of the 1948 United Nations' Universal Declaration of Human Rights. In these terms, assistance is a matter of right regardless of the applicant's personal circumstances and attitudes, not a matter of grudging assent with strings attached.

39. At a more practical level, requiring that a recipient receive counselling or job training or report regularly at Manpower offices, as a condition of receiving public assistance, may carry the implication that the person is not interested or capable of sorting out his own affairs or becoming self-sufficient. Such an implication can result in a self-fulfilling prophecy in that the recipient, recognizing that he is viewed as being irresponsible, accepts the judgment and behaves accordingly. This is not meant to argue against social services (as described later). Our point is that making the most effective use of such programs largely depends on personal initiative and involvement. It cannot be legislated or required by fiat. Furthermore, the expectation that all citizens can find work at adequate salary levels at a time when a high level of unemployment is apparently either beyond federal control or a policy choice, is ludicrous. The attempt to enforce this expectation is often wasteful of workers' time and destructive of recipients.²⁸

40. *Reduction of Investigation Procedures* The popular image of the welfare chiselers, both those who could work but don't and those who live royally on welfare by exploiting the system, is, in fact, just a myth. It is well established that the vast majority receiving assistance cannot work because of age, disability, sickness, death or desertion of the bread-winner, or because of child care responsibilities.²⁹

41. We should also point to the high costs of maintaining the investigatory function of income maintenance programs. Welfare department personnel spend the greater part of their time determining initial and continuing eligibility. Since all known studies have reported that only a small percentage of recipients falsify information, the emphasis on detailed investigations appears to be very costly—in terms of both time and money—as

well as unnecessarily demeaning to the recipients. Reports of the New Jersey experiment in guaranteed annual income indicate that recipients can and do manage to complete fairly detailed reporting forms on their own without the customary eligibility checks by welfare department personnel, and the tentative results indicate that "cost of administration per family ranges from \$72. to \$96. compared with \$200. to \$300. per family under the present composite welfare program".³⁰

42. In view of this, the Association takes the position that detailed investigations be discontinued. Self declaration procedures should be instituted and only where language or health factors make self declaration impossible would public welfare staff complete the required forms. Continuing eligibility could be maintained in the same fashion with recipients mailing reports on a regular basis to report on their circumstances. A procedure of random checking, along the lines of the Income Tax system, might be instituted. A precedent for this exists in the present Guaranteed Income Supplement. Such a system would lend itself to centralized and computerized operations. There would appear to be some need for continuing public assistance departments to provide emergency aid and during the period required for processing.

43. *Social Services.* The Association believes that social services should also be available to all who request such services. In order for this goal to be achieved it is necessary that the services be readily available from a geographic point of view, that their existence be broadly known, that they be attuned to the distinctive needs of the neighbourhoods in which they are located and that there be a degree of local control. While this is not the place to give an extensive outline regarding the delivery of social services, we generally support Martin Rein's position that services be organized around transition points in life—i.e., times at which most people experience difficulties in adjusting to changes in roles—adolescence, marriage, old age.³¹ One of the most promising programs of the Office of Economic Opportunity in the U.S.A. was the establishment of multi-service centres in low income neighbourhoods where social services were woefully inadequate. These centres provided a variety of services ranging from job placement to day care programs to legal aid. Some applications of the same approach to the provision of service through such multi-service centres have shown promise in Canada as well. It must not be overlooked,

however, that one of the major requirements of any service delivery system is that it have sufficient staff with sufficient training. This has been one of the major shortcomings of most public assistance departments where, as a consequence, social services have been rather nominal.

44. The Association considers that the provision of social services should be clearly separated from the administration of financial aid. There are four main arguments to support this.

45. As we have noted earlier, it seems most logical to administer financial aid programs through a centralized office to take advantage of computer procedures and the mail as the delivery system. By contrast, social services should, desirably, be located within "pram-pushing distance" of consumers. Thus two separate administrative structures are desirable.

46. Second, even where local public assistance departments might be necessary to provide emergency aid it is desirable to keep the two functions separated since the provision of financial aid tends to overwhelm the provision of social services.

47. Third, the relationship between a recipient of welfare assistance and a representative of the public assistance department may incline toward authority in control on the one hand, and dependency on the other. Where present, these elements are not conducive to establishing a helping relationship of mutual trust, respect and freedom to discuss personal problems.

48. Finally, social services and financial assistance programs do not always serve the same populations. Some people require material aid but do not need social services, and vice versa.

49. The Association recognizes that to bring the standard of social services to an effective level will require a major input of resources and the co-operation of all levels of government.

50. *Accountability in Public Assistance.* Social policy objectives are established by a political process that tends to respond to the value system of the more articulate middle and upper income groups. It is in the context of the objectives so established that the welfare system and the necessary bureaucratic structures (in the governmental and non-governmental sectors) have emerged.

51. It has been argued that "the problem with changing the welfare system is not that the present system does not work but rather that it does".⁸² It works to the advantage of the "input" constituency—the taxpayers—by ensuring that only the most economically deprived qualify for financial assistance, thus keeping expenditures at the lowest possible level. A system which rigorously scrutinizes applications and provides inadequate allowance for those who qualify, cannot be considered to be accountable to the "output" constituency—the clients or recipients of public assistance. Hence it is hardly surprising that those administering the system are regarded with hostility.

52. It is often a characteristic of bureaucratic structure that innovation is difficult to achieve and inflexibility may tend to become deep-rooted. A capacity to innovate needs to be consciously built into the administrative structure of the welfare system if it is to become more responsive and accountable to the needs of those who require service. Specific provision should be made within the structure for functions such as research and planning and for the participation by users of service in the determination of policy.

53. *Appeal Review Boards and Organizations of Welfare Recipients.* With the present limited accountability to recipients, it is especially important to provide as many protections as possible. Two such mechanisms—Appeal Review Boards and organizations of welfare recipients appear to hold promise for improving accountability.

54. The requirement of the Canada Assistance Plan that Appeal Boards be established is a very important principle though its implementation has been slow and is still incomplete. The Association believes that another very important principle is that Appeal Boards should include besides citizen knowledgeable in social welfare activities some representation of the consumers of service.

55. The Association recommends that records of the proceedings be taken, and that the results of appeals be distributed—with the name of the recipient being withheld. It is vital that decisions of precedents established by Review Boards be made known to all welfare departments, to members of the social work and legal professions and to the general public. Perhaps most important of all arrangements must be devised for the feedback of appeal decisions into the administra-

tive and legislative processes. Otherwise Board decisions would affect only the particular case under review, whereas it is apparent that some decisions will have wide applicability; for example, decisions affecting male boarders, and the provision of emergency assistance.

56. One of the problems that can occur in appeals is the need for sustenance during the course of an appeal. The Association would recommend that, in the event of an appeal based on the reduction or termination of benefits, the benefit period be extended until the hearing is completed.

57. It is necessary to extend the right of appeal not only to situations where an applicant has been refused consideration or improperly rejected, or awarded an allowance at too low a level, but also to include such situations as delay in providing benefits or improper treatment by staff. Since a right to appeal is meaningless if it is not known to the users of service, information on the grounds for appeal should be widely publicized.

58. Experience both in Canada and the United States indicates that organized client groups can effectively pressure public welfare authorities into making needed changes in application processing and reducing discriminatory practices. In addition, there appear to be psychological gains for participants of such organizations. A study of welfare recipients in Wisconsin showed that "organizational affiliation plays an important role in reducing feelings of powerlessness among the welfare poor".⁸³ Specifically, the members of organized client groups had a less fatalistic attitude towards life, expressed more sense of control over their lives and participated more actively in politics than other welfare recipients who did not belong to organized groups. The Association believes that client groups may achieve considerable results in stimulating much needed involvement and participation by welfare recipients in their own and community affairs.

59. The Association believes that funds should be made available to such groups through provincial legislation, in the expectation that welfare service provision of Canada Assistance Plan would be available for cost-sharing.

60. Just as governments need opposition parties to serve as a check and a balancing force, so do public institutions require countervailing forces to ensure accountability.

FOOTNOTES AND REFERENCES

¹Brief of Mr. David Critchley, social worker with the Maritime School of Social Work, to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, No. 2, November 4, 1969. This Brief expressed concern for the psychic health of the entire nation, noting the indifference displayed towards the suffering of others.

²C.A.S.W. acknowledges the problem posed in several of the hearings by the Chairman and other Senators, namely, how to get the public to share our perceptions of the problem of poverty so that we can do something about it. This appears to be fundamental. Often it is obscured by the use of the terms "we" (the respectables) and "they" (the poor) about which Bernard Beck states:

"The consensus implied by WE is rarely borne out by the facts. It is misleading to make plans that WE can use in dealing with THEM, because the major problems for poverty warriors are not negotiating with the poor, but negotiating with various sectors of the respectable society which are supposedly our teammates in WE... In truth, the only WE we belong to is the relatively small and powerless (though somewhat influential) one containing those who are professionally or culturally involved in the social progress ideology. ... A good deal of the attention devoted to helping the poor and planning for them should be diverted to helping respectable people so that they discover the benefits of allowing the poor to re-enter society." *Bedbugs, Stench, Dampness and Immorality: A Review Essay on Recent Literature About Poverty*, Bernard Beck, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Social Problems*, Volume 15, No. 1.

If we may borrow a succinct phrase from the comic-strip character, Pogo, "We have met the enemy and he is us". The target population must not be limited to the poor.

⁸⁴"Two other especially important points were that 76% of poor families at the time of the 1961 census had one or more earners in the family, and that 66% of poor families obtained most of their income from wages, salaries and self-employment. These two percentages must be rammed home again and again to the Canadian public. They identify the phenomenon of the working poor, who together with those others who are in the labour force but unemployed and take jobs when they can find them, turn out to be most

of our poor family heads."—from a speech by D. L. McQueen, Professor of Economics, York University, to the Provincial Council of Women; The Ontario Welfare Reporter, Winter 1969.

⁴Runciman, W. G., *Relative Deprivation and Social Justice*, Routledge, 1966.

⁵The revised "poverty lines" of the Economic Council in dollars of 1968 purchasing power are: \$1,800. per year per single person; \$3,000. for a family of two; \$3,600. for a family of three; \$4,200. for a family of four; and \$4,800. for a family of five. Allowing for 5% reduction in purchasing power due to inflation in 1969, the new levels would be: \$1,890., \$3,150., \$3,780., \$4,410., \$5,040., just to stay even.

⁶Welfare recipient quoted in Nevins, H., *Organizational Affiliation and Powerlessness*; Social Problems, Volume 16, No. 1, 1968.

⁷Caplovitz, D., *The Poor Pay More*; The Macmillan Company, 1963.

⁸J. K. Galbraith is one of those economists who emphasize the role of advertising in the fundamental structuring of our society. Another is C. W. Gonick, M.L.A. (Manitoba) who describes some of the social consequences in his article *Poverty*, Canadian Dimension, Volume VI, No. 6, October-November 1969, page 32:

"Morning-to-night day-in and day-out advertising so influences our values as to create a craze for private consumer goods and a hostility toward public consumer goods. More funds allocated to schools, parks, recreation centres, low-cost housing are thus looked upon as burdens because they take income away from the things we have learned to crave. Within this social climate, the politician who advocates more public spending is a wastrel, while the politician who advocates balanced budgets and cut-backs in the public sphere is sound and responsible."

⁹One of the more influential authors on the subject of early deprivation, Dr. John Bowlby, writes in *Child Care and the Growth of Love* (Penguin Books) that "the difficulty for deprived children to become successful parents is perhaps the most damaging of all effects of deprivation".

More recently research on this subject of early deprivation has been conducted by Professor Jerome Kagan of Harvard University Department of Social Relations. His and

many other studies indicate the not-too-surprising necessity of very early environmental change if handicaps associated with poverty are to be avoided. (He is quoted as saying "We should think of changing the behavior of the mothers of poor children during the first two years of the child's life"; Globe & Mail, July 10, 1969). The celebrated Head Start program are seen as too little and too late and the direction the research points toward is either intensive and supportive child-rearing education or else highly trained teachers operating with very young children in Kibbutz-like day care centres.

All the findings on the long-term consequences of early neglect, psychological and physical, suggest the fundamental economy in social and economic terms of investment in early preventive measures.

¹⁰There are many sources of confirmation for these points:

"In all societies—if present psychological testing may be extrapolated—there are more talented, in absolute numbers, born into the lower social strata than into the upper; every detailed study of a class system describes how the upper strata prevent the lower from acquiring the skills appropriate for higher level jobs. This effort alone is a good indicator that the upper strata include many who are less talented. For example, the Southerner as well as the Northerner would not even need to discriminate against the Negro child or man if in fact he were always untalented; performance alone would demonstrate his inferiority. The same proposition holds for the poor generally, for Jews (as in banking or heavy industry), for women, and (in some circles) for Catholics." W. J. Goode, *The Protection of the Inept*, American Sociological Review, Volume 32, Feb. 1967, pages 5-19.

As the title implies, the same article explores how upper-class inept are protected and "insulated" from competition on merit, with members of lower classes. We refer to this, not necessarily objecting to the protection of the inept, but focusing on its differential application and its denial, as far as the poor are concerned, to both the inept and the talented.

—see also A. H. Halsey, *Genetics, Social Structure and Intelligence*, British Journal of Sociology, IX, No. 1, March 1958.

¹¹Douglas Fullerton, Chairman of the National Capital Commission, returned from a visit to Sweden in the summer of 1969 to

write a series of articles for the Ottawa Citizen. He observed in the final article: "The similarities between our two countries are great: same average income, much the same cold climate, geography and topography, equivalent importance of primary industry such as pulp and paper, and mining, and reliance on export trade. Both of us are located on the northern flank of a powerful neighbor (in their case, the Common Market)" and suggested that one of the things we could learn from the Swedish example was that "greater equality in incomes is possible without affecting incentives—but we need not (and should not) go as far as the Swedes in using the income tax as an equalizing weapon. But extremes of income are rare in Sweden—and poverty almost non-existent."

A further point is that many of the differences that do exist between the two countries are in Canada's favour. Our natural resources are greater, for example, and the proportion of aged Swedes is much higher than in Canada. (1964 rates of adults age 70 and over, per 1000 of population, show Sweden with 82, Canada with 50 and U.S.A. with 61.)

Also, it is instructive to observe the practical concern for the welfare of people which contrasts with so much (though not all) of our own legislation. "An innovation in the Public Welfare Act that after July 1, 1968, the local public welfare board must search out persons who are in need, even if they do not themselves apply for help; anyone, not necessarily an official, can report need to the social agency." *Social Welfare in Sweden*, Kirstin Lindholm; International Social Work, Volume XII, No. 4, 1969.

"There is no absolute or precise measurement of standards of living. Quality of public transportation and wealth of museums are part of it, just as much as wage levels. The United States still has the highest wage levels. But public health is far ahead in all the European countries—East or West.

"Taking everything into account, the standard of living of the average individual is highest in the Scandinavian countries, Switzerland and the Netherlands—even though the individual wage level is lower than in the United States. These countries all have eliminated poverty and unnecessary misery. There simply are no slums comparable with those which disgrace many of America's great cities and some of its more backward rural areas." (Harsch, Joseph C.,

Special Correspondent, Christian Science Monitor, January 5, 1970).

¹² Gonick, C. W., M. L. A., *Poverty*, Canadian Dimension, Volume VI, No. 5, October-November 1969; page 34.

Further evidence of the barriers presented by the high cost of education is developed in Chapter 6, *Social Class and Educational Opportunity, The Vertical Mosaic*, by John Porter, University of Toronto Press, 1965. Reference is made not only to obvious factors such as the size of families which requires early employment of youths ("drop-outs" of a sort) to help with the costs of child rearing, but to more complex barriers which are important enough to be quoted at some length:

"Economic and social factors set the boundaries within which, at the psychological level, values and attitudes are formed. These values and attitudes become transmitted from generation to generation and help preserve the various social milieux of class. Where parents have high occupational status, they will also have more education, higher incomes, and smaller families. Their children will have a greater chance to complete their education and inherit parental status than children with parents of lower occupational status will have to improve their position. The lower class family does not value education so highly because, in part, it is a privilege beyond their horizon of opportunity, and at the same time, lacking education themselves, they fail to appreciate its value and encourage their children... The removal of financial barriers still leaves formidable psychological barriers of class and family tradition."

Porter goes on to quote the study of R. W. D. Jackson and W. G. Fleming, *Who Goes to University—English Canada*: "We seem to be doing an admirable job of squandering the priceless human resources available to us. In fact, it can be argued on the basis of the fragments of information at hand that we are utilizing to the full the talents of no more than a third of our academically gifted young men and women." Of another study (by Oswald Hall and Bruce MacFarlane, *Transition from School to Work*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1963) Porter observes that: "The records of students born in one year indicated that there were 56 with IQs of over 120 but of these, only twelve reached university. The

authors of this study were led to conclude that two-thirds of the students who went to university were less than brilliant and that only one-fifth of those who were brilliant reached university."

It is extremely difficult to analyze all the effects and consequences of the complex interweaving of the social and the psychological that we call social class. Despite this, it seems fair to conclude, with Porter, first, that "the principle of equality and the principle of the rational use of economic resources, thus have a mutually reinforcing function. Now, more than ever, education means opportunity. A system which does not provide equal opportunity is also inefficient." And second, that "class traditions and sentiments being what they are, it would probably take a generation of completely free higher education, including perhaps a living allowance, before higher education would become a perceived and valued choice for lower income families."

¹³In a review of the literature on the subject as well as a contribution of surveys of his own, Maurice Pinard of McGill University drew these conclusions about the participation of poor people in political movements. "Short of a very severe crisis, however, the poor will refrain from participation"... "worry enhances one's tendency to protest in higher income groups, while it hampers it in the lower income group. This suggests that worry means something different among the poor than among the other groups: for the poor, a state of worry seems to be a permanent psychological state, while for people of the middle and high income groups, worry apparently stimulates them to protest, rather than restrains them. Worry—and presumably worry of a permanent type—seems to be at least one of the reasons for the poor's low ability to protest." Maurice Pinard, *Poverty and Political Movements*, Social Problems, Volume 15, No. 2, 1967.

¹⁴Williams, Raymond, *Culture and Society, 1780 to 1950*; Penguin Books, p. 219

¹⁵A number of studies have been conducted in the U.S. to determine the incidence of fraud among welfare recipients. For example, Greenleigh Associates found the reporting of undisclosed income and presence of deserted fathers at under 2 per cent in their study conducted in Chicago in 1960. A nation-wide study conducted by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare discovered that the incidence of fraud was less than 2 per cent in 34 states.

For corroboration and development of this point see:

Bell, Winnifred, *Aid to Dependent Children*, Columbia University Press, New York, 1965.

Greenleigh Associates, *Facts, Fallacies and Future*, New York, 1966.

Mencher, Samuel, "Public Welfare" in *Five Fields of Social Service* edited by Henry Maas, National Association of Social Workers, New York, 1960.

U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *Eligibility of Families Receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children*, Washington, July 1963.

¹⁶Testimony of Dr. J. R. Smith, Chairman of the Economic Council of Canada, to the Senate Committee on Poverty, November 12, 1969.

¹⁷Peitchinis, Stephen, *Why Should Anyone in Calgary Need Aid?* in *Canadian Welfare*, May-June 1969.

¹⁸Reported in *Toronto Star*, March 9, 1970.

¹⁹*Proposals for Tax Reform*, Queen's Printer, Ottawa, 1969.

²⁰*Ibid.*, Section 1.10.

²¹*Ibid.*, Section 8.36.

²²Fullerton, Douglas, in the *Ottawa Citizen*, June 3, 1969.

²³Brown, J. A. C., *The Social Psychology of Industry*; Penguin Books, 1954, pages 202-203.

²⁴*Proposals for Tax Reform*, op. cit., Section 1.6.

²⁵*Ibid.*, Section 1.8.

²⁶*Ibid.*, Section 1.20.

²⁷*Ibid.*, Section 1.19.

²⁸Woodsworth, D. E., *Agency Policy and Client Roles*, The Social Worker, November 1969, Volume 37, No. 4.

²⁹Peitchinis, Stephen, op. cit.

³⁰Christian Science Monitor, February 21, 1970.

³¹Rein, Martin, *Integration of Physical and Social Planning With Special Reference to Neighborhood Services and Citizen Participation*; Seminar held March 1968, Canadian Welfare Council, Ottawa.

³²Moynihan, Daniel P., *The Crisis in Welfare*, The Public Interest, No. 10, Winter 1968; page 7.

³³Levens, Helene, *Organizational Affiliation and Powerlessness; A case Study of the Welfare Poor*; Social Problems, Summer 1968, Volume 16, No. 1; page 18.

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Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 31

TUESDAY, APRIL 14, 1970

WITNESSES:

Board of Evangelism and Social Service, The United Church of Canada:

Rev. Dr. W. Clarke MacDonald, Chairman; Rev. Dr. Charles H. Forsyth, Secretary; Miss Eileen Jackson, Executive member; Mr. Donald Secord, Executive member.

APPENDIX:

A.—Brief submitted by the Board of Evangelism and Social Service,
The United Church of Canada.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle	Hastings
Carter	Inman
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>)	Lefrançois
Cook	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>)
Croll	McGrand
Eudes	Pearson
Everett	Quart
Fergusson	Roebuck
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche,</i> <i>Deputy Chairman</i>)	Sparrow

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator MacDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, April 14, 1970

Pursuant to adjournment and notice, the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (Chairman), Carter, Cook, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, McGrand, Pearson, Quart. (9)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

BOARD OF EVANGELISM AND SOCIAL SERVICE,
THE UNITED CHURCH OF CANADA:

Rev. Dr. W. Clarke MacDonald, Chairman;

Rev. Dr. Charles H. Forsyth, Secretary;

Miss Eileen Jackson, Executive member;

Mr. Donald Secord, Executive member.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

The brief prepared and presented by the Board of Evangelism and Social Service, The United Church of Canada, was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 12.35 p.m. the Committee adjourned until 9.30 a.m. Thursday, April 16, 1970.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

W. Clarke MacDonald, B.A., B.D., D.D.—Parents: George D. MacDonald and Estella MacDonald, Green Hill, Pictou County, Nova Scotia. Birth Date: July 6, 1920. Education: Green Hill Public School, Pictou County, N.S. New Glasgow High School, Pictou County, N.S. 1941—B.A.—Dalhousie University, Halifax, N.S. 1943—Diploma in Theology—Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax. 1943—Ordination—Maritime Conference. 1944—Bachelor of Divinity Degree—Pine Hill. Married: 1944 to Muriel MacDonald, Cornwall, P.E.I. Pastorates: 1944-48—West Bay, Cape Breton. 1948-1951—Black River Bridge, N.B. 1951-1955—Port Hawkesbury, Cape Breton. 1955-1962—Trinity Church, Sydney, Cape Breton. 1962—Saint Luke's United Church, Toronto, Ontario. Church Offices: Secretary of Presbytery, 17 years; Secretary of Maritime Conference, 1961-1962; Member Board of Overseas Mission, 1956-1960; Member Commission Temperance Policy & Program, 1956-1960; Member Team to Study Church in Industrial Society, United Kingdom, 1961; Member Senate Pine Hill Divinity Hall, 1959-1962; Commissioner to General Council, 1954, 1960, 1964, 1966, 1968; Chairman Board of Evangelism & Social Service, 1965-present; Soap-Box Preacher—Allan Gardens, Toronto, 1963-present. Received Doctorate of Divinity Degree from Pine Hill Divinity Hall, Halifax, N.S. May 4, 1969. Clarke and Muriel MacDonald have three children: Paul 20 years; Brian 17 years; Rose Marie 9 years. Dated at Toronto, November 1969.

Rev. Charles H. Forsyth—Born: Winnipeg, Manitoba—1926. Education: Winnipeg Schools, Grades 1-11; United College (Winnipeg)—Collegiate; United College (University of Manitoba)—Graduated B.A., 1947; Theological Training—graduated United College 1950; Bachelor of Divinity degree—1954; Thesis: "Major Creative Emphases in the Philosophical Theology of Nels F.S. Ferre". Ordained: to the Christian Ministry (United Church of Canada)—1950. Positions: Sioux Lookout, North-western Ontario—1950-54, (Served two years as a member of Town Council); John Black Memorial Church, East Kildonan (Winnipeg), Manitoba, 1954-60; Superintendent, Central Winnipeg Parish—Winnipeg, 1960-64, (an inter-city Parish of three churches in downtown Winnipeg with a staff of three ordained ministers; trained MSW group worker; three parish workers and students assistants. In addition to ordinary Parish programs, the Parish carried on extensive Welfare ministries, and a Community Programs Division of youth and adult recreation community Programs; and a Clothing Thrift Shop.); Sackville United Church—Sackville, N.B.—1964-66; Executive Assistant to Premier of New Brunswick—1966-68; Appointed Secretary Board of Evangelism and Social Service—1968. Married: 1954 to the former Myrna Lee George—four children. Other Activities: Board of Church Home for Girls (Winnipeg)—for unmarried mothers. Board of Christmas Cheer—Winnipeg. Member, Housing Committee, Winnipeg Welfare Council. Board of Age & Opportunity Bureau, Winnipeg. Executive of Winnipeg Inner City Council (United Church). Member—United Church Commission on Church and State in Education. Member—Regents, United College 1963-64. Board—Family Bureau of Greater Winnipeg. Vice-President, Sackville, N.B. Board of Trade. Secretary, Recreation Commission, Town of Sackville. Member—The Canada council. Advi-

sory Board Member—The Children's Hospital School (Lancaster, N.B.). Research-Writer—for Moncton Presbytery (United Church) Special Study on the Byrne Royal Commission Report. Member—Rotary Club of Sackville.

Miss Eileen Jackson—B.A., Victoria College, University of Toronto. M.S.W., from Toronto. Member of the Board of Governors of the Canadian Welfare Council. Executive Director of the Family Service Agency of Hamilton, since 1960. Previous professional experience in the child welfare field of Ontario in Hamilton, Sudbury and Parry Sound. Member of the Board & Executive of the United Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Service. Member of the United Church Committee on The Church in the Field of Social Welfare. Member of the Canadian Association of Social Workers. Member of the Business and Professional Women's Club. Member of the Zonta Club.

Mr. Donald Secord: Mr. Donald N. Secord began work with the Canadian National Railways in 1969 in Windsor, Ontario, where as a member of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers, he became active in Trade Union work.

In 1944 he was loaned to the War Time Prices and Trade Board as a liaison officer and served in this capacity for two years.

In 1947 he went on leave of absence from the C.N.R. to serve as a representative of his organization and has been employed full time since then.

For the past 18 years he has been Secretary-Treasurer of the C.B.R.T. & G.W. and is also Managing Director of Mutual Press Ltd., an Ottawa printing firm, wholly owned by that organization.

He is a member of the International Affairs Committee of the Canadian Labour Congress and also of the Canadian Railway Labour Association.

He has served on the Executive and Board of The United Church's Board of Evangelism and Social Service for the past several years.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, April 14, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I call the meeting to order. On my right is Dr. W. Clarke MacDonald, Chairman of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of the United Church of Canada. He will introduce his delegation. You have the biographical data in your files.

Dr. W. Clarke MacDonald, Chairman, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, United Church of Canada: Mr. Chairman and ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service I want to thank you for this opportunity to present our brief to you. I should like to introduce the members of the delegation. On my far right is Miss Eileen Jackson, a member of the Executive and of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service. In her position she is Executive Director of the Family Service Agency in Hamilton, Ontario.

Next to Miss Jackson is Mr. Donald Secord, who is the Secretary Treasurer of the Canadian Brotherhood of Railway Transport and General Workers Union, and who is also a member of the Executive and of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service.

On my immediate right is Dr. Charles Forsyth, who is the Secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Service, which is his full-time occupation.

Dr. Forsyth will present our brief to you.

Dr. Charles H. Forsyth, Secretary, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, United Church of Canada: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, we appreciate the opportunity to place our concerns before you. At the outset I apologize for the fact that we were not able to complete in time the translation of our submission, and the summary of the submission, into French. As you know, the date of our hearing was advanced somewhat, and

the translation work was not completed in time for this session.

It is our view that this Committee has rendered a notable service in keeping the issue of poverty on the agenda of the nation, and in providing the kind of forum that will move us past superficialities and "pat" solutions to grapple with the very complex human, social and economic issues involved.

We believe that the work of your committee can help re-order the goals of our society, renew our institutions, and move us to eliminate poverty. As a result of your deliberations, certain salient facts have emerged clearly. Poverty is not confined to a few regions but is present in the total society. Poverty is not the due penalty of those who will not try. In truth, the majority of its victims are those who work without escape. Poverty weakens our cities, even as it blights rural Canada. It harries the old. It degrades parents and forecloses the future of children.

In our submission, Mr. Chairman, we have three stresses:

First, we believe that immediate actions are required—and possible—to stop deterioration in the position of those who depend on demogrant payments, compensation payments or social allowance benefits.

We propose that immediate legislative action is appropriate to remove the 2 per cent ceiling on increases in old age security payments, and in the guaranteed annual income supplement. In our view it is intolerable that older persons in our society should actually have to endure a diminution of their resources at a time when there is a continuing escalation of costs. We are aware that some provinces are attempting to provide a measure of assistance through programs that are cost-shared under CAP; other provinces are providing some measure of real property tax relief. While we welcome such initiatives by the provinces, we feel that the priority task is to adjust the basic program structure to ensure adequate levels of benefits. We do

not regard such program adjustments as inflationary.

Similarly, we propose action to improve benefits and programs under federal Unemployment Insurance legislation and provincial Workmen's Compensation programs. It seems to us that adjustments in benefits are overdue and that legislative changes should be made that would allow such programs to respond more or less automatically to cost-of-living changes. Moreover, we feel that it is time to re-work such programs so that they will in fact prevent individuals and families from experiencing crisis poverty, which in not a few cases might be the opening of the way to long-term, hurtful dependency.

We urge that federal-provincial action be taken to increase benefits under social assistance programs, under the umbrella of the Canada Assistance Plan. We believe that more needs to be done to include the "working poor" within the range of benefits under CAP. This is clearly the intent, or at least the opportunity, under the federal statute. In our view, while we are vigorous proponents of improved wage levels under minimum wage legislation, we know that some family groups will not be helped out of poverty unless we are prepared to provide supplements in income and benefits to earnings that are inadequate in themselves. In like fashion, we would like to see greater emphasis placed on Day Care Services, with more provinces funding such services on a cost-sharing basis under CAP.

In the first group of recommendations, Mr. Chairman, we also call for a review of the current anti-inflationary emphasis of the Government of Canada.

We are not prepared to accept the justice or the adequacy of a strategy that places disproportionate burdens on the poor and economically weak. We are not persuaded that current inflation is adequately explained as a "demand-pull" situation, and that the deliberate braking of the economy and the consequent increases in unemployment are justified either in the short term, to say nothing of the long term good of the country.

A good deal of our inflation is imported—would that there were anti-dumping procedures that would check that type of importation.

We concede that it is a difficult and urgent problem. But we are not prepared to accept as solutions, measures that have the effect of

forcing many thousands into poverty, and pushing others who are now poor more deeply into deprivation.

Such concerns, Mr. Chairman, led us to urge that the Special Senate Committee on Poverty issue an interim report.

We believe that there are matters that require attention now; that should be spoken to at this time so that appropriate remedial legislative action is possible prior to 1971. We are content to await your over all statement of findings and recommendations in the fall. But we would urge that you use the moral authority of this committee to seek now those changes in program, those improvements in benefits that will prevent, as our brief puts it "further deterioration in the economic and social position of the poor, and forestall increases in the numbers of persons in poverty".

The second main section of our submission outlines recommendations that, in our view, ought to be part of a comprehensive attack on poverty in Canada.

We feel very strongly that greater policy co-ordination needs to be achieved if we are going to make miles against poverty in this country. Policy co-ordination within a level of government; policy co-ordination among various levels of government; and also policy co-ordination of the specific instruments and programs themselves.

In this connection it is obvious that some way has to be found to co-ordinate our social policies with our tax policies. If existing tax processes and programs fall most severely on the economically weak—and they do!—then it is clear that regressive tax pressures can nullify, or seriously undermine, the effectiveness of social policies.

We suggest therefore, as a priority matter that we seek to harmonize total tax policy and our total social policy objectives. This means that a real look must be taken at the effect of tax policies as implemented by all levels of government. It means too that we must look at the expenditure side and see what the real social, spending, priorities of our society are.

We then recommend that income maintenance and redistribution measures should be primarily a federal responsibility to make possible a radical shift in the design and services of provincial welfare systems; and also to permit provinces to de-emphasize tax types that have a regressive effect on the poor.

We propose that en route to a guaranteed annual income program for Canada, family and youth allowances be increased. We have suggested that benefits be tripled, and that youth allowances continue beyond age 17. We suggest also that such benefits be considered taxable income, and that consideration be given to reducing or eliminating tax exemptions for children and youth, thus maximizing the benefit of increased allowances for the poor and near-poor, while maximizing recovery of the demogrants from those who do not need them.

In this way we see a lateral movement toward the guaranteed income system, which we support as a social policy objective for this country.

We urge that 'on stream' with such a change in federal income maintenance programs, provinces shift their welfare systems away from administering relief and re-design them to offer more effective human and community development services. In our view, this is the real provincial role in the welfare field. A shift in income maintenance funding to the federal side where faster-growth tax revenues can be available, would also enable provinces to ease up on their slower-growth tax sources, which tend to be more punishing to lower income groups.

Then, Mr. Chairman, we have proposed:

(a) improvements in Occupational Training and Up-Grading programs;

(b) an attack on illiteracy in Canada;

(c) more training opportunities in a work context;

(d) encouragement to the organizing and community development efforts of trades unions;

(e) improved housing programs that will give more Canadians access to adequate housing;

(f) public initiatives in land assembly and community design; and

(g) "people programs" in such fields as:

—law reform and the administration of justice

—family planning

—nursing home care as part of overall health care

—community supportive services

—encouragement of citizen groups of all kinds as partners in policy development and community renewal

—compensatory education programs as part of a new commitment to the education of children.

In our view, important issues are at stake in all these areas and there can be no credible Canadian attack on poverty unless these matters are dealt with in the range, the thrust, and the linkages of our policies—public and private.

The final section of our brief, Mr. Chairman, attempts to suggest the role of the church in the struggle against poverty. We have set forth our conviction that "the church is her true self only when she exists for humanity" and that concern for persons requires the Church to be engaged in the social, political, human struggles of our country and world.

We find it instructive that the church today is required to make the same kinds of shift in policy, in style and emphasis, that we are recommending to your committee as appropriate in the governmental and public sector.

It is a time for new partnerships, new kinds of service, the co-ordination of public and private efforts; a working alongside persons for the mutual benefit of all, rather than a giving of service to persons who are thereby diminished in selfhood and dignity.

We have tried to give specific examples of the new styles in action, and the hopeful and creative partnerships that are building.

We believe that the important themes of society and of the Church really do come to the 'moment of truth' when we confront the issue of poverty.

Poverty can be eradicated, if we will to eradicate it.

We believe that the thrust of our public policies and the actions of our institutions and agencies, including the churches, will show whether we have that will.

We believe that certain remedial actions are required right now to assist the most vulnerable groups in our society.

We believe that the response we make to poverty in our midst is a fundamental challenge to our humanity, and tests the integrity of Canada as a nation.

Senator Carter: I would like to start with the last section of your brief, in which you talk about the role of the church. We see these terms and hear them used in pulpits and in the press, I for one am not quite clear

what it means when you say "the role of the church". Are you thinking about the role of the clergy, the role of the church administration, synods, conferences and so on, or the role of the body of the church, including the laymen? Do you distinguish between any of these when you think about the role of the church?

Dr. MacDonald: In the main it would be the last interpretation, the role of the body, not just the laymen but the total community of the church, including clergy and laity, including its hierarchy, its governing bodies at every level and on the part of every person.

Senator Carter: That is another way of saying the public of Canada.

Dr. MacDonald: Well, would that it were, but I am not sure.

Senator Carter: We belong to one creed or another. Is that not to diffuse a definition to focus in any meaningful way?

Dr. MacDonald: The role of these people is pinpointed in the announcements that are made and the stances taken by those who represent them at various levels—synod, diocesan, general council, conference, presbytery and so forth. So it does become pinpointed in that way. It is the responsibility of this Board to be one of the focuses of this concern; it is stated in the manual of our procedure that this is our responsibility.

Senator Carter: You are familiar with this little pamphlet setting out the strategy for the seventies and the goals for 1969?

Dr. MacDonald: Yes.

Senator Carter: Can you tell the committee to what extent the 1969 goals were achieved?

Dr. MacDonald: I will ask Dr. Forsyth, who works on this committee, to elaborate on this.

Dr. Forsyth: Part of the goal for 1969 and the strategy for 1969 involved an assessment of where the church was at, or where the church groups were, in the various denominations and communities of faith. This kind of thing is being done and was done throughout 1969, from the time that report was issued. We know, for example, that in places like Halifax, in provinces like Alberta, inter-church and interfaith coalitions began to emerge. We know that a Roman Catholic diocese, for example did an analysis of the

assets and resources of the church in their area to determine whether in fact substantial sums could be made available, or were being made available, for "people programs" and the relief of need at home and abroad.

In the judgment of those of us who have been associated with that particular effort, a very significant shift in emphasis and style was achieved through 1969 and on into 1970. We make clear in our own submission here that there are lots of places that can be identified where parishes or congregations are apparently unaware of these realities. But on the other side I think there has been a growing awareness by groups of their responsibility in this area, assessing their priorities, whether they really do need to put that red carpet down in the chancel or whether it is more significant to use the dollars released for the provision of day care services or something of that sort. This kind of process really has begun to take place across the country, and coalitions have begun to take shape in various parts of Canada to take concerted action alongside the needy and poor in the community.

Senator Carter: I realize that a start has been made, but you have specific goals for the particular year, and I was wondering whether you could make a quantitative assessment of whether you have achieved 75 per cent, 30 per cent or 20 per cent. Is it possible to make any sort of judgment of that nature?

Dr. Forsyth: We have not been able to make a quantitative assessment, simply because we lack the reporting and retrieval systems to get that kind of data back. But we have taken the concerns for that set of objectives to the various denominations, and I know that certain denominations are attempting to make a qualitative assessment at this time, as to whether in fact the projects and programs for '69 were pretty well carried out in their denomination.

Senator Carter: I would like to ask this specific question about the role of the church. We have visited some poor families in poor neighbourhoods, here in Ottawa and in other cities, and had discussions with social service officials who are in contact with them, trying to serve them. They have told us that the people who find themselves in localities living in those circumstances have a totally different outlook on life from people who are better off. For example, they have a different home life; they have a different expectation of

home life. They get married and they do not expect the same result of marriage that people normally do. Their children do not have the clothing to join organizations such as scouts and girl guides. They miss out in many ways like that. I could not find out from them what the church was doing to bring some sort of spiritual influence, moral influence, to bear on these people in those circumstances. I was wondering if you could tell us something about that.

Dr. MacDonald: I would like to make a personal reply to this. This is the area where I work, in a downtown church in Toronto. However, Miss Jackson I am sure will have something to contribute at this point from her experience in family services, and as a churchman too.

Miss Eileen Jackson, Board of Evangelism and Social Service, The United Church of Canada: Mr. Chairman, honourable senators, I would like to pick up the point about the difference in family life. Essentially I agree with what you said. I think, however, there are some families whose tradition goes back, who are connected with their individual churches, and they do feel some degree of comfort within the existing structures. They find it difficult, as you say, to buy the uniforms to keep up the organizational life, and I think this is where there needs to be increasing dialogue. I was present at a meeting the other day—in fact, I was responsible, together with two other members of my staff, for it—where three welfare recipients were part of a panel, with a group of about 100 members of women's auxiliaries and United Church women. At that point dialogue began, which I was delighted to find out yesterday is continuing with the Reverend Lois Wilson. I think it is in these kinds of conversations that we will get at some of the things about which you are talking. I agree there is a gap.

Senator Carter: Many of these families living in poverty do not seem to have any very close church affiliations; the children do not have the influence of Sunday school. Is the church going in there and doing something about it? That is what I would like to find out.

Dr. MacDonald: If I may pick it up at this point, I speak from the area of which I am best informed, where I work, which is St. Luke's Church in downtown Toronto. It is also the concern of the churches of the com-

munity in the West Don parish, which is inter-denominational now, as well as being an inter-United Church grouping. We have groups of youth meeting at the church almost daily, and they are, for want of a better expression, off-the-street youngsters. Uniforms are no obstacle here; we do not bother about these phylacteries of the religious life at this point at all. There is no point in getting these youngsters in and starting a study of the creed when they could not care less. But we are starting at the point where they are and working with them. We have recognized, for example, the almost failure of the Sunday school to reach these youngsters. Therefore, we have started what we call a "Super Saturday." This brings together the youngsters of the community in a program that is social and spiritual. It also responds to some of their physical needs in as much as we provide them with a lunch at noon time. This program has had a ready response. We have between 60 and 80 youngsters on a Saturday, where as on a Sunday morning we might only have 20 or less from the community.

Senator Carter: What ages would these run?

Dr. MacDonald: They range from kindergarten right through to the younger teens.

Senator Carter: Is there any follow-up in the home to see that the influence resulting from what you have done has not been destroyed in the home.

Dr. MacDonald: I am sure that some of it is destroyed. There is follow-up to the degree that staff volunteers are available, but this is of a limited quantity.

Dr. Forsyth: Part of the problems is that the network to sustain the human is pretty frail. A lot of things become destroyed in a lot of home settings. The point is that in many situations and various kinds of milieux it is obvious that the economic and physical situations are quite grinding and erosive in themselves. Consequently, I feel that one of the great contributions that the church makes, not because of any special virtue which perhaps attaches to it, is simply that it is there. Churches of various denominations spin off services that are supportive of persons in the community and maintain the lateral contacts with the family. Thank heaven churches are

beginning to work more and more with other agencies. The solo operation which meant that you went to "do your thing", worked out your own set of statistics, got your own achievements on the record, has pretty well disappeared to the point where you must realize that if you are going to do support work for persons in a community it has to be a partnership venture with other agencies and services, as well as with the people themselves.

I think back to own experience in urban communities and in rural areas to the ways in which the churches contributed to that kind of process as partners in the enterprise. One of the things that concerns me now, as an individual, are the rural areas in certain remote pockets of Canada where the traditional services have pretty well disintegrated. One of the most recent studies which I recently read was done by the Centre for Community Studies, which looked at the process of in-migration to Saskatoon and how the persons who came in adjusted to their environment. Part of the study dealt with those who were left in the rural hinterland and the greater incidence of mental stress and psychological damage and the way the support network had declined. There was depopulation of the rural areas. There are very few institutional networks left in that area—churches among them. It puts a real pressure on the churches to work in partnership with the school systems and other systems that may exist and to look at the problem seriously and to realize how tenuous and frail the human is in this area.

Senator Carter: I thought that was part of the strategy referred to in this book "Coalition for Development". Can you make an assessment as to how effective your effort is in proportion to the need.

Dr. MacDonald: The senator is referring to the sort of thing I have been speaking about, the local community. This kind of assessment is not possible today because we do not have the staff resources in order to make the assessments which would be considerable.

Senator Carter: Are you making any meaningful impact at all on the problems?

Dr. MacDonald: Yes, an equivocal yes.

Dr. Forsyth: The institution of the church is "turning around" in this area. We have a lot of hard work to do in the rural areas, and

a very difficult job in turning around further in the urban areas in order to spin off the kind of new styles of services and networks which Dr. MacDonald is speaking about. But there is an impact which is being made. In proportion to the need there is an enormous amount which must be done, not just by churches working solo, but a whole new kind of inter-connection with other kinds of services. This is the critical area, whether we can see the need for partnerships and bring the coalitions into existence. That is why that Coalition Document deliberately attempted to avoid just being an in-church thing. Alone it is impossible.

The Chairman: I have Senators Fergusson, Fournier, McGrand, Pearson and Inman.

Senator Fergusson: The delegation said that they appreciated the opportunity to appear before us. I am sure that we are most grateful to have them, because I think what they have given us in this excellent brief is going to be extremely helpful. We certainly realize that you must have put a great deal of thought and time into it and we thank you.

I have a number of questions, but I am going to start with this one. On page 16 of the brief you refer to the fact that the provinces have not made as much use of the Canada Assistance Plan as they might have. When that was passed we thought it was going to revolutionize things in Canada but it has not done that as we all know. What do you think is the reason that more provinces have not made the sort of use of this plan that Alberta has? I should like to mention, as referred to in the brief, that New Brunswick is thinking of this. It came out in their White Paper the other day. I was fortunate enough to be in Fredericton when this was announced. Why didn't they all pick it up right away, because it was a wonderful opportunity?

Dr. Forsyth: This would be a good time to take advantage of a chance for a commercial for New Brunswick!

I think the reason is two-fold, first of all because I still feel that the "dole" or relief philosophy dies hard. I think that when it comes to the crunch, people get really up tight by wanting to preserve the so-called incentives. Therefore, you cannot pitch the levels of assistance to the point where you might possibly be destroying somebody's incentive work. You do an analysis of what

the "getting-by" line is economically and you pitch your levels just below that. Therefore, despite the fact that you have created a legislative instrument you haven't changed the psychology of the persons who are using it.

I think the second reason is that 50-50 sharing under CAP seems generous, and it is. But it is not easy for some provinces to find their 50 per cent and use the full range of possibilities inherent in the program.

When they have to set those welfare priorities and expenditures against other kinds of expenditures, which they must make in the field of education and in other fields of their constitutional responsibility, I think the interconnection of those two, the philosophy, with the pragmatic realities, the practical realities of expenditures, with limited provincial revenues, has tended to cut into the effectiveness of the program.

It is only places like Alberta, which has resources, in New Brunswick which has imagination, that are able to take hold of the possibilities and spin-off new responses under CAP.

The Chairman: Except that you did not finish the sentence and say "and Ontario with money which they will not use."

Dr. Forsyth: I was in danger of making a political speech.

The Chairman: Go ahead.

Dr. Forsyth: For example, in Ontario—and this applies to many other provinces—it is tragic that, for whatever reason, the possibilities under CAP for the development and support of day care and other related services that can inter-connect with family agencies and various other support networks in the communities—that this kind of response was not developed as quickly as those who framed the CAP thought it would be. However, Miss Jackson is far more competent to deal with that than I am and I will not try to develop it.

The Chairman: What do you think, Miss Jackson? Would you develop that?

Miss Jackson: Mr. Chairman, I think that it is attitudes and philosophy, plus the economic factor that lies behind the fact that the Province of Ontario will not help.

Of course, working in the private sector, I have sensed real reluctance of the public sector to co-operate in efforts and programs of private agencies.

Other than some small payments under the Day Nurseries Act, as a voluntary agency in Ontario we get no public funds.

The Chairman: Thank you.

Senator Fergusson: This would come down to the fact of what governments consider their priorities. If they think that spending their money on something else is better, they decide to do it that way.

Dr. Forsyth: This is why we raised the question.

Unless we look at the relationship of social policies to actual spending, we get nowhere.

There is something screwy in the kind of system that can go for terrific commitments to educational spending, for example by locating two library buildings cheek by jowl with each other; two independent educational networks that lead into two separate high school or college systems.

If you deploy the dollars in that way—then you have no dollars for other purposes, because of that decision. You have no dollars for compensatory education at the bottom, which might give some liberation service to children who will otherwise become shunted through what euphemistically we call "opportunity classes"—really a dead-end process for those who will not make it through high school.

You say we are going to change that, but not just now, because there are no dollars left.

We are trying to make the point in several places that the concern surely ought to be to look at what actually happens in our expenditure flows for education, or for other services, and see who is being served.

We do not necessarily have a commitment to educate all children. If we begin to distort our spending patterns in the ways I have mentioned we do not have dollars left over which could be used for fundamental educational work that is not now being done.

We do not have money to do the educational task in the modern society in fragmented and wasteful fashion. This involves us designing new kinds of network in the community, new kinds of interconnections.

This need refers not only to the school system but also the private sector, the agencies and all kinds of groups and systems who have a role to play.

That is why I suggested the example. They probably could have regrouped those libraries in that particular instance, and have had some dollars left. Those saved dollars would make it possible to deploy trailers like the ones used by George Brown College, into various kinds of communities which require special programs or some kind of day care services.

It is this policy—spending issue that one needs to look at.

Senator Fergusson: Referring to aids to education, I would like also to say that the appendices which you have given, referring to education, are wonderful. You have given some information about experience in educational television, some particulars which had not come to my attention. I think we probably would be very glad to study them. It is terrific what you have accomplished.

Dr. Forsyth: Again, if you look at the total policy and take seriously what the CRTC seems to be about, it gives you all kinds of leads. CRTC seems to be saying: "Look, we have a stake in binding this country together and developing ourselves as a people, through what we do with media." If our media and institutions really could interact, and interconnect, what could happen?

People are already raising their heads in horror. They are asking "How can we get enough content to utilize the media"? There is all manner of content waiting to be tapped and there are Canadians available to do it.

There are programs needing to be carried on the television system, the cable system, and in other ways.

I feel strongly, personally, that here is one area where the policy interconnections have not been looked at as carefully as they might be.

I think, for example, there are enormous opportunities for us to deal with one particular human problem in Canada. We refer to that in one of those appendices, dealing with illiteracy.

Surely it is tragic in this country that we have such a degree of illiteracy, when we find that we have all the technological means to assist us in overcoming this problem. There

are various public and private bodies that can be brought on stream and we have such agencies as Frontier College and the public school systems, and so on. And yet there is no coordinated attack mounted on illiteracy in Canada.

This is a situation that is ridiculous where we consider that the human and media resources available are enormous—quite enough to meet the problem.

Senator Fergusson: People have been saying that if you do make this sort of effort there are people who need it and they will not bother with it. Yet the results that have been documented in one of the appendices show how many people finished and how many people actually wrote and completed the course. It is wonderful information for us to have.

Dr. Forsyth: The great advantage of television is that it is "impersonal". There are certain kinds of depersonal or impersonal functions in our total social system—functions like computerization. Instead of being considered a threat to the personal, we need to use their impersonal characteristics for human purposes.

For example, if we could get the income maintenance and support programs to the place where the cheque comes out issued by a glorious computer; where it just comes to the person in a way that does not demean the person by questions, interviews, line-ups and so on, but that it just happens in somewhat the same way as the family allowance cheques come at present, this would be a wonderful humanizing use of the "depersonal" computer.

In the same way, the thing about television is that it can get at somebody, it can reach the person who wants to participate in a program and yet does not want to be put in the embarrassing position of having to go to a group and say "I cannot read, I cannot write". But the "box" brings the signal into the living room and that man can get inside the program without any human diminution. We are crazy if we do not use the humanizing possibilities of media and technical instruments in that fashion.

We were concerned to say that when you look at the interconnections we need, when you look at the linkages that are possible and necessary—in Canada we have them! We have them right now. We have enormously sophisticated apparatus sitting there, waiting

and constitutionally we can use it to do what we want to do.

Senator Fergusson: I have one other question. I have quite a number of other questions that I would want to ask you, but I will put his one now. On page 37 of your brief, you say, in regard to family planning, that you assist that the Government, in certain of its own programs and through support granted to independent agencies, ought to make real options known and available to Canadians. How do you want them to do it?

Miss Jackson: Through a network of community services, it seems to me that we could train individuals, no matter what discipline they belong to, to be alerted to and to respond to the situation. Within my own limited experience, I know, for instance, that the disadvantaged families for the most part not only lack information about family planning, they lack information about themselves. For us, that is where you start.

Again, I think it is using the whole network of services in an imaginative and creative way, to begin where people are, and to respond to their needs there and to be sympathetic.

I do not frankly see setting up a whole new system or organization. I think it is using what we have.

The Chairman: Miss Jackson, as a government, we spend many thousands of dollars to each family planning to the people of India and other parts of the world. What do we do here that is different?

Miss Jackson: Mr. Chairman, that we do it here is quite right, and it is equally true that we have not done it here even using the opportunities we have. It just has not happened.

Dr. MacDonald: According to the moderator of the United Church, who has had long experience in India, this is done in just the same way as any agency would promote a program for a vacation in Florida, for example. You would use billboards and posters and that sort of thing.

Senator Fergusson: I did wonder what sort of publicity would be involved.

Dr. Forsyth: Do we make available to agencies the dollars and systems that will allow them to mount a program and provide the services? I think that is where the crunch

comes. If we want to use the private network and make options at least known, if not used, then are we prepared to provide to agencies dollars to in fact do this work on behalf of the community?

Senator Pearson: Are these efforts effective? For instance, the teaching in India? Do you gain anything by it?

Dr. MacDonald: I cannot give you the figures, but once again quoting our moderator from memory, they are effective, yes.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, I think it is time someone introduced some argument into this meeting in order to make it a little bit more lively. I am not one to throw flowers when they are not due. I throw flowers, though, when they are due.

This brief has nothing new in it, so far as I am concerned. It presents recommendations we have heard many times. It opens a lot of places for argument. In Dr. Forsyth's words, it is a brief of imagination.

On page 6 of the brief you have a page which says, "What shall we do?". That is all there is on the page and I don't know why the space was left. However, I am going to fill that space by reference to the witness. What shall we do and how are we going to do it? And my question is, if all the recommendations that are in this brief were implemented, what would it cost the country?

Dr. MacDonald: I think Dr. Forsyth has some figures to bring before you on that matter, Mr. Chairman. The filling in of page 6 does, of course, follow on pages 7, 8, 9 and 10.

Dr. Forsyth: Mr. Chairman, I could not pretend to suggest what all the matters that are recommended here would cost. I have no way of estimating too well what it would cost, for example, to improve the old age security benefits to an adequate level. I have a sneaking suspicion, though, that the cost is not excessive and would be pretty well gathered up within the total economic system in expenditures anyhow, because of the pressing needs of the people who would receive it. I have a fairly rough estimate that suggests to me anyway, for the purposes of just exploring the matter, that the family allowance program that we are suggesting would cost in the neighbourhood of \$1.8 billion, which is what we now commit ourselves to spend on defence. I suspect that it would be a more

productive expenditure in the long run and certainly would have better returns. I would suspect, too, that of that \$1.8 billion you could recover approximately 40 or 50 per cent through the kind of tax changes we are talking of, which means the net increase would be something in the neighbourhood of \$300 or \$400 million. I may be considerably out on this kind of estimate, because we don't have the research apparatus to allow us to really explore some of the implications. However, I think we are talking of those orders of dollars.

Nevertheless, there are some off-setting gains there as well. Because I think what our proposals would begin to do is to shift balances. We find it difficult to do the estimating because it is hard for us to estimate what kind of shift this would create in terms of programs now aimed at the working poor; expenditures by provinces directed to those in receipt of some kind of welfare assistance, and so on. We just don't have the apparatus to allow us to estimate such shifts in expenditure flows. But I think the thing that I would really suggest is that we are making a lot of expenditures now that should be looked at carefully.

What we are really asking is that we look at the expenditure flows that we are making and examine present priorities. I think dollars are being spent in the wrong places. We make various kinds of expenditures, for example, in the educational field. Without diminishing the effectiveness of the total program in provinces we could in fact release dollars if we utilized buildings more effectively—de-emphasized the creation of new buildings and used old ones the year round. We would have dollars released for other uses in education thereby.

I cannot offer a clear-cut estimate of the costs of our programs because with respect to some of them the impact is hidden. In others, the off-setting costs are not great, simply because it means a shift in the priorities of what we are now spending to put the money to better use in more creative ways.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I quite agree with what you have said. There is a lot of truth in what you have said about off-setting the expenses. But who is going to do it? Before this committee can make any concrete recommendations, don't you think we have to find out where we are

going? That is the problem we have before us. We see in brief after brief these same recommendations. It would be nice to do that and it would be nice to do that. It is an old question for me. Don't think I am just getting tough with you people. I have been trying to get a proper answer right from the beginning but it always comes down to the same thing.

Dr. Forsyth: If I may respond briefly to that, Mr. Chairman, there are certain things that can be done now and ought to be done now. The nation has the resources to provide adequate benefits under the old age security program. There are surpluses kicking around and that would be a good place to use some of those surpluses. The best estimate I have seen is that there was some \$600 million net tax revenue to be generated under the White Paper proposals. That would be new federal revenue. Well, we have got some good places to use that money.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): May I say something to you, Dr. Forsyth. You must be aware of the impact the White Paper has had across this country.

Dr. Forsyth: It made a good impact on us.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): There is no surety that the White Paper is going to be implemented. It has not received a favourable reaction from the people across Canada. Apart from that, as a result of the opinion that more taxation should be imposed on the Canadian people in order to provide the services that you are recommending?

Dr. Forsyth: In respect of the White Paper we have gone on record saying that we believe the tax system is at least part of the way to reach social and economic equality. We have made it clear in our statement, and we have circulated that statement widely, that we believe certain groups, institutions and corporations ought to be taxed more heavily in order to reach a greater degree of equity for the average Canadian person. We are also of the opinion, as we have stated here, that we should utilize the faster growth tax areas of the federal sector in order to provide for income maintenance payments and in order to take some of the pressure off the provinces which have to use the slower growth tax areas, the more regressive tax fields which have a more punishing effect on the poor. S

we think there are tax methods that could be used to advantage to achieve greater social equity and to achieve a better degree of distribution of the burden of taxation in the Canadian society. We feel that those things can be moved ahead with at this time.

We also believe that there are certain actions that need to be taken now if we are not going to increase the scale of the problem which your committee is so effectively exploring now. Surely we should not now increase the number of poor. If we wait two or three years before doing the just thing in terms of the old, the economically weak and vulnerable, then all we will have done, while you are exploring the poverty problem, is to increase the problem! Not only is that intolerable. It is unnecessary. Action ought to be taken now to keep the situation in balance while you begin to put together the over-all strategy to meet the problem.

Dr. MacDonald: May I express my slight reaction to Senator Fournier's (Madawaska-Restigouche) expressed fear or concern about the White Paper not being implemented owing to the reaction of the Canadian public? The reaction which has been received has been in large part, (with the exception, for example, of the brief from this board, statements from this board and a few other groups), the reaction has been in large measure from those who have been in a position to immediately grasp some of the implications of the White Paper as it affected them, and these groups have been in a position where they could mount a public campaign defending the position which they take in objection to certain aspects of the White Paper. Whereas people such as those in the "Just Society" movement around the Toronto area...

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Where did you say that was, sir?

Dr. MacDonald: ...and other of that economic bracket have not been able to do this sort of thing and have not even been able to master some of the elementary principles of it as it affects them. This is probably why. May I ask if Mr. Secord, who moves in the area, could comment on this?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I quite agree with you on that point, sir.

Dr. MacDonald: Thank you.

The Chairman: Mr. Secord, would you like to add to this?

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Dr. MacDonald: This is as to what can be done.

Mr. Donald Secord, Executive Member, Board of Evangelism and Social Service: Certainly, the trade union movement generally supports the White Paper on Taxation. It has some criticisms to offer but, in principle, it does support it fully. Certainly, my own organization does—which, I am happy to say, has been socially oriented since its inception some 62 years ago—but we can do much more than we have done. Unfortunately, there has been a reaction and, I might say, a reaction from some trade union people to the White Paper which perhaps is to be expected since they are human and see themselves in the middle income group. Some of the more fortunate see themselves adversely affected, but that does not alter the fact that the trade union movement generally does support it and feels a great deal more can be done in producing social equity than has been done in the past.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I would like to go back to the brief. On page 19, in the last line, you mention "1 per cent or less welfare 'cheating'". Where do you get that 1 per cent?

Dr. Forsyth: I am glad you asked me that. It comes from a study that was actually done in Calgary which revealed, after really careful analysis, as I understood the nature of the study, that you had about a 1 per cent level where the question would be raised that "cheating" took place. I think this would be generally true.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Is that moneywise or individually? Is that 1 per cent in dollar values or individual values?

Dr. Forsyth: This would be 1 per cent of cases, of numbers, not dollars.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I have a different opinion on that, but I do not think I will open up an argument.

I would like to take the education issue, and then I will pass to somebody else, because I am dissatisfied with our program on education, for many reasons, especially at the working level. There are many places where I think we are working in the dark, and it is very expensive and we are not getting any-

where. But you have a statement on page 28, the third paragraph, where you say that 1,500 of 18,000 juvenile delinquents who had been in court were functionally illiterate. I do not think that is a very bad figure, if those are the uneducated boys.

Dr. Forsyth: They are functionally illiterate. In Canada, where I presume most of us tend to pride ourselves on the fact that this is a country with universal education and everybody goes to school, we are in fact talking about the fact that in 1967, 8.32 per cent of juvenile offenders were persons who had Grade IV, V or less of an education. Which means that in terms of work opportunities of our society they are functionally illiterate.

This is the information that was given to the House of Commons. Certainly, in our judgment, this is just another signal that is going up to suggest that we have a critical problem in the field of illiteracy that nobody is tackling.

Dr. MacDonald: It is a situation that they do not accept in Japan.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): The education problem could be open for a long discussion, and I will not touch on it.

You have made a remark here which I do not quite agree with. You suggest that the streets of Harlem should be left to the city.

The Chairman: On what page?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Page 39. I think that is quite a radical statement to make.

The Chairman: What is the statement?

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): This is page 39, the politics of poverty in Harlem. I lived in Harlem on two different occasions, going to a school there in 1949 and 1958. I lived on 158th Street, which is the main street of Harlem. I lived with coloured people. I think the whole thing about the City of Harlem, the cleanness of the streets and the conduct of the people, is a problem of education. I do not believe you can blame these people too much for what they are doing and the way they behave. They have to live in the streets on these hot summer days in Harlem and New York City. Although there has been a lot of improvement and some of these ghettos are being torn down, I

think it is a very strong statement to throw at these people.

Dr. Forsyth: Fortunately, it is Mr. Clark's statement and not ours. The point is, of course, that you are dealing with an area, you well know, with 10,000 people living in a single block. What he is trying to point out is that while it is a very worthwhile thing for a citizen group to go out and clean the street yet, in the long haul, this is the wrong move because what they really should be doing is to pressure the authorities to provide a better clean-up service for the streets of the area.

In the part of Toronto where I live, the chaps come around to pick up the garbage twice a week and then they come around in the middle of the week to pick up the rubbish from raking up your back lawn, and so on.

It is a fact of life in American cities, and perhaps elsewhere, in this country too, that in the poor urban area the pressures are not on from the citizens to provide that kind of service and, consequently, the garbage does not get picked up in west-side Chicago or south-side Chicago. It just does not get picked up and you have to exert terrific public pressure to get it picked up.

What Mr. Clark is suggesting is that the real task of the citizen group is the political kind of activity that begins to get responses from the Civic administrative structures to provide the services they provide to other elements of the community. We are using this reference merely to agree that this is a desirable effort on the part of citizen groups, and that their task is not just to go around doing happy little projects down the back alley. We have to get a more basic kind of citizen response.

Senator Fergusson: Do we have the same problem in Canadian cities? Is there a difference between the way the garbage is picked up in the slums and the way it is picked up in places where the middle-class people live?

Dr. MacDonald: In as much as I work in not a slum area, but an area that has been run down for some time, I think we see at least part of the difference Dr. Forsyth has pointed to. In Forest Hill in Toronto, for example, the people are away on the weekend. Their children are away, and they are away on vacations in the summer. The children are not, as a rule, playing on the street and there are parks where they can play.

In downtown Toronto the children do not have this opportunity to get away to the summer cottage, the vacation resorts and the conservation parks unless an organization such as the church or Central Neighbourhood House provides a bus and takes them. So they do play on the streets and this sort of thing happens. I would not say the collections are any less frequent in that area, but certainly the results are not the same.

Senator Inman: But does it not boil down to the matter of education and people being taught not to litter up the streets?

Dr. MacDonald: I suppose it is a problem, but when the children have no place else to play, they play on the streets. This is their backyard to play in and they cannot be expected to do the impossible because they are children with no supervision.

Dr. Forsyth: There is also the fact that garbage is a function or a consequence of density. When you have tremendously high density in a city core area, then you have an escalation of the garbage problem. And we must remember that in Canada many cities do not have recreation facilities in the core, they are mostly on the outside. I worked in the core area of Winnipeg in a parish which sponsored community service programs. We just could not get a pool in the area. They were all out in suburbia and not in the core of the city. Now this was not the result of any malicious plot. It was simply that the public there did not have any political clout. The situation is the same in many other places, and this is why citizens' groups are beginning to create pressure time and again to have this rectified.

Dr. MacDonald: I think we have to remember that while it is all right to say about people in this situation that the children should be taught to do this and to do that, we must keep in mind the facts of the situation. What is a mother to do who is living on welfare in a ramshackle house where all she can do is to provide the bare necessities and so keep body and soul together. She is not going to take time nor does she have the willpower or inclination to encourage the children to pick up paper off the streets. This may be part of the crux of the problem and again has to do with the density of which Dr. Forsyth was speaking.

Senator McGrand: On page 2 of your brief you refer to inflation and you say that it is a

difficult and urgent problem and that you are not prepared to accept as solutions measures that have the effect of forcing many thousands into poverty and pushing others who are now poor more deeply into deprivation. I am not clear what you had in mind in this. What conditions were you thinking of?

Dr. Forsyth: Well, if you carry out a braking of the economy to the extent that you create rising unemployment, then you will be forcing people who are on a marginal income and those who are unemployed and do not have an adequate income, more deeply into poverty.

Senator McGrand: I agree with you. Now let us take a province with about 600,000 people and 10 per cent of that population, 60,000 people, are on welfare. Now this involves burdens on both the social and economic structures. Now if you were asked to design a program for the eradication of poverty and low incomes, how would you proceed? What would be the steps you would take? In my opinion, poverty and low incomes come from the lack of natural resources within a province or within an area or from the inadequate development in use of resources. Can you give me some idea as to how you would attack the question of poverty in low income areas in a part of Canada such as I have described?

Dr. Forsyth: Well, first of all, I do not think you can isolate that segment of the community from the rest of the national network, so to speak. Therefore you have to deal with the realities of the situation and take into account a large number of people who are in need. So perhaps the first solution would be basic income assistance, and it seems to me that here we can use, if we want to do so, the instruments of our federalism and put the responsibility for basic income maintenance services where I think they belong. In my view that is on the federal side, through whatever techniques we can use. We should also make use of existing programs and greatly increase the benefits and this in turn would be helpful to thousands of families who are in need. This in turn would lead to a very important development, in my view, and that would be to strengthen the economic base for these thousands of families and thus help to stabilize their situation.

This would help that province or community to shift its priorities into two important

areas. First, economic development services and secondly, the field of community development and education. By using the possibilities of our federalism to supply income maintenance from the federal level we are also providing a basic stabilizing factor in our society. There is no great virtue in arranging these schemes so that we encourage people to move who have no capacity within themselves for moving. What I think we need to do is to stabilize people in the community and provide real mobility opportunities for their children. If we are thinking of just moving people from the Maritimes or from the rural hinterland anywhere into metropolitan areas where they are very likely to go under, we are making a bad mistake. We should provide some basic income in such a fashion as to stabilize the community base and then work on the educational aspect where the children are concerned so that the children in turn will be more genuinely mobile.

By this I do not mean the random mobility of people moving from place to place aimlessly because they cannot do anything.

Senator McGrand: In other words, the maximum development of resources within an area so as not to have people travelling like gypsies from one city to another.

Dr. Forsyth: Yes. So often at the present time what is involved is a sort of aimless shifting of our population. But if we could provide the kind of income security that will allow the family to have economic stability, then in turn you could almost literally program the mobility of the children along total economic and social development lines. There are areas in various provinces where there are no basic resource possibilities available and other areas where there has been faulty development. Now I think we can stabilize it, but we have to look at the situation within the entire Canadian context.

Dr. MacDonald: I think we must also remember that we have to include our people as one of our greatest natural resources.

The Chairman: Senator McGrand does. There is no doubt about that.

Senator McGrand: I could go on all morning, but I shall not do that. What I was going to say is this, that we are both familiar with the Province of New Brunswick, and we know of rural areas that have stood up over the time, and we know of other rural areas,

with equal natural resources, that have simply disappeared and eroded, as you say. The services have eroded; the population has eroded; and now there is nothing there. Unless something is done to keep the spark of life and development alive in the areas that are standing up then the whole thing is going to eventually collapse.

The Chairman: Let me see if I understand what the Church is saying. Its representatives have been saying important things all morning, but I think something very important was said just a few minutes ago. The Church is talking about income from the federal Government, services from the provincial Government, and the delivery of services under the Canada Assistance Act.

We have been talking about that, and we think that has much merit. It is an excellent idea. What you are saying is very important. It is that income maintenance—whatever we decide as a matter of income maintenance—as it goes to the man in the rural area, as it goes to the man in the urban area, as it goes to the man in the very large city, is to be the same. It has that stabilizing effect. You are saying something very vital and important, as I understand it. That is your contribution.

Dr. Forsyth: Yes. It seems to me that one of the prerequisites of really dealing with the problems of poverty is to stop looking at poverty as a one generation phenomenon, and to look at it across a time stream.

Then it seems to me the next thing you want to ask is: What kind of policy shapes or thrusts can you create that will stabilize the human situation enough to give you a chance to win the battle? I cannot for the life of me see how you are going to stabilize the human situation if all you are doing is condemning whole areas and the people who live in them to a frantic kind of mobility that gets nowhere and accomplishes nothing.

At page 23 of our submission we use a rather curious term. We say:

If our rural programs continue to deal in piecemeal fashion with economic and product crises while we ignore the need for viable 'rurapolitan' models...

This is a kind of "in" term with us at the moment. We had a gentleman speak to us recently about "rurapolitan" networks. The point is that we do have metropolitan networks, then there is the interface to that, there is the rurapolitan network. I think the

and of thing that Senator McGrand is talking about is precisely the kind of thing that is part of a ruralopolitan network. It is not just enough to go in and do a specific kind of program in isolation. What you really want to do is look at a big enough chunk of a rural system and say: What kind of total schematic network can you develop here that will be supportive of people as human beings, and that will use such resources and possibilities as there are for economic and social development purposes?

I think we need to look at that type of model.

If we did look at it we would realize that there are some alternatives to just going on and on, always thinking about problems of the cities. If we allow this gross erosion of all our rural systems in Canada I think we will be making a terrible mistake. Because there are people left who do not migrate to Saskatchewan; there are people who do not move to Athabasca or Saint John; there are people who are going to be in the rural areas of Cape Breton or the hinterland of British Columbia. The question is: How can we provide enough income maintenance to stabilize the human situation so that we can begin to put together, as much as we can, some effective networks and programs for socio-economic development.

The Chairman: There is some failure in what you are saying, but you are certainly talking the truth this morning—as you always do, anyway. What you are saying, in effect, is that to some extent we have lost the battle for the older people, and we might as well admit it. We can stabilize them and give them an income that will let them carry on within their community, but if we provide education and other facilities for the children, we can win with them.

Dr. Forsyth: Sir, I would have to put it in a different way. I would say that we have not lost the battle with the old people. We have not even tried to fight it. The point is that the thing you want to do surely has to be appropriate to the group that you are trying to serve. I think that if you want to win the battle with the older people you have to realize that it will not be fought on the same terms on which you are required to fight it to win with the kids. To win with the kids means to give them a different kind of mobility for a new kind of twenty-first century society. To win it for the adults means to

provide them with some kind of dignity and economic stability as human beings. I do not think we are winning either battle.

The Chairman: What I said was that we can stabilize the communities that we were talking about with income maintenance for the old, and at the same time we can provide educational training and other facilities for the young to give them that mobility that they may require.

Dr. Forsyth: That is right.

The Chairman: I do not mind telling you that is the present thinking of this committee. The committee is thinking in those broad terms. How we get there, of course, is another matter.

Dr. Forsyth: It seems to me that there is another matter that begins to intrude at that point, because this is really the case for winning the battle in appropriate ways for each group.

The Chairman: Yes.

Dr. Forsyth: To us this means that if you look realistically at the tax possibilities and the revenue possibilities for the various levels of government, then the only way by which you can really seriously expect to generate the amount of dollars needed for income maintenance purposes is by locating the priority or the paramountcy on the federal side.

But this does not intrude upon or erode provincial dignity. On the contrary it means that the provinces have a chance to begin to move in new ways in the community. It is not just enough to provide a source of stabilized income for the older folk in a community. What really matters is what you do in terms of human development and community development that make that place where they live a meaningful place to live, and what kinds of services go in—adult education, supportive services, and everything else.

Many provinces are hard pressed to find the resources to provide precisely those services, and they never will unless we shift the burden of income maintenance off their shoulders, and allow them to move in their more restricted tax fields to provide support services in new ways.

The Chairman: You are confirming the views that have already been expressed around this table.

Dr. MacDonald: I do not want to sound the least bit flippant here, but I lived in New Brunswick, in the Miramichi, for three years, and at that particular juncture of history it seemed to me that their greatest natural resource was Yvon Durelle. What I am saying there is that you could get busloads of people to go some place to see Yvon Durelle fight, but you could not get busloads of people to go some place to discuss the problems of the fishermen or the farmers. This is the point.

Senator Pearson: You say at page 17:

We recommend that the Special Senate Committee on Poverty issue an interim report at the earliest practicable date this spring.

What position do you think this committee is in now to be able to make an interim report that will be of any value to anybody?

Dr. Forsyth: Sir, we think that it is pretty obvious from a perusal of the testimony you have received, and the comments that the members of your committee have made, that this committee has a real concern that we try in Canada to arrest the problem of poverty. Therefore, we are specific in our suggestion that the interim report should appeal for immediate action in areas where we think that immediate action is, first of all, possible, and secondly, where it is urgent—that is to say, in terms of improving the situation for old age security recipients, those receiving the guaranteed income supplement or benefits under unemployment insurance; plus an appeal to the provinces to effect a similar upgrading of benefits under workmen's compensation, et cetera. An appeal also should be made to both federal and provincial governments for action in the field of social assistance, because the squeeze is on in various areas to keep these costs down. We feel that it would not improperly prejudice or shape your ultimate findings and recommendations if you were to say "Surely to goodness, while we reach for that we do not want to permit the situation of thousands of Canadians to become worse." There is a responsibility confronting Canadian society and a real moral authority residing in this committee. That interim report would be an appeal to the nation, using that authority. You are better judges than we as to the risks and pressures.

Senator Pearson: If we made a suggestion that the federal and provincial governments should up their ante on all welfare programs

at this time, it would be a real battle as to where to get this money. Where do these governments get the money all of a sudden?

Dr. Forsyth: The federal Government is declaring a surplus in the budget papers have.

Senator Pearson: Most of the programs are provincial.

Dr. Forsyth: The federal Government is paying 50 per cent of it. They can pump money into the unemployment insurance fund and provide the guaranteed income supplement. The surplus is there as an anti-inflationary instrument. We do not regard the using of that surplus to provide for the basic needs and minimum income of the poor of our society as inflationary. Therefore we regard it as properly related to the purposes for which the surplus was set aside. As far as the provinces are concerned, several of them have declared a modest surplus, and we suggest that they look at some of their own spending, erect fewer educational monuments and use the buildings year round instead of letting the faculty go off for the whole summer for five months.

The Chairman: While we are on this subject, first let me assure you that we considered the possibility of an interim report some time ago. We decided that it was not the part of wisdom or good judgment for us to run in hurriedly with a report, even though it had basis, facts and justice. The difficulty, and you and your colleagues know it as well as anyone, is that in looking at the poor we study the hospitalization aspect one day, the medical and housing aspect the next day, income the next day. We get quick solutions to this, quick solutions to that, and in the end we get nothing. We have dissatisfied people. We decided—the chairman has repeated it many times—that we are going to look at this problem of poverty in its totality. We know and you know, gentlemen, that the Government said it would have a white paper in February. Problems have arisen and it has been delayed until June. The white paper will deal with welfare and unemployment insurance matters. It may deal with priorities and many other concerns far more effectively than anything we can do on a short term. For us to walk in with a bit of patchwork, piecemeal, and try to fix priorities would be a fatal mistake at this time for this committee. We must do a total job and make complete

recommendations covering every aspect of poverty in this country. We have this responsibility and time is not our enemy. We have to take our time and consider this in every possible aspect.

The chairman has already talked out of turn once in the presence of others with respect to old age security. The Government will have its own views and if we have views we will have to express them at a later date by way of recommendations.

Dr. MacDonald: There is a sense, Mr. Chairman, in which time is your enemy, if I may put it as bluntly as that in apposition to what you said. There is a growing body of people in Canada whose eyes are focused on this committee. They are disenchanted, not from the point of view of casting their vote, but from having any say in what their destiny is to be and just what the result may be in the long, hot summer, if it is long and hot. One cannot say. There is a sense in which there is a great deal of urgency about this. We would not suggest for a moment that you should make statements which would tie your hands eventually for the final product of the committee, but certain aspects which appear to be clear now as to direction ought to be made public.

The Chairman: You are asking us to fix priorities. Everyone around this table is in favour of doing something along the lines you suggest. I do not think it is our business to fix priorities at this stage. We agree there is a great danger with respect to the elderly, who may not be here. We have been out to the public with open meetings. If they have something to say, we are listening.

We have a full month in April, holding hearings every Tuesday and Thursday. We have all of May to hear the provinces, who must be heard. We are adjourning on June 25. This afternoon we shall be discussing our movements in July and August when we will be travelling to provinces. Forty-three new organizations have just asked to be heard. They are all important and we are going to have to close the door at some time. There is just so much we can do. We cannot rush this. It would be folly on our part if we did not hear everyone who wishes to be heard. Whether or not they have anything to contribute does not make any difference. If participatory democracy is to work, they have to be heard. Much as we wish to do so, the making of precipitous decisions at this time

would not be helpful to the overall view the committee will have to take in the final analysis.

Dr. Forsyth: Obviously the committee has to be the judge of its appropriate procedure. In defence of our suggestion, we were not unaware of the dilemma you face in trying to hear those who wish to be heard and trying to respond to the concerns of many groups and to devise with your own research group the proposals you would recommend at the end of your work.

If you look at the specific things we are suggesting as part of an interim report you will discover, I think, that with one exception they are merely obviously ad hoc improvements in existing programs to keep the situation stabilized so that it will not get worse in view of the fact that there are increasing numbers of persons who will be up against need in the coming months. The one exception concerns a query we had about the anti-inflationary policies that are currently being used, and there we felt there might be a little fellow feeling in this group with the approach Senator Lamontagne advocated.

All the specific suggestions are in relation to existing programs, which in our judgment are artificially held down in a situation where there needs to be some adjustment. So we did try to be fairly careful not to pre-judge, or try to suggest that you pre-judge, the directions you wanted to go in terms of total policy. Rather the interim report we were suggesting would merely be an ad hoc response that you might make to the Government, using existing program mechanisms creatively so as to make the situation more stable economically for needy persons. At the same time such a report would not pre-judge the directions in which you as a committee might properly want to go only after you had heard all those who want to be heard and had the fruits of your own research.

Senator Pearson: I think this committee is very cognizant of the urgency that you put into your brief. We have run across this same urgency at our meetings in the cities we have been to across Canada. Poverty has gone on for centuries. It is not something new. It is a very disastrous situation today, and we recognize that fact. At the same time, we have to come up with a program that is different and will do some good, not just a piecemeal affair that we have always had—all sorts of welfare programs, with one group after another sug-

gesting different cures. We have to come up with something definite. At least, we are hoping to come up with something definite. That is why we have to take our time over it, and I cannot see the value of this idea of an interim report at all.

The Chairman: My own feeling is that if we started piecemeal we would jeopardize the income maintenance portion that is so important to the whole concept of tackling poverty. That would be my great fear. We have to come up with one concept and work from there. If we began diffusing it we would get no place.

Senator Pearson: On page 3 of the brief you talk about the Economic Council of Canada and their recommendations for a guaranteed income, and the figures they put forward as necessary under this guaranteed income plan. Would you as a body think that the guaranteed annual income would overtake or replace all the other different welfare programs? Would it overtake, for instance, medicare or take the place of the Red Cross or the Institute for the Blind etc.?

Dr. Forsyth: I would not think so. Our assumption is that there will probably be created a mechanism that would finally break welfare loose from its relationship to income provision and allow it to take the form of human and social development. Therefore you will probably open the way to a greater diversity, and I think a more creative development of support service networks in the community, using such programs as medicare and hospitalization programs as part of that basic network in our society.

The Chairman: The question Senator Pearson asked you specifically was: if we have maintenance income, what need is there for the blind allowance?

Dr. Forsyth: I am sorry, I was thinking of the Institute for the Blind.

The Chairman: No, the blind allowance or for the crippled, or any of those.

Dr. Forsyth: Categorical programs, yes.

The Chairman: Did you see the interesting article in the *Toronto Star* by two young fellows from Queen's University?

Dr. Forsyth: Yes.

The Chairman: They had made some study of this, and we know something about it.

They indicated that there would be a saving of \$4.66 billion as against the \$6.5 billion that is now spent. They were two young men who had been highly recommended and made a study of it. It appeared in the *Toronto Star* the other day, in which they said one could do away with so many programs that there would be a great saving.

Dr. Forsyth: There would be a terrific recovery.

The Chairman: They used the figure \$4.66 billion as against over \$6 billion otherwise spent.

Dr. Forsyth: Yes, I would think that categorical programs of that type would go. I thought reference was being made to the agency of CNIB as such, the provision of support service to the blind and so on.

Senator Pearson: I was thinking that each individual would become self-supporting and able to look after himself to some extent, although he would have to have CNIB assistance. He would support himself within the CNIB program.

Dr. MacDonald: I think that what would happen with the introduction of the guaranteed annual income is that some of us who are now spending time trying to devise ways of supplementing an inadequate living allowance for people would be free to do the job we are supposed to be doing, such as helping and counselling these people.

Senator Inman: On page 44 of the brief you say:

We are very conscious that there are parishes and congregations that do not sense any obligation to risk themselves and their resources in actions in support of the weak or the poor.

Is this not a very unusual attitude in churches?

Dr. Forsyth: I think we have to be frank and concede that there are congregations that regard themselves as ecclesiastical service stations, comfort stations for themselves. They are dedicated to the principle of stroking themselves so that they can go away and feel better.

Senator Inman: I come from the Maritimes, and I think we take our religion more seriously.

Dr. Forsyth: You do not have that problem there! Dr. MacDonald has been down there long enough to keep them more alive than that.

Senator Inman: On page 3 of appendix C you remark about the problems of poverty and of putting men and women in jail for relatively minor offences. For many years I was in the position where I saw many great hardships that came to the families of these men and women.

In the case of women with families and no husbands, very often the child welfare societies took care of the children, but in the case of men I have seen families go through great hardships. What alternative would you suggest to putting a man in jail. Have you had any suggestions with regard to what might be done? These families, by the way, did not have access to government aid because the husbands were in jail.

Dr. Forsyth: There are a lot of fellows in jail because we do not use instalment plan fines. A lot of them are in jail because we do not use a system of suspended sentences as creatively as perhaps we might. There are many families in which break-ups occur because we do not use the system where fellows can go out to work and spend a period of time in the evenings in jail as an alternative to the usual kind of incarceration. Frankly, I think sometimes people are in jail when they would be far better off in situations of group therapy which deal with the real problems. They may be in jail for drinking offences. When you get affluent enough your alcoholism assumes a different character and you have other kinds of institutions available.

Senator Inman: Of course, if they are affluent to that extent the families are not suffering.

Dr. Forsyth: When you are poor and drunk, you go to jail and it is really the most inappropriate place to put someone. When you were in Prince Edward Island, for example, you saw the consequences of utilizing already inadequate jails as havens for persons there for drinking offences. They would be far better off in half-way houses.

Senator Inman: I know that some go to jail because it is the easiest way to spend the winter.

Dr. Forsyth: It would have to be a tough winter for it to be a reasonable alternative.

Senator Inman: There was an old chap from Nova Scotia who committed some little fault. My husband said to him, "Jim, how is it that every year I have to sentence you and put you in jail?" He said, "I am well fed and I am warm and I don't have to work."

Dr. Forsyth: You know, there is another famous story of the fellow who showed up Monday mornings in Hoboken, New Jersey before the magistrate on a drunk and disorderly charge. Finally the magistrate said to him, "Look, Sam, why do you always come up before me Monday mornings and why do you always get drunk Friday night or Saturday night?" So the fellow said, "How does a poor man leave Hoboken, New Jersey unless he gets drunk?"

Part of the dilemma in some of these situations is that you have an awful lot of human frustration and human damage and it seems stupid to me to compound this through the use of the jail, as the place where you locate such people, rather than to really grapple with the human problem. Of course, part of the problem is that various communities do not have supportive services to deal with these people.

Senator Inman: I quite agree that there should be some change made with regard to the fines and sentences. On page 14 would you like to comment with regard to your last paragraph:

Long-term strategies to eliminate poverty seem lacking in credibility, in our view, if in the present crisis and stress we revert to the traditional method of asking the poor to bear the heaviest human and economic costs to keep the "system" working!

Would you comment on what you mean by that?

Dr. Forsyth: This is why we feel that some remedial action is necessary now in a situation where we are presumably dedicated to the cause of combatting inflation. The people who are really being asked to bear the great burden are the economically vulnerable—the poor, the unemployed and the ones who are going to be unemployed. This is the price we are paying when a poor chap has to be out of work and go down to the unemployment insurance and get an inadequate benefit. This

is what we have to pay to keep the system working. We do not find this credible any longer and we do not think, with the resources available in Canada, that it is necessary that we only have this option. If it is indeed necessary that a man, because of economic shifts, be out of work, we do not think it is necessary that that man should receive benefits inadequate to keep himself and family at some decent level. For that reason we are not prepared to accept that it is inflationary or improper to expect that our society will take the remedial action to cushion the effect of our fiscal policies on the vulnerable and the weak. We do not see that there is any sense for this happening at the present time. Our concern, as Dr. MacDonald expressed it earlier, is that there is a great credibility gap beginning to show up in various parts of this country, indeed, throughout our Canadian society. If we use the "tried and true" method which bears on the weak, the credibility of our long term commitment to deal with poverty is going to be pretty frail.

Senator Inman: On page 15 of the brief you say:

As the work of your committee has shown, a fundamental re-statement of policy must take place and new styles of service must be developed. Axioms have to be challenged; assumptions examined.

What new styles of service must be developed?

Dr. Forsyth: Mr. Chairman, maybe Miss Jackson would be the most appropriate one to respond to that question.

Miss Jackson: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that in the new style of service I would hope that we could move towards a partnership. I have been in direct service now for a number of years and we have been very used to doing things for people. We have been less used to listening and less used to working with them in any kind of a partnership. I think this is something we are beginning to learn and it is something that is going to change the styles of service. The styles of service will change when we separate income maintenance from service. We have become confused as to our attitudes.

I go back to the point that the poor must come into partnership with us and we must respond to their needs. We already have considerable evidence that there is much that

they can do for themselves and will do for themselves. In fact, in many instances they will become the helpers.

Senator Inman: I quite agree with that. We did come across some of the briefs which were presented to us when we were out and they showed that people really try to help themselves and I think that could probably be fostered.

Dr. Forsyth: One example is that you have the trade union movement becoming involved in organizing small-scale industries and enterprises, and so on. In a sense, this is the traditional role for the trade union movement, to keep pushing away, organizing, at the vulnerable centre.

But what happens in the trade union movement at the present time is that they are also prepared to put a different kind of organizer into the field to work along with Indian people, to provide some kind of development thrust with them as partners in the field, and this is the whole development process.

That is a new style, but it is a very appropriate one for the trade union movement to move into.

Senator Inman: Has not there recently been something like that started among the Metis?

Dr. MacDonald: Some weeks ago, senator, in the *Toronto Star* there was a report about a community in the United States, I have forgotten which one. They selected this community and for a period of a year they gave it a guaranteed annual income which was above the welfare allowance which other communities received. They discovered that once some of these families received this sum of money, they developed a certain respect for themselves, that they go out and buy things for themselves. Then they started to look for employment to supplement their income, and they were allowed to do this in the terms of the experiment—to supplement the income so that they really would be able to live like the others.

The Chairman: You are talking about Trenton, New Jersey—that is our gospel. As a matter of fact there have been quite a number of American experiments.

Now, I have a question. Miss Jackson is a social worker of considerable prestige and renown. She has been in the business for some time. Dr. Forsyth has been around for some time and knows the social background.

But why has not this partnership been brought about a little sooner in the church that we are now talking about? What has been holding it back all this time? I will go one step further, and understand what I am saying, please. We have had a minimum of spiritual leaning in our briefs here that we have had before us. That is surprisingly so. It surprises us and surprises other persons. We do not quite know why. I do not know, anyway. There you are. You tell us.

Dr. MacDonald: If I may come back to that. I am sure the others will have something to say about this. I don't know Mr. Secord's reading of the history of trade unionism but my reading of the history of trade unionism in Great Britain, for example, is that the trade union movement grew up out of the Methodist class meeting. The Tolpuddle martyrs were all lay readers in the Methodist church. George Lovelace, who is buried in Fanshawe here within the Province of Ontario was one of them.

The history of the labour movement in its inception was the lay Methodist class meeting reader getting alongside of the people. This was the history in Great Britain. There was a different kind of history in the United States, but a lot of this spirit still holds.

Your second point, about the paucity of spirituality, is it, in the briefs which have come to you. This is probably partly the "new theology," that says that the thing we are doing here today is spiritual, that what we are standing for here is spiritual, that the whole fabric of life is infused with the spirit, that the Christ is where people are, and that God can be just as present here in this Senate room chamber as he is at our meeting of session or at a revival campaign.

Dr. Forsyth: I was regarding this whole enterprise this morning as a midrash on Isaiah!

Mr. Chairman, you talk about the partnership. The theological school that I have my roots in happens to be one of the centres in Canada of the social gospel, in Winnipeg. And out of that school came Woodsworth.

I think the connections were pretty clear between the social gospel movement that came up through Europe, through the United States into our area, and that kind of spill over into social and political concerns and activism—I think that the partnership that

you are talking about has been pretty slow in coming in many quarters.

What we have all been frustrated by—some of us in different community situations for years—is the fact that hitherto we have lived, in a simpler kind of society. There were individual tracks and systems that had their separate identity. You had an educational track; you had the church system; you had the social welfare system. There were nice connections between them from time to time. But there was a certain tidiness about it. You worked your own area.

Now all that tidiness is all blown to pieces.

I think that some of us who have been in community situations—certainly, Dr. MacDonald has been, for a great many years before he came to Toronto—have realized that separateness had to break down.

It is only gradually dawning on people that we have that troublesome and ineffective kind of separateness of the delivery of service—the separateness, for example, of the Government agency as against the private agency. It is hard to get partnerships. One of the reasons you do not get day care use of CAP money is because the governments have a real sense of resistance to letting those moneys go out of their hands into the hands of a private agency that is able to provide ancillary services. It is that hard.

It is much the same with the churches. But that kind of thing just will not do any longer. It is a slow business breaking it down. You have had enough testimony before this committee to know how darn difficult it is to get people past it, seeing things only from their own narrow perspectives. If they are in the Department of Labour, for example, or sometimes in agencies they look at things only from that point of view. That is the whole problem.

The Chairman: We are trying to look beyond the old age security system.

Dr. Forsyth: Oh, we thought you were balking at our interim report proposal, and those recommendations!

Senator Cook: With my other colleagues, I would like to thank the delegation for the excellent brief. It tells a great deal and we have learned a lot from it. The witnesses have demonstrated their concern and their knowledge of the problem.

Having said that, I want to say one little word about the Young White Paper on taxa-

tion. I had known a little about taxation from the other side of the fence. Bearing in mind we are in North America and not in Sweden or Japan, but in North America—and it is not only the ability to pay which counts, it is the fact that there are certain economic limits to the amount of taxation that can be extracted from the Canadian people and Canadian business and industries. I get the impression that there are some very astute and well informed people in the Department of Finance who have turned the screws as tightly as they possibly can turn them and any taxation which can be extracted they are going to extract. I think that we are going to be disappointed, in the reaction of the Canadian people to the White Paper. I doubt if there is very much additional taxation going to come from it, simply because of the fact, as I say, there are economic limits on the amount of taxation you can extract.

Having said that, I turn to page 24 and there you say:

The costs of such a transformation of benefits would not be excessive, if benefits became taxable income, and if tax exemptions for children and youth were reduced or eliminated...

I understood Dr. Forsyth to say that the gross cost would be \$1.8 billion.

Dr. Forsyth: Yes, that is my estimate. That is trebling the amount we are now paying.

Senator Cook: And then you said the recovery would be about 40 per cent.

An hon. Senator: 50 per cent?

Senator Cook: Taking it as 50 per cent. The 50 per cent of \$1.8 billion is \$900 million. But then do I understand you to say that the total cost is going to be \$300 million. I am trying to find out the difference.

Dr. Forsyth: The difference is \$300 million. We are now spending over \$600 million. We have half of that, because you are talking about \$300 or \$400 million that you will require of new money.

Senator Cook: The extra will cost \$1.8 billion, do you say?

Dr. Forsyth: The total program will cost that. The new money would be \$300 or \$400 million. The estimate of the federal revenue increases under the White Paper proposals is \$600 million. So it fits inside that, it seems to me.

Senator Cook: Come again?

Dr. Forsyth: The total cost of the program is \$1.8 billion. We are now spending \$600 million. We would recover 40 to 50 per cent maybe. That means that the new money required in addition to the \$600 million we are now spending would be \$300 million, to bring it up to about \$900 million, because you would recover the rest through the tax system. So new money that you would have to find would be \$300 million.

Senator Pearson: Plus \$600 million.

Dr. Forsyth: No, that is in the tax system now. In new money we are talking about \$300 million. The estimates of the generation of new money as a result of implementing the White Paper proposals is \$600 million. It seems to us, on those rough calculations, and admittedly they are rough, it can fit inside federal spending capabilities as well as the improvement to the old age benefits and so on.

So far as we can make some crude estimates, the things that we are proposing are not irresponsible, in terms of the capacity of the tax system to generate the necessary revenues.

Senator Cook: I think probably there is a difference of opinion between us, but leaving that aside for the moment, agreeing with the over-all thrust and assuming that there is not enough money to carry out all that you would like, and that we would like, too, and that you have suggested in the brief, what would be your absolute top priority to have put into effect immediately supposing it could be done?

Dr. Forsyth: Maybe we should poll our group. My absolute top priority would be income maintenance, because I think the whole thing sits on that. I think it is essential.

The Chairman: A guaranteed minimum.

Dr. Forsyth: Either we have to move latterly through existing programs or we have to move some other way, but we have to move to income maintenance. It is essential. We have some apparatus to do that now.

The Chairman: We are doing it now, Dr. Forsyth.

Dr. Forsyth: To a degree, yes.

Senator Cook: You mean universal income maintenance?

Dr. Forsyth: We have to move to an adequate income maintenance program in Canada. It would have to be phased, and we have tried to suggest that the way in which this could be done would be to take one small region and see how that applied to the rest of Canada. We are not competent to judge on what base you would devise a really full-blown guaranteed income program for Canada; whether you would use the negative income tax technique or some other technique; but we have suggested that we should move into a region like Prince Edward Island and design some system and see what happens in Canadian terms, looking at our social security system, Medicare and so on. I really think this is absolutely essential.

Senator McGrand: Why choose Prince Edward Island? I should think you would want to select a place like Newfoundland, or the northern part of Newfoundland where you have the poor fisherman.

The Chairman: What do you say, Senator Cook?

Senator Cook: The matter of top priority was the question, and that has been answered. Perhaps it is not entirely fair to ask what estimate the witnesses have for the cost of that top priority.

Dr. Forsyth: Not really, because the best that we could come up with was to work out the route we would choose, using rough estimates. And so we used the family allowance system and moved latterly to the guaranteed income system. We wanted to suggest a trial reign—Prince Edward Island, northern Newfoundland or anywhere else you would choose—in order to get a definable area from which we could determine what shape the program would take for the whole of Canada. Admittedly, your research facilities are far greater than ours. We are not competent in that area. Nevertheless, we certainly felt that as we developed our approach we had to tackle the income maintenance problem, and we felt that we could use existing programs and move sideways to get where we wanted to in principle without prejudging the style of it.

The Chairman: Dr. Forsyth, reference has been made to the tremendous program underway in New Jersey at the present time, one of

the very important programs in this generation costing billions of dollars.

Dr. Forsyth: Yes, that is right.

The Chairman: Fifty-two of the most competent people available in the United States were picked to work on that program. We have the benefit of seeing their work. Our people have been there. As they produce results we see them. If you take away the aspect of colour, the type of poverty situation under study there is the same as here. Is there any use in our going around and making tests, when such information is available to us in the most sophisticated terms? Thus we are using that as a basis, and if we decide to plunge, well, we will just have to plunge. That is all. If there are some bugs that have to be cleared up, they will have to be cleared up. There will always be bugs.

Dr. Forsyth: Our suggestion is pretty tentative, but it was simply to say all right, there is tremendous data to be learned and extrapolated from the New Jersey experiment and to be applied to Canada. However, the mix in policies is somewhat different here because of the kinds of patterns, Medicare and so on, that are involved, and these things have to readjusted to meet the situation in Canada. We have to go back to Professor Kelly's comment and to the reference on page 22 of our brief which says that if we really want to deal with this problem we can't look at the social security system in isolation, or anything else, for that matter. We have to scrutinize the taxation and expenditure patterns. And if we take Professor Kelly's comment about the needs for coordinated policy seriously, then we have to start somewhere in the Canadian context and determine what we have in Canadian policy, what are the tax patterns and the constitutional differences and the tax fields used constitutionally in Canada as against, for example, New Jersey; and what is the impact therefore of the mix of these policies and how do we adjust these to the Canadian situation? We would hope that we could learn from the New Jersey experiment.

We say that there is a lot of adjusting to do, but we do not suggest the style of it. The best we can come up with is that it is a desirable objective, it is basic and we think we can move laterally through the family allowance, youth allowance system and old age security system toward that point.

The Chairman: Dr. Forsyth, since you are here we are going to take advantage of discussing this with you. We are not without knowledge in this country. Our family allowance is that sort of program. Old age security is. We have more experience in the guaranteed income field than any other country in the world. We are the only people practicing it. If you have read Willard's brief, you will see that he devoted pages to saying that if we are going to go into that sort of scheme he is the person who knows more about it than anybody else. I asked him that question, as a matter of fact, and he said that is what it meant. So we are not without knowledge.

Nevertheless, people in this country are asking us, "Don't you know everything there is to know about poverty by now?" and we have carefully to tell them, "No, we don't know everything because this is the first time in the history of this country that such a study has been done." So we have to go back to the people and say that there must be experimentation here and there. We have to make up our minds and say that in our view this is it. If people don't agree with it, that is another matter, but we hope the Canadian people will.

We have passed the point of too much experimentation. Nobody is trying to talk lightly on these matters, but the maintenance income is going to cost money and the only way to get the money is to tax. It is as simple as that. The Canadian people will have to be prepared to pay that tax, whatever it may be. Let us hope it will be reasonable. I think it will be reasonable. I am satisfied and I think many people are satisfied that it will not be too great a burden.

What we have to do is to make sure and to indicate that the burden will be carried by the right people and not by people who are unable to carry the burden.

The White Paper may help in that respect.

Dr. Forsyth: Mr. Chairman, there should be no misunderstanding. As far as our submission is concerned and as far as our Board is concerned, we accept the guaranteed income approach as a desirable social objective for this country, and we have merely tried to suggest ways in which you can move laterally towards this. So there is no dispute where the objective is concerned. The only thing we think we would also state is that right now part of the dilemma is that some of the existing tax policies, municipal, federal and otherwise are making some of the existing social

programs counter-productive. They destroy them. And we feel that you have to have this kind of policy co-ordination and restatement, because otherwise even the best thing that you propose will be destroyed in its impact. Moreover, the one experience, and the best experience we have of GIS in the old-age security field, has been artificially frozen so that it is not responsive to the changes in cost. And we suggest that that has to be removed if we are going to be realistic. So we go back to the things that you have suggested, and we are not prepared to back off that. We think that this is the one specific experience we have in this country of the guaranteed income approach, and already we have done exactly what we have done historically in all welfare programs, namely, to artificially freeze them because we are really not committed, in my view, to the principle of relating the income of people to the thrust of the economy. Until we are prepared to make that commitment, we are going to start horsing around if we merely move the limit from 2 per cent to 3 per cent.

The Chairman: Just a moment. Let us talk about that for a moment.

Senator Cook: All the doctor is saying is that they have to have a better income too.

Dr. Forsyth: That is exactly what I am saying. We have stated this—and it goes beyond simply tying it to the cost of living.

The Chairman: But it is more than the cost of living. Let us see what your thinking is on this. How do you see the changes that are needed being brought to bear upon the public and the government?

Dr. Forsyth: In the GIS?

The Chairman: Assuming we have a maintenance income and you say we should not freeze it, then how do you see the changes being brought about?

Dr. Forsyth: It seems to me that you are not going to have the program in the first place until there is a commitment through Parliament, and until the Canadian people are prepared to move in this direction, and create a system that is something other than the old welfare system with a new name on it. It seems to me therefore that there are two kinds of ways in which the system as devised has to be responsive. And I think we would learn a lot if we would only to exactly these

things in the GIS we provide under the old-age security program, by the way. In the interim we have some time to learn. But I think the two things we have to be responsive to are the cost of living so that payments should move as the actual costs in the economy go up. But the second thing is in my view just as important. The Canadian Welfare Council touches on it, although they don't explore it very far. That is, there really ought to be a way in which we are not only saying "we will keep you in position in the stream of earnings and income in Canada" but we should also see if there is some way in which we can also make the system responsive so that as the economy grows the share of the person is also enlarged. So he has not only a share in terms of living costs but actually a share of new growth, new wealth generated in the society. If we don't do that, if we are just doing the one and not the other; if we are just saying that all we are going to do is to maintain the income level, the position of relative poverty, so to speak—the relative income level in relation to the society, then as the society starts to take off there is really no mechanism we have that allows all to have a share of that take-off.

The Chairman: The Economic Council in Canada gives us a review and a forecast of the economic outlook for the country and it has great effect on the Government and on the people. Can you foresee a social council on a similar sort of basis to review constantly or annually the various matters of income maintenance and continue recommendations and continue pressures. Do you see that?

Dr. Forsyth: Yes.

The Chairman: Can you see anything better than that?

Dr. Forsyth: Well, I think you would have to provide for certain basic increase possibilities in the statute. We come back to this one again and again. But in terms of provincial welfare programs as they presently exist and the old-age security field and so on, it seems to me that there really ought to be some better way through the statute by which you could provide for the increase of benefits beyond the 2 per cent or any other limit you want to impose.

Senator McGrand: In other words a sliding scale.

Dr. Forsyth: Sure, but it should be written into the statute. I really do not think that you need to have a Social Council of Canada pronounce dogmatically at the beginning of the year "really chaps, we ought to have two or 2.5 per cent this year." I mean I really think it is possible with our technology and competence to respond in that area fairly automatically. But I think the social council idea is critical when you are trying to probe this other matter of which I spoke. That is to say, how do we get more people having a share in what this country is producing in its totality? I think this is very important because what worries me, Mr. Chairman, is that we can probably do more fairly easily to stabilize income levels for people. But this is not the only dimension of people's participation in society.

You know, the little announcement in the "Toronto Symphony Bulletin" the other night told the customers that they are going to have to hike up the rates on tickets next year. I suppose that is tough. The Canada Council cannot put more dollar clout into the orchestra. But the fact of the matter is that there are thousands upon thousands of kids and adults who have no chance to participate in that stream of our subsidized society at all. It is ridiculous to say that people of the less affluent class don't really like that sort of music. I think the same percentage in that class would like that sort of music as now like it in other classes of our society. There are those who like rock and there are those who like Bach. I think we need to have access for both. Now it seems to me that a Social Council could begin to explore that problem and ask themselves "to what degree do we begin to open up opportunities for the real participation of all Canadians in the total wealth of opportunity and life style?" I think that is a critical matter. Perhaps we should have explored that more ourselves, but it is hard to get at.

The Chairman: The one thing that bothers Government, you know, and it may be hard to imagine, but the cost of living could drop. It is one of the things that troubled us in various committees. That is the problem of escalating the amounts and not knowing how to deal with it if by chance the cost of living should drop. Of course it has not happened, but conceivably it could.

Dr. Forsyth: In the years since 1939, has there been any significant lurching down of the cost of living?

The Chairman: It may have happened. On two or three committees that we had to deal with where the question arose, it bothered the people who did the research.

Dr. MacDonald: Would you mind spelling out the dynamics of your statement that it bothers Government if the cost of living drops?

The Chairman: No, they would love to have it drop.

Dr. MacDonald: What are the dynamics of dealing with it?

The Chairman: Well, you are used to receiving 2 per cent increase and suddenly it is down and you are only receiving 1 per cent and it really bothers you. The history of social welfare in this country is that you never reduce it. Once it is there, it stays there and you have to go up.

Dr. Forsyth: The history of social services in this country is always that you are trying to push the ceiling to adequate levels. That is the real history. I cannot think of a more unattractive exercise than trying to forecast the probabilities of a decline in the cost of living. It seems to me that the whole Atlantic economy—the economy of the Western world should have a motto over it: "Excelsior" because if it ever hits the plateau, that is the least it does, and it is always going up.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, I said a while ago that I was interested in training, and I would like to take a minute to talk about the training program and the working poor. In this committee we have not talked very much this morning about the poor. The working poor is a class by itself and falls into the category of illiterate people, and they are the type of people who usually have great difficulties. We have with us this morning a union man who has been very quiet. It is always a pleasure to argue with a union man, even if I find that he wins. I am going to make a statement, and I hope that you will have an answer. Why is it that the union makes it so tough for that class of people?

I will illustrate what I mean to say. Throughout this debate on poverty I think we

have to accept the concept that we have a generation of illiterate people, married men of the age of 35 or 40, who have been living by means of whatever they have. They are not well trained; they are common labour and some are a little better than Grade IV or Grade V. We have a great number in New Brunswick, with the pulpwood and logging on the rivers and working in the mills. We have a training program. At times we say that we are trying to upgrade these people, and we have been fairly successful. However, this is not the answer. I think we have to accept that we will never upgrade these people to the required Grade XII, which is very often insisted upon by unions. I think we have to make a concession with regard to this generation. I think it is a waste of time and money to try to upgrade these people to Grade XII to meet the requirements. We should try to provide them with occupations which will keep them busy at their earning level capacity. If they have not enough money to support their family, then maybe we should pay the balance, to give them a decent income.

We do not do that at the moment when they apply to go to school. As I say, we go to Grade V, and we have them by the thousands. In 52 weeks we try to grade them up to Grade VIII, which is really ridiculous. If we improve their Grade V, that is about all we do, and they had their Grade V when they were at school 20 years ago. The first year it is just reviewing the first four or five years. When they have done a year, they change schools and go to the training school. They go there and they say: "I want to become a barber." "I want to become a mechanic." "I want to be a mason." "I want to be a tailor." So the school says, "No, you cannot take the course; you have not got your Grade XII." I think this is one of the problems we are facing now. I am not convinced by a long way that we need Grade XII to become a barber. Maybe you do for some classes of barber, and I am making allowances. I am not at all convinced that you have to have Grade XII to be employed by a certain company to cut pulpwood, because these people have been cutting pulpwood for 20 years with what they had, and they are good men at their job.

My question was: Why is it that the unions sometimes insist that you have Grade XII to do this type of job, at this stage of the game. Maybe we can insist on it at a later date, with their children, but we have to help the

older man and his family as they are. I say that because we are not going to change them. We have to provide them with employment the way they are. We might subsidize the balance of their income in order to give them a decent standard of living, but to deprive them of an occupation because they have not got Grade XII, which would be impossible to achieve, is ridiculous. What we do in these cases is that we send them home and they become a public charge, from zero up to the full amount of family support. Why are you people so tough on these people?

Mr. Secord: I am not aware that we are. As you were speaking, I was trying to relate this to my knowledge of various organizations. When you mention the cutting of pulpwood, I cannot imagine the International Woodworkers of America demanding Grade XII as an educational level before they would permit pulp cutters in the woods. In fact, the union, as such, has no control over that at all. It is the employer. It is very often the employer, in fact, most often the employer, who demands the educational level.

I can recall the 1930s when Canadian National Railways at one stage, in about 1933, was demanding at least a B.A. before they would hire a man to drive a truck. This had nothing to do with the unions; it simply related to our depression days.

I am not familiar with the craft organizations, only in a very remote sense, because I come from the industrial section of trade unionism. But with regard to the craft unions, yes, in some instances I can understand why a Grade XII would be a minimum requirement to train an electrician, for example, because we simply could not understand the academic end of the training that would be necessary without at least that level, I would say.

No doubt there are certain other crafts which would require it. I agree with you that for a barber I could not imagine a Grade XII being needed, and I do not really know whether the barbers' union really requires it or not.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I agree with about 75 per cent of what you have said. When you said that the unions have no control, I do not agree with that, because I think that between the employer and the union it is a kind of buck-passing affair, where the union says, "We have no control," and the company says, "It is the

unions that do not want to do this sort of thing."

We have asked this question in other places of trade union people. Again, they say it is a buck-passing affair. I remember asking a question in Montreal on another committee, the Immigration Committee. The barbers said it was the Government that insisted on that; that the Government makes the regulations. So, we got after the Government and they said, "We had to make the regulation due to pressure coming from the unions." So the union was passing the buck to the Government, and the Government was passing the buck to the barbers, and it went around in circles like that. However, I will leave it at that. These are the sort of things that happen, and you and I cannot settle that this morning.

Dr. MacDonald: Maybe Grade XII became the requirement when barbers became "men's hair stylists"!

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Possibly Grade I would be enough for some of these hippies we have.

Mr. Secord: I do not visit the barber too much, senator!

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I think that today we have many young people in the training schools who are not there to improve their situation at all, but who are just there for the money that is going to be paid to them. I know many who are there to pass the winter because there is a revenue that comes out of it, not because they are interested. We also have great numbers—and I am pointing out some of the failures I see in the system—of young men taking a course of training for which there is no employment in the area. If a man is wise enough, he will go and cry on the shoulders of the selection officers and will get transferred to another course. Some of them are taking a third course of training, and so on.

Coming back to the working people, the working class which I mentioned, why do we not have a certain semi-skilled system or semi-skilled classification? You go to one of these training schools and you need your Grade XII for entrance, and to graduate you have to get your certification for your training. Only a certain class of people can do that in our day and age. There is only a certain group of people who have the education for it. Why do we not have a program for train-

ing semi-skilled people? Why cannot we say to a person who has had little education: "You will be a semi-skilled electrician, or an electrician's helper"? Why cannot we have plumber's helpers, and motor mechanic's helpers? Why cannot we have the classification of "helper" in the trades instead of having only fully-fledged tradesmen? We seem to jump from zero to sky-high in respect of training. There is nothing in the middle for the working poor. This is the best they can do in life. They either earn their living with that, or become a charge upon society.

I am referring to the unions in this respect. This should be recommended by the unions because they deal with the working people. Why cannot we have this classification of "helper", instead of classifications that call for high degrees of skill?

Mr. Second: Of course, many of the trades do have helpers in training. For example, on the railways there are machinist's helpers. That is a classification as such. If you do not graduate to the grade of a machinist then you may be a helper for a very long time. There are helpers in the printing trades, for example. Those helpers are in the process of becoming journeymen. So, there is a "helper" class in many of the trades, but it is a part of the training program.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): But these people are training for the classification of the fully-fledged tradesman. While they are helpers they naturally have the hope of becoming certified. The class of people to whom I am referring has no hope of getting the fully-fledged certification. They are limited in their opportunities because of their education, their ability, and the conditions in which they live. They are the working poor.

Dr. Forsyth: I think, senator, that we have tried to touch on several areas in this training field because there are a lot of issues of the sort you have mentioned. There is no question but that one of the characteristics of our society is that it is a "Credentials Society". This can be a very good thing, but it can also be very debilitating. Because it can mean that there are class enclaves that shut out other people, where you try to protect your "piece of turf". Some of this can be as phony as a three dollar bill.

Part of the reason why you have difficulty in getting institutional groups to work with each other in practice is because of this kind of enclave. If you go into the university context you can see that they have a terrible time these days with interdisciplinary committees and institutes. It is very difficult for the economist, for example, to cast his pearls before people who are taking psychology. They say: "Good gracious, this is impossible. They would not understand." Yet, this thinking obviously is preventing decent policy formation that requires that we go across disciplinary lines. Even inside the university milieu itself it is hard to build the bridges and get across traditional "compartments of learning".

I think we have to try to suggest that there are other styles that can be used. We have tried to mention the fact that there is a lot that needs to be learned in Canada yet from the manpower studies of this Senate. There are a lot of things that need to be learned from experience in the United States where corporations have engaged in crash programs of training in the work context. Arthur Pear and Frank Reissman have taken the position—and we quote them at page 29—that we have to recognize that this idea that you take training prior to work, in many, many cases dealing with the lower income groups this notion has got to go out the window. The training has to take place *subsequent* to the employment opportunity. This is a whole new game.

I think it is ridiculous, for example, that some of the giant corporations that have an American base, and that are represented in this country, are not really being pushed very hard to carry out the kinds of programs for training of the hard core unemployed and on in Canada that they are carrying out with great effect in various parts of the United States. This is one kind of corporate dividend that we should be able to retain in this country without having it go across the border. I think there ought to be pressures put upon them to do very much more in Canada in the way of generating these programs with the dollars they earn from their operations here instead of taking those dollars back across the border and using them to solve American problems. We have got problems of our own.

At the same time, I think that there are other kinds of ancillary educational agencies that need to go to work with people who have

imited educational backgrounds, so that they may have the type of "helper level" job that you are talking about. This is why we were very much taken with what the Frontier College people had to say, because they are out in the field, as other agencies are. I think, for example, that family agencies and agencies of that type have different kinds of roles to play in the community as partners in adult education and community education work of a style that we have not had before. These are the things we have tried to comment on.

Dr. MacDonald: Mr. Chairman, Senator Fournier has brought up an important thing when he referred to the special attention given to the working poor. You said that we are not under a time ban here, so I would like to take just a minute to tell you of something about which I know. I am not betraying a confidence because I asked the woman concerned directly if I could use this as a case history at such a gathering as this, and she gave me her permission. This is not a bleeding heart story, either.

This is the case of a man who has a Grade 2 education. He has a job in the City of Toronto which he is able to do effectively with his education. He will never be able to advance beyond Grade 2. He is in his fifties. He will get no promotion in the job he is in. His take-home pay is \$60 a week. He and his wife have a family of three children, and with this amount of take-home pay they were totally unable to make ends meet.

One morning the wife came down to find a note on the table saying that her husband had left home, and giving no forwarding address. I understand, as an annex to this, that she knew very well where he went, but he left no forwarding address. She was then able to apply for welfare. She applied for welfare, and she got it.

She receives in the mail periodically an envelope containing a \$20 bill, or a box containing a pair of shoes that happen to fit a certain child. She knows where these things come from. I would suspect that they are able to visit back and forth at the room where he is staying. But, this is the kind of lie into which this man and woman have been driven by their being part of the working poor. This is a factual instance that I could document, but I will go no further because this is the point at which confidentiality would be broken.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): We are all aware of many such cases.

Dr. MacDonald: I am sure you are, but I do not mind having that case written into the record.

Senator Carter: I should like to come to your suggestion that we make an interim report. If we make an interim report surely we must have some idea of where the money is going to come from. We have not had many briefs that give us much help on that point, and your own brief does not help us either.

Dr. Forsyth mentioned that we have a surplus, but a surplus is a one-shot affair. We may not have a surplus next year. He referred to the extra income from the proposals, but we do not know what the proposals are. They are only proposals, and we do not know what the end result will be when they are translated into legislation.

At this point I want to question Dr. Forsyth's mathematical reasoning. If I understood him correctly he stated that we are spending now \$600 million on the family allowance, and that for a net expenditure of \$300 more, making a total expenditure of \$900 million, we could triple the benefits.

Dr. Forsyth: Yes.

Senator Carter: To me that is a mathematical absurdity.

Dr. Forsyth: Perhaps I did not make myself clear. If you triple the benefits that are now running at precisely \$618 million—that would be \$1.8 billion—then I am suggesting that you could recover through the tax system...

Senator Carter: That is where we part company. You are assuming that we are going to recover \$900 million, but you have given us no basis for that assumption.

Dr. Forsyth: No, I am assuming that we are going to recover through the tax system about half of what it costs.

Senator Carter: But you have no basis that your assumption is correct, or even nearly correct.

Dr. Forsyth: Then I would suggest that the obvious way to deal with that one is to test out mathematically my assumptions to see how far wrong I am.

Senator Carter: The family allowances were introduced somewhere around 1947.

Since 1947 inflation has eroded the dollar to about 40 per cent or 50 per cent. All you are doing with \$300 million net expenditure is replacing the erosion of the dollar and bringing them back to the parity they had when they were first introduced. The 50 per cent certainly will not multiply the benefits threefold.

Dr. Forsyth: I am happy to concede that I could be far out in the net costs. For instance, if the recoveries are not 50 per cent, but in fact 30 per cent by changes in the tax system to make all family allowance payment taxable income, which they are not at the present time. Our brief suggests that the benefits be tripled and made taxable income. The third point we make is that work should commence on the tax exemptions for children, and so on, because these in fact work to the advantage of the upper income group and not that of the poor at all. There are three recommendations, one of which aims at tripled dollars for the family and youth allowances using the present demogrant system to make payments to all children of Canadian families. My hunch is that you could probably recover 40 per cent of this money.

Senator Carter: If you could recover 25 per cent you would be doing very well.

Dr. Forsyth: One could be far out. On my estimate it was an additional \$300 million; on your hunch it is \$600 million. I would still point out that that is within the limits of new tax dollars to be generated under the tax system and I think it becomes a reasonable way to proceed.

Senator Carter: Under the present tax system?

Dr. Forsyth: No, under the proposals.

Senator Carter: Yes, but they are still proposals. We do not know how they are going to be modified. We expect they will be to a great extent, but we cannot assume that they are going to be introduced as they are now, *holus bolus*.

Dr. Forsyth: We had to assume what we could, which was that these are proposals that more or less in their present form would come before Parliament for enactment. Building on that assumption we considered how we would proceed laterally in a responsible way, through existing programs or by other means, to move towards an income support program.

We decided that, given this set of circumstances, we could move through the family allowance system. You may be quite right that in fact these proposals will not emerge in this form or anything like it. In those circumstances, our kind of submission or suggestion would have to be radically recast, but still think that the issue would be the same: how do you move to develop an income maintenance system that would be financed on the federal side?

Senator Carter: You said something earlier which I did not quite catch or understand. Perhaps I did not hear enough of it. You made reference to the committee adopting an approach advocated by Senator Lamontagne. Would you clarify that?

Dr. Forsyth: No, this is the reference in our brief to Senator Lamontagne's remarks about the fact that he disagrees with the analysis that is being made of the causes of the inflationary movement. He favours an analysis on the cost-push side rather than the demand-pull.

Senator Carter: If you had \$900 million additional revenue to spend on welfare, and you had a choice of spending it to double family allowances or on a guaranteed annual income, which would be your choice?

Dr. Forsyth: Can we assume that the guaranteed income to which you make reference is one that...

Senator Carter: Based on the size of the family.

Dr. Forsyth: Which would be viable in the Canadian Welfare Council's terms.

Senator Carter: It would be based on the scale somehow.

Dr. Forsyth: We would be using something along the lines of a negative income tax technique to get at it. I would opt for the guaranteed income, because then I could eliminate other programs.

Senator Carter: If government cannot obtain the \$900 million or \$1.8 billion that is required without cutting expenditures, where would you advocate government should cut expenditures?

Dr. Forsyth: Defence.

The Chairman: I thought he was going to say senators' salaries.

Dr. Forsyth: No, I regard that as an income maintenance program, sir. It is one of the best guaranteed annual income programs we have.

Senator Carter: You mentioned that before. At page 5 of your brief reference is made to the will, not much point having these schemes; it all depends on the will that the Canadian people have to do it. On page 19 you adopt Mr. Baetz's words:

As long as we waffle at the moral and philosophical level, we will waffle at the policy level...

Later on you refer to commitment. I gather that that is what you are referring to, this will being a commitment. In my opinion that should be one of the principal roles of the church, to develop this commitment in the segments of the church and in the body of the church in the wider sense. However, when you come to finding money, you and all the others pounce on defence. You have not said a word about the \$1.8 billion Canadians spend on liquor, the \$1 billion we spend on tobacco, the \$1 billion on horse racing and other forms of gambling, the \$500 million spent on candy, dog and cat food, but you pounce on defence. How do you explain this?

Dr. MacDonald: We have made a number of statements in other connections in regard to the issues you raise such as liquor, tobacco and horse racing. In fact, we have said so much about them that we have become earmarked as being a puritanical body that does not think in any other terms.

Senator Carter: If by this commitment you are going change the attitude and hearts of the Canadian people so as to find the money, is that not a better way than to go back and reduce our obligations?

Dr. MacDonald: In my estimation it is not. It is not a case of "either-or", but of "both-and." The defence budget, which is the one we mentioned, is making a contribution, possibly to a large extent, to the defence of our nation, but there are some real questions as to whether or not it is really defending. There seems to be a credibility gap there. Also, there is the concern that the core and youth with whom we work do not get into the rut of poverty. In our present thinking that is the one thing to which they are objecting and protesting in Canadian and North American society. We feel that it is one of the logical places to begin. If it can be obtained from the other sources, that is all right with us.

Senator Carter: That is not the point. You have missed two points. The point is to what extent should we let other people take responsibility for our defence? You have shied away from that. The other is, is there not an obligation on the church to go out and try to get the revenue from these other sources?

Dr. Forsyth: In answer to both elements, first of all I think that it is over-simple to suggest that we are likely to shift \$1.8 billion of expenditure on defence totally and completely into other areas. I think there are recoveries and patterns there as you de-emphasize one kind of role and pick up others in human development. At the same time, one of the great ironies of the situation is that there is a fair bit of government revenue, provincial and federal, generated through horse racing, through the liquor traffic and various other things. The point is, it is not a case of going out to get the revenue from these sources. In fact, the Government is rather adept at getting the revenue from these sources. If people were left to their own devices, booze would be a lot cheaper than it is, but the Government is right there and they generate a fair whack of their revenues in Ontario, for example, from such sources.

Senator Carter: I am not speaking in terms of revenue but in terms of the Canadian people and the commitment and attitudes that you have talked about in your brief, and the will to get out and do something about this problem of poverty. We will not make any progress at all if we cannot accomplish something in the hearts of the Canadian people.

Dr. Forsyth: I think you are right. I think that to this extent, if you could get a shift in the Canadian attitudes there would be a disposition to de-emphasize personal expenditures on cigarettes, liquor and so on, which would lead, of course, to a decline in government revenues from those sources, which would have to be offset as we play the tax game a different way, just to make up the money that is lost.

The other part of the problem and the irony is, of course, in the arena of people's own personal choices. Let us be frank about it. One of the things you do if you generate income maintenance programs that are reasonably adequate is to put people in a position where they can go out and buy cigarettes, and go down the street and buy a case

of beer. Those may not be my particular choices or Dr. MacDonald's choices, or the choices of any people in this room, but it is their choice.

Senator Carter: The point is that is the whole meaning of the word "commitment". You have to commit yourself to one thing or the other.

Dr. MacDonald: It will happen when the Kingdom of God comes.

Senator Carter: But I want to know what the church is doing to bring it about.

Dr. Forsyth: I think that is a fair question. The fact of the matter is that we can only speak from within the context of our own denomination. I think we are one of the few bodies I know of who suggest that possibly there is something faintly silly about the fact that we smoke more in Canada than we spend on public education, and yet we are terribly alarmed about the expenditure on public education.

Senator Carter: I take a dim view of the fact that whenever anybody wants money the only place they can find it from is defence. I don't see any need to make any reduction in defence expenditures myself. I don't think we are spending any more now than we are required to to assume our proper responsibilities. Apart from that, suppose we wiped out defence and saved \$1.8 billion. If you had to choose between spending that on welfare and on pollution, what do you do?

Dr. Forsyth: I think you want some total policy mixes, you see. One of the problems of pollution, for example, one of the things we have done such a bad job of, is really integrating policy that has a bearing on pollution. I can think, for example, of some places where industrial development is possible, but only at the expense of mucking up terrain that I think for the sake of the nation as a whole ought not to be polluted. We seem to be under real pressure, in economically weak areas especially, to take certain kinds of development on any terms that they know darn well is going to lead to pollution of the atmosphere, or of the land areas or waterways. If you want a fast answer to the question of where you make the shift, I would suppose that if you had a decent kind of policy mix in the country you would shift in both directions, you would split it.

Senator Cook: I know we cannot cease to be concerned or cannot cease the pressures, but we are making progress. In dealing with poverty, we are making progress, if you contrast what is happening today with the thirties, when people could starve to death nobody was too concerned. At least today there is a general concern amongst most thinking people. The trouble is to get unanimity of opinion on what should be done. But there is certainly concern and a desire to do something, and something has been done over the years—perhaps not enough, but something has been done.

The Chairman: What is bothering Senator Carter, and I know his thinking, is that he is not so much concerned with the infinite as with the finite, and that is what he is getting at.

Dr. MacDonald: I was not being facetious when I said that what you are suggesting will happen when the Kingdom of God comes. What I was really saying was that we have to make the best possible thing we can of the situation confronting us. It is simply a statement of fact, that whether it is in government or in the church we are probably not doing all that we could do and ought to do about the problem, and there are contradictions in the things we say and the things we achieve. The church is confessing this sin every Sunday and trying to do something about it every week, I hope. The same thing, of course, applies in government, as when Judy LaMarsh had to give up smoking, and John Munroe is trying hard to I understand. When you get committed to a certain line of action, certain things follow from it.

The church is now committed to this line of action, although we are not in there pitching the way we would like to see the church doing. We as a board are not always on the ball in the way we would wish we could be. But we are really not dragging our feet on this issue, so far as the church is concerned.

Senator Carter: You have hit on the key word "commitment". If the people are committed I think the government will darn well get committed. But who is going to develop the commitment?

Dr. Forsyth: Part of the dilemma in some of these areas, which has been touched on again and again, is the fact that it is very difficult to be committed about that which you cannot see. One of the things that concerns some of

is the fact that what is beginning to happen is a "ghetto-ization" of our society, of the rural poor who are invisible because a nice tree grows in front of their place, and the urban poor who are invisible because the expressways carry the rest of us around past where they happen to be.

It becomes very difficult to think of folks who are the working poor or the poor poor in really human terms, and to have a sense of commitment to them as human beings. Even if we see documentaries on television there is a sense in which that box can help de-personalize it, it reduces them to some function on the screen and we do not sense the human dynamics. I think one of the great contributions of your committee has been to provide a forum for the actual appearance of such folks in your presence before the nation, so to speak. They have stated the case as they see it as human beings. This is part of the process, surely, by which we generate the kind of commitment that you quite rightly think is important.

Senator Carter: I have one last question on housing.

The Chairman: Just before you go to that, you have hit upon something very important, and Dr. Forsyth has indicated his thinking. Do you not think the commitment that has to be made is ours to recommend?

Senator Carter: Sure.

The Chairman: Is that not our responsibility, to put it in such a way that it is a commitment on the part of the Canadian people?

Senator Carter: Yes, we can recommend it.

The Chairman: No, it is more than recommending, Senator Carter, and that is what I am trying to get at.

Senator Carter: How do we bring it into existence?

The Chairman: By putting it in a way that it becomes a commitment. It is all right to say that a man is poor, but it is another thing to describe him, in living terms, the hovel in which he lives, the shoes the children haven't got, the inability to obtain an education and the perpetuation of poverty generation after generation. There was something in the local paper last night about the people who were burned out. They had been fourteen years on relief and that is a very long time.

Senator Cook: What you are saying is that the witness gives us the bullets and we fire them.

The Chairman: They have done pretty well this morning.

Dr. MacDonald: In regard to this matter of commitment and generating public opinion sometimes the church addresses the state on ethical and other kinds of issues. You could quite properly address the church and say, "You people had better put up or shut up. You have been talking about these things for generations in the church. Now, you have the chance to educate the body of committed Christian people and nominal Christian people in Canada." If you brought out a report which required an increase of taxation, let us say, in order to provide maintenance income for people in Canada so we would educate poverty and you could not get the solid backing of the churches then the churches have failed.

The Chairman: There is no criticism of the churches. We are having a frank and open discussion.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): The problem is how to reach the people who do not attend church.

Senator Carter: I was going to ask about this housing program which is referred to on pages 33 and 34. I would like you to elaborate a bit to more or less get some details of one of the demonstration projects that is referred to on page 32. You said that you could not develop a project that would reach the lowest group. Why are you unable to do this?

Dr. MacDonald: So far as that particular point goes it is because of the need to supplement rental payments on the part of the people who would live in any project which we would create. We can generate the 10 per cent of the equity required in order to start a cooperative housing project provided we can get an interpretation of section 16. This would permit cooperative housing to be built under that section and we would hope that it can be done. Once this has been accomplished the lowest possible rental we could come up with—these figures are open to correction—was in the nature of \$105 or up to \$135. This would be in a cooperative venture which would make it about 25 per cent below the regular housing costs.

The only people who would be able to get into that kind of housing are those whose rentals are supplemented by the Ontario Housing Corporation in this province. We do not have the kind of capital in order to make an investment that would allow us to supplement their rentals in order to provide housing for them. That is the explanation of that statement.

You ask about the projects. Under the Committee of Housing of the National Board of our church we have got to the stage now where we have publicized for people to present plans and projects to the National Housing Committee. They have been in the process of doing this during the past ten days. We hope that out of one of these proposals submitted by a variety of interested concerns that we will be able to select one that would be viable in terms of the kinds of social mix and in terms of the kind of accommodation which we hope people who are living in the cooperative housing eventually would be able to afford and we would be able to provide.

Along with our United Church project there is a citizens housing committee project being promoted to the city of Toronto at the present time which is an inter-faith project. We hope that both of these will benefit somewhat from the \$200 million for experimental housing that is provided by the minister responsible for housing. We have also a number of other projects, which Dr. Forsyth knows more about than I, and which are sort of in the wings and waiting for attention. One which we have already acted upon is in Halifax and there we gave a grant of \$45,000.

Dr. Forsyth: One of the things we are concerned about doing in many places with regard to the housing problems of lower income Canadians is to rehabilitate existing neighbourhoods. Sometimes this runs afoul of not being able to meet the standards of C.M.H.C., which are unrealistic in some places.

We provided \$45,000 joined with \$90,000 of Nova Scotia money to do something in the North Preston area on housing rehabilitation using a "revolving fund" kind of technique. This kind of stimulus is possible.

One of the most interesting and frustrating proposed projects is a project in one Ontario city. They had a most imaginative design for a housing project that would combine a lot of income and family types, as well as senior citizens, plus an inter-connected service

centre kind of operation which would relate to the church. This project would involve a bit of land assembly and demolition of a couple of houses. They are running into frustration, because there are no grant supplement programs available. They are unable to force the construction costs down to a place where the rents that would be charged are in fact lower than the area. The "area" is interpreted to be that immediate sector of the city. This is unfortunate because it is an older area where the rents on existing housing are lower than for the city as a whole. Because they can't get them below those levels they cannot qualify for assistance.

We would like to think that there are perhaps some alternative styles by which rent supplement programs or interest subsidy programs could be developed which would get results in the housing field and in addition to that move generally into the whole area of land assembly, which is a critical factor in housing costs.

Senator Fergusson: I want to comment on the fact that you have done such a great deal in the senior citizen housing area and I was wondering if you were continuing this or if you were going into a more mixed area.

Dr. MacDonald: First of all, we have declared a ceiling in the number of senior citizen housing units that we can generate. We are more concerned now for services for senior citizens in order to keep them mobile in a viable livable environment. I do not mean that our homes are ghettos but as long as we can keep them mobile in the community this is the way we would like it to be.

Out of our senior citizens home we provide services for senior citizens and in the homes we provide programs for them in which senior citizens in the community can participate in them and meals can be brought to the homes. We have a program in the church in which 50 meals are given every day, four or five days a week, to senior citizens and shut-ins in that community. This is a cooperative venture with the local hospital providing the meals at cost. We then prepare and distribute them.

Last week I attended one of the most fascinating and I think a "first of its kind" ceremony in Toronto. This was the tearing out of a cornerstone of a church—the "tearing down of the church to the glory of God", sort of thing! (East Broadview United Church

closed a year ago.) The Honourable John Yaremko was there, along with one of the senior citizens of the community who was at the laying of the cornerstone. They tore the cornerstone out and the church was to be demolished and a senior citizen's home, the Broadview Foundation, is to be erected on that site. It is to be designed so that it meets the requirements I am suggesting about services from senior citizens that emanate and take place within the structure.

The Chairman: On behalf of the committee, I want you to know that the United Church did themselves proud this morning. You have presented an excellent brief. You have made a moving presentation. What you said was

helpful. It is a valuable addition to our record, because you are thinking in realistic terms and your statements were clear and concise. We knew exactly what you meant. We feel that we are on the same wavelength with you. You said your piece and it is very welcome. Thank you.

Dr. MacDonald: Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the board, may I thank you and the members of this committee for allowing us to come today and for your very incisive questions and the dialogue we have been able to have. Senator Inman asked earlier what are some of the new styles. Well, this is one of the new styles. Thank you.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

A NOTE:

Concerning the Board of Evangelism and Social Service of The United Church of Canada

Within the national structures of The United Church of Canada, The Board of Evangelism and Social Service has been established:

(a) To give leadership to the Church, in cooperation with the Ministers and Courts of the Church, in the promotion of evangelism, the development of the spiritual life and work of the Church and *the application of the principles of the Gospel of Jesus to the whole of life, including the economic, political, social and moral aspects:*

(b) To have care of all Redemptive and Child Welfare Institutions and Homes for the aged.

The membership of the Board is composed of laymen and clergymen, drawn from all regions of Canada, and from a diversity of professions and occupations. The Board is headed by a Chairman, and has a national staff complement of a Secretary and three Associate Secretaries.

DELEGATION

Representing the Board of Evangelism and Social Service

The United Church of Canada

Dr. Charles H. Forsyth
Secretary

Dr. W. Clarke MacDonald
Chairman of the Board

Miss Eileen Jackson, M.S.W.

Mr. Donald Secord

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INTRODUCTION

The Board of Evangelism and Social Service warmly commends the Chairman and members of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty for the diligence and vigour with which you are enquiring into the nature and extent of poverty in Canada.

In passionate language, and with cutting statistics, the Economic Council of Canada (Fifth Annual Review) forced affluent Canada to acknowledge the reality of "the other Canada"—the 'separated society' of the non-participants, the inarticulate, the humiliated, the eroded.

But the Economic Council rightly observed that when the television Poverty 'special' was over, when the Saturday newsmagazine article had done its job of week-end titillation, the issue would tend to fade from the consciousness of Canadians. Poverty would be filed away "under the heading of certain other long-standing national problems" and in that way it would be lost to sight—or regarded as an unfortunate but apparently intractable characteristic of society in the Atlantic Provinces, Eastern Quebec, and in Indian and Eskimo communities.

The establishment of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty has kept this urgent issue before Canadians. You have created a forum, a national 'town meeting', that has been used not only by bureaucrats, 'expert', professionals, leaders of 'establishment' institutions (like the churches!), but also—forthrightly, movingly, often devastatingly—by the poor. We believe that the work of this Committee can help engender a national commitment to re-order the goals of our society, seek the renewal of our institutions, and eliminate poverty.

The forum of your Committee has made it clear that poverty is not confined to a few regions but is present in the total society. Poverty is not the due penalty of those who will not try; overwhelmingly its victims are those who work without escape. You have shown that poverty weakens our cities, even as it blights rural Canada. That it harries the old; and brutalizes administrators even as it degrades welfare recipients.

"We can no longer shut out the screaming that leaks through the ventilation system,"...

of our efficient, 'cool', technological society.

CANADA'S POVERTY SCAR

For purposes of this submission, the Board of Evangelism and Social Service has surveyed the definitions and analyses of the Economic Council of Canada, the Bureau of Statistics and the Special Planning Secretariat. We have noted the new dimensions and insights that have emerged from testimony before your Committee, and from the writings of others who are also struggling with this problem in Canada, in the United States and elsewhere.

Any individual (or family) is in the low-income group if more than 70 per cent of income is spent for the necessities of life—food, clothing, shelter. The discretionary area of income is so slight as to make the family (individual) impoverished. The 1961 census indicated that 916,000 non-farm families and 416,000 individuals—some 4,200,000 persons, including 1,700,000 children under 16 year of age—are thus in the environment of poverty. (Incomes of Canadians, Census Monograph, 1968).

Using another scale of measurement, the economic poverty line in dollars of 1968 purchasing power shapes as follows:

single person	\$1,800
family of 2 persons	\$3,000
family of 3 persons	\$3,600
family of 4 persons	\$4,200
family of 5 persons	\$4,800

Allowing for the inflationary erosion of 5 per cent during 1969, current levels—just to "stand still"—would have to be adjusted as follows:

single person	\$1,890
family of 2 persons	\$3,150
family of 3 persons	\$3,780
family of 4 persons	\$4,410
family of 5 persons	\$5,040

But poverty is not simply low-income. Again and again, spokesmen for the poor (welfare recipients, the 'working poor', the disabled) in their testimony before this Committee, have underlined the truth of the Economic Council's statement that poverty is "to feel oneself an unwilling outsider, a virtual non-participant in the society in which one lives". It is not a "sheer lack of essentials to sustain life" but an insufficient access to the goods, services, conditions of life which have come to be accepted as basic to a minimum standard of living. Poverty thus carries with it a sense of entrapment and hopelessness; it issues in defeat, alienation and despair.

The poor are not victims of the social system in the sense that harried "organization men" are victims. Rather, they are 'outsiders' to the major society.

The sign of their separation is seen in the fact that the relationship of government, departments, committees, agencies to the poor is not structured as a relationship of partnership, of peers; but as a relationship of clients, statistical samples, cases or delinquents.

In Canada today "20-20" is a symbol of the *distortion* of our society rather than an indicator of the clarity of our societal vision. For 20 per cent of non-farm families receive 4.6 per cent of total income, while the top 20 per cent receive 41.1 per cent of total income. (DBS 1965).

It has been said that mere biological humanity without wonder, without expectation, without real future, "is a torso". The real tragedy of poverty, then, is that it liquidates the human, forecloses hope, erodes expectation. Poverty is a form of dying; a suffocation of the human.

The persistence of poverty in Canada is a disgrace. That Canada, which ranks 4th in per capita income, should rank 17th in the "honours list" of infant mortality statistics, suggests need for drastic policy transplants in our society. The poverty "misery-go-round" of bad housing, marginal opportunities, malnutrition, disease, humiliation and social exclusion is an indictment of our policies and institutions.

We completely agree with the assertion of the Sixth Annual Review of the Economic Council of Canada (p. 108) that:

"To the degree that poverty contributes to the exclusion of individuals and families from the mainstream of society, it contributes to potential social tension and unrest. To the degree that poverty places an economic burden on society, it acts as a brake on Canada's economic growth and detracts from the well-being of all Canadians".

Even more, we believe that we dare not ignore any longer the inter-dependence that is a 'given' of life. We must heed the reality of our human 'ecology'! The shattering of any person through poverty diminishes us all. *Our data of 'success' and growth conceal damaged individuals. Our "seasonally adjusted" averages hide the particulars of joblessness and misery.*

Traditionally we have stressed the civil and political rights given us in our heritage.

The complex dynamics of this technotronic age require that social and economic rights must be inter-connected with civil rights if the latter are to have credibility and substance.

It is our conviction that we must now "deliver" as rights in Canadian society, Articles 22 and 25 of the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights:

Article 22—Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security, and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation, and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free developments of his personality.

Article 25—Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age, or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

WHAT SHALL WE DO...

PART ONE

Recommendations For Immediate Action

I

Payments to old age security beneficiaries should be increased

The statutory provision that limits increases in benefits to 2 per cent in any year is clearly unjust and should be changed. The Minister of Health and Welfare has suggested that adjustments in pension legislation must wait in presentation of a White Paper on social policy. He has recently added that legislation arising from the White Paper will not be presented prior to the next session of Parliament. Indeed, he suggested it may possibly be two sessions away.

To delay action until then is intolerable. We therefore urge remedial action at this time.

The basic old age security benefit was at a level of \$76.50 per month January 1, 1968. It rose to \$79.58 effective January 1, 1970. The 3.08 increase in basic benefits was far behind the escalation of prices in the same period. Indeed the buying power of the pension is some 7.8 per cent less than it was three years ago.

The Guaranteed Income Supplement suffers from the same deficiency. The net result has been that the more than 1,663,000 old age security recipients are worse off year by year a time in life when they can expect additional expense pressures (for special foods, medicines, hearing devices, etc.). The situation is, of course, most serious for the 785,000 Canadians who receive the g.i.s., *approximately 62 per cent of whom require the full supplement.*

Some provinces are attempting to meet the needs of such persons in various ways. British Columbia uses provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan to provide a \$150 monthly income to those who meet 'needs' qualifications. The additional costs are shared 50-50 with the federal government. The Ontario Government has announced a \$100 tax rebate program to assist home owners and tenants of self-contained housing units. Such programs are of undoubted value in meeting the needs of some thousands of older citizens.

At the same time, we would stress that there are provinces that cannot provide an adequate guaranteed income level for older persons—either through cost-sharing under

CAP, or in any other effective way. There are too many pressures on their revenues. This is particularly true for those provinces in Canada embarked on a costly "catch-up" drive to reach fully Canadian standards of education, health and community services.

In any event, many older persons requiring assistance do not and will not take advantage of CAP-related programs because they "do not want to go on welfare".

The only appropriate response is to amend the Old Age Security Act and remove the 2 per cent limitation, permitting the level of increase to correspond to actual cost of living changes.

Indeed, given the increasing numbers of persons who must make use of the g.i.s. provision (including 62 per cent or more who require the full g.i.s. benefit), we urge that consideration be given to adjust the level of the basic \$79.58 benefit upwards, in the light of the actual experience of the last four or five years.

We agree with the position of the Canadian Welfare Council, that "retired beneficiaries should be enabled to keep pace, relatively at least, with the income-earning population... beneficiaries (should) have their purchasing power protected and (should) share appropriately in the improved standards resulting from economic expansion".

(Since members in "the other place"* have acknowledged the uncertainties and vicissitudes of political life and adjusted pension benefits accordingly, presumably simple justice would encourage prompt acknowledgement of the income pressures and living stresses of the aged

II

The Unemployment Insurance program should be more total in coverage and benefits should be increased to represent a greater percentage of lost earnings.

At the present time, increasing unemployment is being permitted as a weapon against inflation. We comment on that policy below, but at this time we would stress that the

* House of Commons!

rapid increase in the numbers of unemployed persons is revealing the inadequacies of the range of coverage and the scale of benefits of the present plan.

In testimony before your Committee, the Department of Labour noted that "unemployment insurance does not lift a poor man out of his poverty". Given the present level of benefits, few would quarrel with so self-evident a proposition!

We do challenge, however, the Department of Labour statement that follows: "(unemployment insurance) only helps to keep him from dropping below the level where he was—before he lost his job". Not so! A claimant with a dependent receives about 50 per cent of his normal weekly earnings; a claimant without a dependent receives about 40 per cent of weekly earnings. Since the benefits are in proportion to previous earnings, those in the lowest paid (most vulnerable) sector of the labour force receive relatively little although their costs will probably be as great on the average as another person's. *The net effect is to nudge the person (and his family) toward poverty and welfare dependency, especially in an inflationary period.*

It should be noted that *maximum* weekly benefits are (since June 30, 1968) \$53.00 per week for a person with one or more dependents, and \$42.00 for a person with no dependents. Given the cost changes in the period since June 1968, these levels are already "softer" by some 6-7 per cent.

If unemployment remains for some time at a level of 6 per cent or more, (and in some regions—usually vulnerable ones, anyway, the rates will be 10 per cent or worse), this means that some 1,000,000 Canadians have been edged into poverty. They will endure serious economic hardship, psychological stress and the possible loss of assets hard-won over the years.

We regard this as an intolerable situation, requiring immediate remedial action by the Government of Canada.

Specifically, we propose:

- (i) increase of benefits to a level that will represent at least three-quarters of previous average earnings. Our concern is to ensure a base that is above the poverty line. As the range of coverage is extended it may be necessary to move away from the suggested level of "three-quarters of previous earnings"—but this

should only apply at the upper end of the earnings scale. We do not specifically touch on the question of sickness insurance, but obviously Canada would avoid much 'crisis poverty' if we were to build such protection as an ancillary operation to unemployment insurance...or perhaps as a form of compensation under Workmen's Compensation programs of the provinces.)

(ii) supplementary benefits that will cover (on behalf of the claimant and family) premium costs for related federal-provincial insurance programs—e.g. medicare and hospital care. We stress this because of the relatively high premium for such services in at least half the Canadian provinces, meaning in effect that either coverage lapses or the household squeezes expenditures on necessities to meet such costs.

(iii) enlargement of the range of the program to include most, if not all, salaried, professional and other members of the labour force not now covered, including those working for charitable and religious institutions and foundations. Such enlargement of the program range will enlarge the fund available for benefits. At the same time it will begin to cover those persons once thought relatively immune from unemployment, but now becoming vulnerable as a result of shifts in personnel and technology patterns in business and industry (e.g. middle income range and upper income range technicians, professionals, etc.)

III

Workmen's Compensation benefits should be reviewed by the provinces and brought closer into line with the claimant's previous earnings level and the current living costs for the region.

We believe that the argument we have advanced concerning improved benefits for old age security and unemployment insurance applies also to workmen's compensation benefits.

Surely if Workmen's Compensation programs, (as income maintenance scheme with medical-rehabilitative provisions) are to sustain individuals and families in non-income-earning periods, benefits

levels must be adjusted to provide a realistic percentage of previous earnings and relate to actual living costs. Such adjustments ought to be automatic annually—in accordance with cost-of-living index changes.

IV

The Government of Canada ought to review and modify current programs to combat inflation in view of the disproportionate impact of the "Remedies" on the poor.

At the present time, the lowest income groups are hit by high prices. At the same time the programs of economic slow-down have resulted in one-half million Canadians becoming unemployed, with punishing effects on at least another one-half million persons who constitute their dependents.

The strongest elements in the society—both business and labour—can still act to advance, or at least stabilize, their positions.

The Economic Council of Canada warned in the Sixth Annual Review) of the possibilities of over-reaction and/or inappropriate reaction to the general inflationary situation.

More recently, one of your colleagues, Senator Maurice Lamontagne has called on the Government to recognize the "cost-push" character of the current inflationary process and to de-emphasize programs and remedies that are more appropriate to a "demand-pull" situation.

Current inflation in Canada, and in the Western world, said Senator Lamontagne is 'structural, not cyclical in character...it is quite possible to have at the same time cost-push inflation and deficient aggregate demand; rising prices and recession...Yet most governments persist in fighting price increases as if they originated from a temporary excessive demand'.

We urge that the Government review present policies in the light of that argument.

We cannot accept greater and greater pressure on the economically weak; a deliberate escalation of poverty at a time when we ought to be seeking to eliminate it.

We would argue for firmer pressures on the economically powerful—a firm limiting of price increases; and a concurrent restraint on upper wage levels. Such action, combined with selective improvements in the economic

position of the weaker economic groups of society (at least to a level that will prevent absolute decline in economic strength and provide for some genuine measure of economic enhancement) will be a more effective strategy, both short-term and long-term. If present policies remain unchanged, the most vulnerable groups in society (the disabled, the aged, the injured, the unemployed, the low-income wage-earner, and the welfare recipient) will be weaker than ever before, and the gap between the affluent and the deprived will have widened dangerously. (There is potential for great social turbulence in such a development).

Moreover, the same (weakest) groups will be precisely the ones hardest hit by increases in real property taxes (which are of course passed on in rents) and by indirect taxes on purchase items, since tax increases automatically in response to rising prices. (The 1970 Ontario Budget is frank in its reliance on what we might call the "inflation increment".)

We are convinced, therefore, that modification of present fiscal and monetary strategy must accompany the kinds of immediate program benefit improvements we have recommended above. We are deeply aware of the importance of controlling inflation. We, nonetheless, question the effectiveness and the justice of current remedies.

Long-term strategies to eliminate poverty seem lacking in credibility, in our view, if in the present crisis and stress we revert to the traditional method of asking the poor to bear the heaviest human and economic costs to keep the "system" working!

Poverty in Canada will not be eliminated merely by making *adjustments* in existing programs, or even through the introduction of new programs.

As the work of your Committee has shown, a fundamental re-statement of policy must take place and new styles of service must be developed. Axioms have to be challenged; assumptions examined.

We submit that fiscal and monetary axioms are also in need of examination to determine their present appropriateness. (Presumably Keynesian orthodoxy can be as damaging as the economic orthodoxies that preceded it!)

V

We urge immediate federal-provincial action to review grants and allowance levels of public assistance programs under the Canada Assistance Plan (and Quebec Plan) and to improve the range of programs that are cost-shared under the Canada Assistance Plan (with tax point trade-off modifications in the case of Quebec).

Specifically, we ask:

(i) that assistance rates be reviewed and increased as necessary to reflect price changes. (We were concerned to note in testimony before your Committee, for example, that Ontario rates have not been significantly revised since 1967. We have confirmed that similar 'lags' have occurred in other Provinces.)

(ii) that provinces bring into their general program of assistance some of the items or services that are now regarded as "special assistance" or discretionary...e.g. provision of drugs, prosthetic appliances, dental services, etc.

(iii) that provinces extend the reach of assistance programs to meet some of the urgent needs of the 'working poor'. This provision of CAP is used with considerable effectiveness in Alberta (See Appendix 'A') and need not involve demeaning "investigative procedures". (We were delighted to note that New Brunswick plans to proceed in this way.) It is tragic for example, that corrective health procedures may be stalled because essential drugs or devices cannot be provided under public auspices to those who are working (or to their dependents) and who therefore are adjudged to be "not in need".

(iv) that provinces not now doing so begin to assist Day Care Services through the provisions of CAP. Here again we stress the importance of the "prevention" possibilities of the CAP. *It is our belief that if the benefits of federal income maintenance programs can be raised to*

realistic levels, the provinces should be able to shift resources to improve the adequacy of public assistance (welfare payments and at the same time undertake support and preventive programs that will encourage new styles of services, new forms of public-private partnerships, renew traditional 'establishment' institutions and thereby benefit the working poor, those in receipt of public assistance; indeed, the total community.

VI

We recommend that the special Senate Committee on poverty issue an interim report at the earliest practicable date this spring.

We urge that the interim report propose such immediate actions by both federal and provincial governments as will prevent further deterioration in the economic and social position of the poor, and forestall increases in the numbers of persons in poverty.

We are convinced that remedial actions are possible now, in spite of inflationary pressure. We are convinced also that such actions can prepare the way for more comprehensive anti-poverty, human development programs based on the federal White Paper on social policy and from the continuing work of the Special Senate Committee on poverty.

Among the recommendations of such an interim report, we urge:

(i) increased old age security benefits including the guaranteed income supplement

(ii) improved unemployment insurance benefits and coverage

(iii) reforms and improvements in provincial Workmen's Compensation programs

(iv) review and modification of current federal anti-inflationary monetary and fiscal policies

(v) federal-provincial action to improve social assistance benefits and to develop more preventive programs under provisions of the Canada Assistance Plan, (and the Quebec Social Assistance program)

PART TWO

Some "Specifics" in a Comprehensive Attack
on Poverty in Canada

The Special Committee has received a wealth of testimony from varied sources and competencies. To review that testimony, and the studies of the Committee itself, is to be aware that the war on poverty will not be won unless it is fought on many fronts.

Moreover:

(a) The evidence shows that poverty will not be eradicated in this country until we collectively will that it be eradicated. What is required of us in a response profounder than enlightened self-interest". We emphatically agree with Mr. Reuben Baetz: *"If Canadians are not offended at having some of their fellow citizens existing on an inadequate income while others live in varying degrees of affluence, very little will be done to change the situation. As long as we waffle at the moral and philosophical level, we will waffle at the policy level..."*

(b) On all sides it is said that the "welfare system has failed". If so, it is because it is still a "dole" system, with elements of a punishment attitude at work. With this undoubted benefits, the Canada Assistance Plan has not been able to dispel such attitudes and approaches. Obviously we must break open federal and Provincial programs and build policy and services in new ways. This is not likely to happen if we continue to make all kinds of grants to the "haves"—and call them incentive payments"; while scolding and nagging over having to give "handouts" to the poor. *Artful tax evasion or "loophole-ducking" by the 'haves' costs Canada far more each year than the 1 per cent or less welfare cheating" that takes place!*

(c) The evidence also suggests that there is no simple (inexpensive) panacea for the eradication of poverty. Comprehensive policy experimentation is required over a period of years. Federal-provincial jurisdictional 'gamesmanship, and buck-passing are destructive. Coordination of policy and program is essential. We believe that there are 'rhythms' and patterns in our Canadian federalism that can be used to advance policy development in this country and work for the benefit of all citizens. In this connection we would commend to your Committee the words of Dr. L.A. Kelly, Queen's University (1969):

"Problems of coordination can be traced generally to the piecemeal development of social security programmes over the years, each one reflecting the priorities and principles of the time it was introduced; to the division of administrative responsibility for related programmes between different levels and departments of government; and to the failure to harmonize tax policy with social security objectives." (emphasis added)

(d) The evidence clearly suggests that much experimentation is required to help us find appropriate models for programs and delivery of services. New styles of federal-provincial partnerships; the integration and coordination of departments or agencies to give clarity and accountability; public-private partnerships to obtain a more relevant 'people-orientation' to programs, and to achieve a degree of community 'control' and direction. In addition, there is need for a much more imaginative use of modern communications possibilities—print media, radio-TV and cable systems, to disseminate information, secure citizen feedback, and indeed, to carry out critically needed training/human development services (we shall explore an instance of this below).

In the context of the above, we would propose some "specifics" to be included in any comprehensive attack on poverty in Canada.

We do not advance these policy suggestions dogmatically.

We believe they have a real measure of validity and relevance to the needs of Canada's poor. But they are "probes", suggesting the style of policy required. They do not pretend to completeness.

I

Harmonize tax policy—(total tax policy!)—and social policy objectives.

Again we return to Dr. Kelly's observations on policy coordination:

"...the tax structure in general fails to give adequate recognition to social security objectives. Thus, on the one hand, we are talking about extending social security programmes to aid the poor; at the same time we have a situation where,

because of the low level of exemptions given under the tax system, many of the poor are being taxed.

The problem is compounded by the fact that the sales taxes imposed by federal and provincial governments hit hardest at the poor.. many of the poor do pay income and other taxes; it is one of the causes of their poverty.

...All of this seems to point to the need for closer and continuing consultation between governments and between departments of government to see how the various pieces fit together and to consider whether greater efforts cannot be made to ensure coordination of principles and objectives."

As economist Thomas Wilson has pointed out, it is a fact that Canada's poorest people pay a higher proportion of income in taxes than anyone else. Taking into account the effect of all forms of direct and indirect taxation, some lowest income Canadians pay in taxes some 60 per cent of income.

The Board of Evangelism and Social Service has already indicated its support for current tax reform proposals insofar as these would effect greater equity in taxation.

But we would lay special stress on this issue because it really does strike to the heart of the policy choices—(the basic value and goal system)—of our society. We will merely tinker with poverty problems unless we relate the processes and structures of the *total* tax system to the *total* expenditure pattern of our society.

This matter has been effectively stated by A. J. Robinson ("The Concept of Equity in the Carter Report"—*Public Finance in Canada-Selected Readings*, Toronto, Methuen Publications—p. 30) (emphasis added):

"To achieve equity in the sense of a reduction in income inequality is one of the major objectives of modern government. The two principle instruments are taxation and expenditures, and it is the combination of the two that determines the net effect on equity. For example, a steeply progressive tax schedule combined with expenditures that benefit the well-to-do (highways, power boat facilities, airport construction, subsidies to cultural activities) could be less equitable than a moderately progressive tax schedule with expenditures that benefit

lower-income groups (public hospital, low rent housing, services to the aged and indigent)".

If the thrust of education expenditures continues to benefit the rich more than the poor.

If health care institutions continue to develop along traditional lines without turning toward a new kind of practice that stresses "prevention";

If urban transportation networks are basically 'access and escape' routes for the affluent, without priority and dollars being devoted to the design of alternative transportation networks that will serve the total population of a Canadian urban region;

If we become more and more a "credential society" with numerous enclaves protecting their 'turf' against 'outsiders'—and that at a time when the multi-disciplinary approach is the only way through to viable policy;

If our rural programs continue to deal in piecemeal fashion with economic and production crises while we ignore the need for viable 'rurapolitan' models;....*then modest victories for equity in the income tax system will not be of much accounts.* Justice must inform both the tax system and the expenditure flows if we are to have equity—and eradicate poverty.

II

Income Maintenance and Redistribution Measures should be primarily a Federal Responsibility to make possible radical re-design of Provincial "welfare" systems and a de-emphasis on tax types that have a regressive effect on the poor.

(a) We believe that the Federal Government is the appropriate jurisdiction for Canadian income maintenance programs. We suggest that federal priority in this area would permit the most effective coordination of present policies and the development of more equitable ones in the future.

We have already suggested that increase in old age security payments, unemployment insurance payments, would lift many Canadians above the poverty line.

We would now suggest that *en route* to a guaranteed income program for Canada, the federal government should consider a major improvement in family and youth allowance benefits. We would propose that the benefits be tripled (going

from \$6, \$8 and \$10 as at present to \$18, \$24 and \$30). We suggest that youth allowances should be available beyond the age of 17 when, by simple declaration, it is shown that the person is not attached to the labour force and is involved in some form of training program.

The costs of such a transformation of benefits would not be excessive, if benefits became taxable income, and if tax exemptions for children and youth were reduced or eliminated, in coordination with appropriate revisions of the current *White Paper tax reform proposals*. (By the time the proposals, or amended versions, go into effect, the basic exemption system may require upward revision to secure the equity sought in the current proposals).

The effect of these changes would be to maximize the benefit to the poor and the near-poor (the underemployed, the unemployed and the low-income wage earners), while also maximizing recovery (through the tax system) of demogrants from those who do not need them. The federal borrowing costs need not be excessive since adjustments in the tax deduction procedures would keep the recoveries "on stream".

The changes proposed would move Canada laterally in the direction of more comprehensive guaranteed income arrangements, and would in effect achieve such a result for the most vulnerable segments of society.

At the same time, policy design for a guaranteed income program could be going on. We suggest that consideration might be given to introducing such a program in one region; for example, Prince Edward Island. It is a relatively small, "manageable" jurisdiction (at least it is "manageable" for purposes of program design!) and it might be possible to test here the procedures that would permit a nation-wide re-working of income maintenance programs to achieve a guaranteed income system. In principle, we support the concept of a guaranteed income program as a "social right" objective for Canada.

At the same time, however, the current rigidities of the g.i.s. in the old age security program suggests that a premature launch of such a scheme would be undesirable. Obviously, unless care is taken, the guaranteed annual income mechanism can "lock" the poor in their poverty, rather than free them.

(In any event, as the Committee knows, there are prodigious technical and conceptual problems to be overcome—for example, how much erosion of adequate income levels can be tolerated as a "trade off" for probably necessary "work incentives".)

(b) The fundamental shift we propose in federal income maintenance policy, in our judgment, does not threaten or diminish provincial constitutional responsibility in the field of "welfare".

On the contrary, we believe that it will make possible the radical, essential re-orientation of provincial welfare systems away from the administration of relief (!) in the direction of human and community development processes.

Moreover, if the "faster-growth" tax fields of the federal authority were used to finance income maintenance programs for all Canadians, the provinces would be able to shift the use of their more restricted, slower-growth tax fields:

(a) toward community development and human development programs (education, health, neighbourhood (community) design, organization and support services and

(b) ease the pressures on real poverty taxation, which is "punishing" more and more segments of the provincial society.

It is in this way that we see new federal revenues, generated through tax reform changes (estimated at \$630 millions a year), being used to achieve greater balance and equity in the total tax system.

III

Occupational Training and Up-grading programs must be improved in range and duration; and major grant funds should be available to private agencies in the adult education field.

Given the statistics on adult Canadians with very limited education or no formal education at all, present federal training programs are not adequate, and the program duration time is too short.

We have followed with great interest and concern the evidence your Committee has brought out concerning this matter. Since a 52 week program can at best achieve about 3-years upgrading educationally, the existing programs fall far short of what is required to upgrade the education levels of thousands of Canadians. The *Basic Training for Skills*

Development program must be extended in its coverage period to be of maximum use in overcoming the very considerable education deficiencies of many persons, and also to take account of the slower level of functioning of some adults who enter the program.

At the same time, we believe that major support should be given to organizations (public or private) who are on the front line of adult education work, especially in more remote areas, or who join adult education programs to processes of community animation.

We were greatly impressed with the *Frontier College, (Toronto)* submission to your Committee. We trust that the Department of Manpower and Immigration will lift grant assistance to the \$50,000 level proposed. Certainly we feel that such organizations should be encouraged; their skills and dedication used as widely and intensively as possible. Better grant support for such work is essential if we mean to build human development concepts into our anti-poverty programs.

IV

Canada should act now to end the blight of illiteracy in our country.

There are Canadians at work today (some of them church representatives) in many parts of the world, "making gains" against illiteracy.

What's the situation at home?

In response to a question raised in the House of Commons, March 9, 1970, Mr. Yves Forest replying for the President of the Privy Council, said that:

"In Canada's adult population (20 years and over) according to the 1961 census, there were 169,904 illiterates with no schooling...and 828,597 who were functionally illiterate, with one to four years of schooling.

According to the 1961 Census 13.4 per cent of the unemployed aged 15 to 19, and 10.4 per cent of those aged 20 to 24 were functionally illiterate, with less than five years of elementary education.

In 1967, 8.32 per cent of juvenile offenders were functionally illiterate (1,499 of 18,000 juvenile delinquents who had been to court). Of those who entered Training Schools in 1967, 12.83 per cent were functionally illiterate."

The Atlantic Development Board study *Profiles of Education in the Atlantic Provinces*, notes that 10.8 per cent of Canadians are illiterate or functionally illiterate. In some regions and communities of Canada the rate rises to 44 per cent, including levels of 6 per cent, 10 per cent and even 17 per cent total illiteracy. Such statistics are evidence of deep human deprivation. They also should help us sense how such deprivation will spill over to affect the milieu of the next generation.

Surely, as part of a comprehensive strategy against poverty, Canada will mobilize expertise, develop programs and adapt others, and through a coalition of public and volunteer effort, overcome illiteracy in our own nation.

In this connection we would refer the Committee to Appendix "B". This document is drawn from an Adult Education information newsletter, and suggests how modern communication systems can be used as aides in the effort to overcome illiteracy.

The document includes the names of some who are working actively in this field. We trust that the Committee will engage in study of this issue if you have not already done so. Moreover, we feel that it would be entirely appropriate to appeal to the Canadian Radio-Television Commission to consider methods by which TV and Cable systems in particular could be utilized in a campaign against illiteracy in Canada.

V

We urge that more be done to create training programs in a work context.

Too much training is *prior* to employment; we need more apprenticeship opportunities, skills development programs, *in the context* of employment. We rightly value competence and standards. Yet we can become a "credentials society" where many are excluded from motivating opportunities through a most cruel credentials case system. We believe that a partnership of industry, government, the trades unions and private agencies (e.g. Frontier College) can open up such opportunities. Industry in Canada needs to be as active in this field as American industry. Indeed, many Canadian branch plants of U.S. concerns should be investing in the kinds of programs the U.S. plants of these firms are now sponsoring! It is perhaps time to work through again the special *Manpower* study of the Canadian Senate, and find there material that bears precisely on this point.

Arthur Pearl and Frank Riessman take this position: "Training cannot (now) be considered a prerequisite for employment... There can be no end to poverty unless it is fully appreciated that, for the most part, training or the poor must take place *after* employment is secured... A consequence of unimpeded and unplanned growth is lack of continuity and linkage between institutions, organizations and agencies. This deficiency in connection is felt most strongly by the poor since they lack resources of their own. There is often no passageway for the poor from education to employment... If there is to be a path from poverty, not only must there be change within structures, but there also must be integration between structures."

VI

The Board of Evangelism and Social Service supports vigorous efforts on the part of Canadian unions to organize the 60 per cent of Canadian employees still outside worker organizations.

To be sure, unions, like all other institutions in our society, must discard outmoded styles, develop new procedures and accept job changes due to technological shifts.

But the poor—especially the working poor—need unions that are actively and effectively engaged in their historic struggle to lift men and women out of conditions of depressed wages, dangerous conditions of work, and inadequate security.

And the poor can benefit immeasurably from union ventures in the field of community development. Indeed, the splendid union-sponsored project in the Kenora (Ontario) region suggests something of the contribution that Canadian unions can make to the economic and social liberation of Indian and Metis people.

We believe that unions in Canada have a very critical "advocacy" role in this age of international corporations. Policy decisions of such corporations may show scant concern for government economic policy in the host country of one of their units; and even less concern for the human and community issues (e.g. the Dunlop shut-down, Toronto). Obviously, narrow protectionism is not an adequate response. But unions do have leverage in the 'new industrial scene' and such leverage is important.

The continued strength and growth of unions is also important at a time when smaller-scale manufacturing and service industries are springing into existence in great numbers. For example, since the post-war wave of immigration hit the Toronto region, it is estimated that 1,000 separate metal-working concerns have been established.

(Mr. Murray Coterill).

Some 40.9 per cent of Canada's poor, and 66.5 per cent of the 'unattached' persons live in Canada's cities. As they obtain employment they are very vulnerable, and can easily be held to low wage levels in an industrial 'ghetto'. Union organizing activity, therefore, is important as a remedial force seeking to overcome depressed working conditions. It is to be hoped that Canadian trade unionists will continue efforts to supply organizers to the unemployed poor and the working poor, as a countervailing pressure on the side of social justice.

VII

There is need for housing and land development policies that are truly 'on stream' with other elements of anti-poverty strategy.

For many months, our Board has been concerned with the growing crisis in housing for lower-income Canadians, a crisis that persists despite government policies to direct more funds toward housing for lower income groups. Indeed, as a Board, we have tried to undertake a demonstration project in multi-income-level housing and found that there was no way we could achieve a project that would reach the lowest group.

In 1965, about 97 per cent of N.H.A. loans went to the income group representing about 60 per cent of Canadians.

Today, many housing markets in Canada are available only to the upper *third* of the population.

In 1969, 205,000 housing starts were achieved—and yet the "filter down" process works less and less adequately. Thus the real issue, as President H. Hignett of Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation said, is "not the numbers, but the mix".

We were greatly interested in the CMHC brief to your Committee, which stressed how "much of the population has no access to areas of new buildings and the choice of access among those who can afford new hous-

ing is narrowly restricted by the level of their income..." Mr. Hignett brought clearly before us all the fact of "territorial separation" taking place, especially in metropolitan communities; a separation between rich and poor.

We support the main recommendations advanced in the CMHC presentation. In particular:

- (i) dispersion of public housing units in smaller groupings
- (ii) preservation and rehabilitation of neighbourhoods
- (iii) involvement of citizens in community design processes
- (iv) housing allowance programs to assist lower income families

We believe that other improvements are required in Canada's housing/land development programs:

(a) We believe that despite the Economic Council's strictures (in 1967) that housing had tended to bear too large a proportion of the burden of cyclical adjustment, Canadian housing policy is still too tied to fiscal and monetary policy considerations.

(b) We suggest that Canadian housing legislation needs to provide some of the interest-supported, rent supplement and non-profit program possibilities available under U.S. housing law.

For example, "221 (d) (3)" housing is a program of below-market rate of interest which enables non-profit groups, cooperatives, and other agencies to provide housing for families of moderate income.

Under certain categories of U.S. rent supplement program, 95 per cent to 100 per cent borrowing is possible, enabling non-profit, cooperative, groups to venture into the housing field. This type of scheme has particular relevance for churches, since in many instances land is available, owned by the churches, and in effective locations.

(c) We feel strongly that Canada must take seriously the enormous influence of land costs on the costs of shelter.

In their splendid brief to your Committee, the *Social Planning and Research Council of Hamilton and District*, (at paragraphs 3.84, 3.85) argued that "since the cost of land is such a large part of the cost of housing, and since land costs have been rising so marked-

ly" we must consider the common European practice of municipal (governmental) ownership of land. We would strongly support new initiatives and experiments in this direction even as we would affirm that land-tax policies (as part of the total network of taxation) should be re-examined to see what they might contribute to more rational use of existing serviced land and the avoidance of gross inflation of land values through speculative holdings.

Walter Stewart (writing in *Maclean's Magazine*, February, 1970) has shown dramatically (stunningly!) how even a public program to ease the problems of home ownership (there is not a little irony in the designation: H.O.M.E.) can have the effect of boosting land costs, even though it can probably be argued that without HOME intervention the land costs would have been much greater still. (4,602 lots at \$4,000 per lot; 18 to the acre on land that originally sold for \$1,100 per acre. Assuming \$20,000 per acre for servicing costs, the author projects gains of some \$50,000 per acre—see pages 23ff.)

Obviously, public intervention (as in Saskatoon) at the level of land acquisition and servicing can work to ease the cost of housing. Moreover, such intervention can also serve to guide the development of Canadian communities—counteracting "sprawl"; providing for natural amenities; linking such developments with other networks and systems of schools, roads, transportation.

If to this point we have concentrated on matters of income, provision of shelter and access to economic and personal development opportunities, it is because these matters are fundamental to a truly comprehensive, co-ordinated and effective attack on poverty in Canada.

The Economic Council of Canada has put it very well:

"In absolute dollar terms—the difference in amounts spent—the poor are most deprived of sufficient food, clothing, shelter and transportation. However, viewing the expenditures of the poor as a percentage of the expenditures of the non-poor, those living in poverty are most deprived, in a relative sense, of transportation, of recreation, of furnishings and equipment, of reading material, of medical care, of personal care, of clothing and of items to complement the formal education system.

One of the most important consequences of poverty is that it affects the ability of the poor to invest in themselves and thereby to lead more productive lives... (This) is likely to have particularly serious consequences on young children whose potential abilities are largely shaped in the years of early childhood... Even the possibility of significant child nutrition problems, seemingly so improbable in this country, must be taken seriously."

VIII

We would conclude this section with a series of concerns which we call:

POLICIES THAT AFFIRM PERSONS!

If that seems dramatic, it is because we need to dramatize the damage that has been done to human dignity; how again and again the result of all the assaults on selfhood can be summed up in Joseph Lyford's statement: 'In my neighbourhood an adult is a dead child.'

(i) Justice for the poor

The Honourable John Turner said it plainly? "It is the poor who suffer most from society masked in the trappings of the law. For it is they who are victimized when urban renewal arbitrarily disrupts a neighbourhood; it is the poor who are hurt when creditors garnishee wages or repossess furniture; it is the poor who are deprived when welfare agencies deny, reduce or terminate, welfare benefits on vague, unarticulated or clearly illegal grounds; it is the poor who are penalized when... landlords... withhold repairs or capriciously evict them into the street; it is the poor who are hit by bail procedures linked to financial means; it is the poor whose privacy is invaded and whose dignity is denied... Too often the poor see the law not as a friend but as an enemy, not as an aid but as an adversary, not as a remedy but as an obstacle".

Appendix "C" is a statement issued by the Canadian Council of Churches during the course of its 1969 Triennial Assembly.

We support the findings of that statement, and its call to action in the field of law reform.

We support the efforts of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association to secure "due process" for welfare recipients when they

deal with "the system". We urge prompt action in all Canadian jurisdictions to reform the law and regulations in respect of Landlord and Tenant Expropriation Law; and Family Law. We are delighted to note the way in which law students and faculty have begun to offer legal aid services, especially in the "preventive-advisory" field. We urge that all appropriate steps be taken to stop the demeaning of the poor through "hassling" bureaucratic procedures and invasions of privacy. We urge that effective way be found to inform program recipients of their rights, details as to levels of aid, and appeal procedures. We strongly urge the abandonment of procedures whereby administrators of programs are members of appeal tribunals judging the adequacy of service given. We urge the naming of recipients of service, or their representatives, to membership on appeal bodies.

(ii) Family Planning

The repeal of provisions of the Criminal Code making it an offence to sell or distribute information about birth control or contraceptive materials, has resulted in little government action to ensure that such services are available to Canadian citizens.

We endorse the submission of the Family Planning Association on this matter. Terrible damage is being done to individuals and families because information and counselling services are not generally available. We are aware of the convictions of some regarding permissible forms of family planning. We respect such views even though we cannot concur with them.

We do insist that the Government, in certain of its own programs and through support granted to independent agencies, ought to make real "options" known and available to Canadians.

(iii) Nursing Home Care

Older persons, and sometimes their children, often face bankrupting costs and hopelessness because nursing home service does not fall within the framework of allowable health care costs.

Other basic forms of care and treatment are also excluded.

We believe that ways must be found to bring at least the major portion of such costs within the health insurance program.

(iv) Community 'Supportive' Services

We believe that the various levels of government ought to stimulate experimentation in programs and delivery of services. Family agencies, Homemaker services, Hospital outpatient departments, church agencies and others should be encouraged to develop new networks of service, seize new opportunities to be supporting of persons and families in their neighbourhoods; and assume "advocacy" roles on behalf of the poor.

Many agencies and institutions need to be "turned on" again. Combinations of public and private funding may result in more diversified, "open" services, less bureaucratic and closer to the streets...for example:

—the "Family Doctor" Service being offered by the Children's Hospital (Winnipeg) outpatient department, an attempt to bring 'family practice' preventive health service to families in a core-city neighbourhood;

—the Day Centre and Clinic Services that can be operated out of homes for the aged for the benefit of a much wider community than the "community of the institution" itself;

—the Meals Programs or Drop-in-Centre programs which improve the eating patterns of older persons through providing the nourishment of companionship;

—Day Care Services and Head Start Nursery programs that can be "plugged in" to homes, neighbourhood and school, and will do much to release the potential of thousands of youngsters;

—Family Development and Community Involvement Programs related to Day Care Services bring parents new understanding of their role in "turning on" the potential in their children. In this way they are not 'given' service; rather they are routed into the mainstream as partners, decision-makers, and helpers.

We are calling for community Human Development Centres—a thrust toward prevention; building into our communities a focal point for new styles of service, 'mixes', coalitions—all leading to the renewal of institutions serving families and children.

Beyond such services there are the Citizen Organizations themselves. *The encouragement and support of such indigenous action groups is a "must"*. Michael Harrington observes ("The Politics of Poverty") that the point of such community organization is not "uplift". "In Harlem", (writes Harrington), "Kenneth Clark points out in his *Dark Ghetto*, people

on a block organized to clean up the street. That, Clark says, was the wrong thing to do, for it implied acceptance of the theory that the street was litter-strewn because (they) were at fault. In point of fact the real culprit was the city administration...And the real demand should have been political organization to force the city to give the street its due."

That process of becoming visible, vocal, asking for consideration and actions that are their due—such group activity has a real and positive role to play in breaking the helplessness and dehumanizing effects of poverty.

Appendix "D" is an interesting account of how "Challenge for Change" filming techniques have shifted balances in favour of the weak, (even to the point of getting news and media representatives uptight!).

(v) Commitment to the Education of All Children

At the present time, we have laws that compel the attendance of children at school. *This does not necessarily mean that our society, thereby, has made a commitment to the education of all children.*

Indeed, there is mounting evidence of the need for deep renewal in the processes and 'systems' of education. Very often, the children of the poor are severely injured by the present education processes...often receiving inadequate programs in worn-out buildings. Little is expected from "those" children, and predictably, little is often achieved. This is a critical matter that should force every jurisdiction to examine priorities—the *actual priorities as reflected in expenditure flows*. In a variety of ways, university education is 'weighted' in favour of the more affluent, and is heavily subsidized. *Minimal resources are available for vital compensatory education in lower income areas—rural as well as urban.* Are we making the best use of the millions spent on school and university buildings? Must we not consider moving to tri-mester patterns to maximize use of university centres; and regard school facilities as *community resource centres* and not simply education centres, thus breaking the part-day, part-year utilization of expensive facilities?

Should we not do more to enlist the involvement of the community in the total education process, and develop cadres of parents, indigenous support staff to stimulate lagging children of less affluent neighbour-

hoods? We must find ways past the "score-oriented" admission policies of universities to permit the entry of students whose ability far exceeds their "score achievements". Moreover, we must break the "stream" sorting process that beyond question tends to shunt the children of the "have-nots" toward dead-end vocational choices, or limited career possibilities. (See Appendix 'E' for material on this point).

THE ROLE OF THE CHURCH

The Board of Evangelism and Social Service is committed to the belief that the worlds of politics, social policy, and community action are appropriate areas—indeed, necessary arenas—for Christian "presence" and service.

With Bonhoeffer we are convinced that "the Church is her true self only when she exists for humanity."

One of the great new facts of these years is the partnership that has developed among Christians and with those of other faiths.

In 1969, in company with Catholic and Protestant church bodies in Canada, our denomination committed itself to a unified strategy, a strategy we believe to be required of us by the human need of our time and the constraints of our faith:

1. Review Resources and Revise Priorities...ministry of penance

Take stock of existing manpower, revenues, investments, and buildings in the light of human needs.

Examine consciences. What changes in priorities are required?

2. Commit More Resources to Development ...ministry of sharing

Reassign church personnel to give priority time to human development, such as service with self-help projects.

De-emphasize new building and stress community uses of existing properties.

Commit more financial resources. Some possibilities:

Earmark an increasing percentage of annual congregational/parish income for development programs.

Sponsor youth and adults in leadership training and development programs.

Provide "seed money" for lower-income housing.

Organize interchurch campaigns to support self-help projects.

3. Animate People...ministry of hope

Give priority to the education of Christians' social conscience, at all ages. Show the relationship between worship and social action.

Help organize public forums for the free debate of key issues.

Support programs of social animation to release "people power."

4. Initiate Political Action...ministry of justice

Assist the deprived and minority groups to organize. Join them in putting their problems before the public and elected authorities.

Present interchurch briefs on critical development issues to federal, provincial, and municipal governments.

Issue informed statements and comments on key public issues when they are 'hot'.

Support research into the "human consequences" of public policies in such fields as science, defence, education and family life.

We are very conscious that there are parishes and congregations that do not sense any obligation to risk themselves and their resources in actions in support of the weak or the poor.

But we do report a stirring across Canada, a new disposition to place ministries to persons ahead of erecting buildings, a new willingness to use existing properties imaginatively in the service of community, and an orientation to action-political and social involvement.

—in Montreal the Roman Catholic diocese committed \$100,000 to a project of animation and community organization in a seriously blighted area;

—in Saskatchewan, a small rural congregation raised \$1,000 as a development loan to permit an Indian-Metis organization to develop a leather-craft industry;

—an urban congregation in Vancouver sparked a truly liberating care service for severely retarded children; and followed that up with the organization of a group that will provide one-to-one probation service under supervision;

—an ecumenical partnership of churches formed a corporation to develop social ministry projects in downtown Edmonton;

—a minister helped put together a Citizen's Committee on Corrections which has championed legal aid reforms and secured the renovation of a detention centre;

—a suburban congregation funded a lively Resource Centre for community organization and human development.

We could multiply the examples. But our purpose is not to show "how right and relevant we are". *It is to suggest a significant shift in style.*

The Board of Evangelism and Social Service is active itself in a variety of community, animation and experimental projects (in concert with other Boards and agencies of our denomination).

We believe there can be no separation of "spiritual" and "secular"; that all the 'worlds' of man inter-connect; that our complex society requires multitrack, inter-disciplinary partnerships of action and service, if the human is to be preserved and fulfilled.

In our Church-in-Society operations we are ourselves making the kinds of policy shifts we are commending to your Committee in the area of public policy.

We intend to move away from building "institutions for the aged" to develop instead, service networks and facilities for older persons in the wider community (often using our Homes as a base):

We are asking that our Homes change their By-Laws to provide that residents of the Homes are represented on Boards of Management;

We granted \$45,000 to a housing neighbourhood rehabilitation fund in the Halifax area. Our resources teamed up with a \$90,000 Provincial grant to launch the kind of community self-help housing scheme that we believe to be essential in many parts of Canada;

We have helped support community organization projects in Vancouver, Toronto and Winnipeg;

We intend to aim more of our resources in support of youth-directed clinic services and "hostel" projects;

We have provided grant support to a citizen's newspaper group in Montreal (your Special Committee has heard from them already!), and we will attempt to place more resources behind such indigenous action groups;

We have helped finance the launching of Information Services; a Day Care Centre; a Home for Emotionally Disturbed Children; a Residence for Young (Transient) Women; and Half-Way Houses for young offenders—and we intend to enlarge this sector of our work;

Some members of our Board, in association with representatives of other denominations, are engaged in a study of the Churches' Role in the Field of Corrections. Out of that study will come new initiatives and partnerships of action and service.

Once again, these matters are noted, not to elicit commendation, but to indicate what we believe to be required of the Church at this time by the very nature of the Christian message. We believe such are the ways the Church must be "present" in our society—as a "human partner", as an agent of change, as an ally of those who are poor, or weak, or preyed upon.

Moreover, almost all the ventures, programs and partnerships we have mentioned are not "church-dominated;" some are ecumenical; many are not church-related at all. We believe this "crossing of the borders" is what must happen if positive accomplishments are to occur.

But we have no cause to be complacent.

Truth to tell, we have a long way to go to be as 'real' as the times demand we should be!

CONCLUSION

All the really important themes of society (and of church) come to the "moment of truth" when we confront the issue of poverty.

Poverty *can* be eradicated, if we *will* to eradicate it.

The thrust of our public policies, the actions and concerns of institutions (such as the churches) will show whether we have that will.

As John Gardner has said, we had better understand "that the moral order is not static

...or stowed away like the family silver. It is an attribute of a functioning social system. As such it is a living, changing thing, liable to decay and disintegration as well as to revitalizing and reinforcement, and never any better than the generation that holds it in trust."

Our society is being continuously re-created, for good or for ill.

The response we make to poverty in our midst is a fundamental challenge to our humanity, and tests the integrity of Canada as a nation.

APPENDIX 'A'

EXAMPLES OF SUPPLEMENTARY INCOME

PAYMENTS TO WELFARE RECIPIENTS IN CALGARY, 1969

Cases	Age and Sex of Family Head	Number of Dependents and ages of Children	Family Income (Per Month)	Source of Income (Per Month)	Estimated Family Budget (Per Month)	Social Allowance (Per Month)
1	Male 46	(5) 18, 14, 9, 6 and Wife	\$ 78.13	Workmen's Compensation	\$385.90	\$307.77
2	Female 32	(4) 11, 9, 7, 6	272.00	Employed	416.00	144.00
3	Female 42	(2) 16, 13	150.00	Employed	283.05	133.05
4	Female 28	(4) 10, 8, 7, 5	160.00	Maintenance	280.80	120.80
5	Female 41	(1) 8	219.60	Employed	272.36	62.76
6	Female 26	(2) 8, 2	200.00	Employed	242.43	42.43
7	Female 39	(6) 16 → 3	0	—	407.35	407.35
8	Male 50	(3) 15, 12, 8	300.00	Employed	428.00	128.00
9	Female 70	0	107.10	O.A.S.	121.60	14.50
10	Female 57	0	79.00	Pension	121.60	42.60
11	Female 36	(3) 12, 11, 10	262.00	Employed	328.20	66.20
12	Female 21	(1) 3	151.84	Employed	196.26	44.42
13	Female 64	0	17.00	Pension	129.60	112.60
14	Female 71	0	107.10	O.A.S.	135.60	28.50
15	Male 59	(1) Wife 56	80.00	Employment	209.09	129.09

APPENDIX 'B'

"ROLE OF TV IN REACHING ILLITERATE ADULTS"

(Excerpt from Mass Media Adult Education—No. 22, October 1969 Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio)

The extent of illiteracy in the United States today, and the consequent size of the potential Adult Basic Education task, is explored by Angelica Watson Cass in an Ed. D. dissertation MM/AE has just received. Entitled *The Role of Television in Reaching Illiterate Adults With a Literacy Program Series*, Dr. Cass' study offers valuable insights to Adult Educators; we present some highlights here.

In the 1960 census, failure to complete the third grade was taken as indication of illiteracy. Over nine million Americans over 25 years of age were so classified. A 1963 HEW study shows this problem to be not a regional, but a nationwide, one. The percentage of illiterates in the population varies from 3% in Utah, to 8% in New York, to 21% in Louisiana, says Dr. Cass, but the largest number of illiterates live in New York, California, and Texas.

Nine million would represent around 9% of the 1960 adult population, but there is reason to believe that some proportion of census respondents did not entirely level with the interviewer regarding educational attainment. At any rate, less than two decades earlier, when the armed forces used not formal educational attainment but reading ability at fourth grade level as a criterion of literacy, 13.5% of American males of military age were found to be illiterate. Given the somewhat lesser valuation placed upon female education in our society, and the fact that older Americans were more likely to be illiterate than men of military age, the presumed then level of illiteracy by fourth grade reading standard would probably have been well above the 13.5% level.

Today, according to a 1964 NAPSAE study (Brice and Huyck), "functional illiterates," adults who cannot read and write well enough to use these skills on the job, and are thus barred from more than marginal function in a technological society, comprise *twenty-two per cent* of the adult population. This in a society where education at least to functional literacy has been a major article of

public faith for two centuries and a major call upon an enormous GNP.

Nor have our traditional public school and private agency efforts to eradicate illiteracy had much impact thus far. Comparison of AGE registration figures with census illiteracy figures indicate that we are at present reaching between one and three per cent of adult illiterates with literacy programs. In a careful 1962-63 New York State Department of Education analysis of AGE programs in six upstate cities, precise figures became available; 667 persons were enrolled in public school classes for illiterates out of a census-determined illiterate adult population of 101,000 in those six cities, two-thirds of 1%. According to a 1963 study cited by Dr. Cass, in over half of U.S. communities, and in 48% of a large sample of schools checked, no literacy classes existed, and where they did exist, an enrollment fee often formed a substantial deterrent to potential students. Even in communities blessed by active literacy programs, says Dr. Cass, "classes were usually held in locations not frequented by those in need of this instruction, the classes were poorly publicized, and there was no effective recruitment of illiterate adults."

Not until 1966 did even one college (City College of New York) offer a course in materials and methods in adult basic education. ABE programs have overwhelmingly been taught (and are still taught) either by elementary school teachers, trained in patterns appropriate to child-teaching or by "lay volunteers and 'moonlighters'."

The eruption of television into a central position in American life seemed, and seems, to offer unique opportunities for basic education. By 1960 TV was present in 91 per cent of American homes, a 1963 study showed TV present in 95 per cent of lowest income homes, and several studies confirmed that the less education possessed by the viewer, the more importance (and authority) attached by that person to TV. Moreover, television meets the viewer in the privacy of his own home, obviating the problem of 'confessing' poor education by attending public classes. It makes possible the use of the most skilled teachers and the most advanced techniques, and—given a large potential audience—is superior to any other teaching method known in cost-per-student.

Between 1958 and 1961 several television literacy series had been developed and aired. The first of these was *Streamlined Reading*, followed by *Learn for Living*, P.S. No. 4, *Learning to Read*, and *Operation Alphabet*. It is this latter series which Dr. Cass focusses upon in her study, from its inception in Philadelphia in 1958 through its utilization in New York City beginning in 1963.

The series consisted of 100 half-hour presentations, each of which presented a three or four sentence story based upon an everyday practical situation. Opportunity was made for practice of the words used in the story and for cursive writing practice. Coordinated with each program was an 8½ x 11 sheet displaying the words and the story of one program. Line illustrations and lined practice sheets for writing were also included in the supplementary materials kit sent to registrants. The series consisted of four days of new material presentation and a day of review for 20 weeks. It was intended that a conscientious adult learner could approximate third grade level in reading and writing by the time he reached the one hundredth lesson. During the final week of the series, viewers were invited to make use of a special lined page included in the fourth unit of materials to write a letter of comment about *Operation Alphabet* to the Board of Education. 2500 letters were received, corrected, and returned. During the next year, 1962, the series was rerun twice, to increasing enrollment, and increased enrollment characterized each succeeding year of operation up to 1964-65, where Dr. Cass' data end.

In 1962 NAPSAE was given the copyright and booking rights for the television series and the supplementary materials, so great had the interest in the series become in other cities, and a grant was obtained from 3M to provide an additional set of a hundred videotapes to ease booking problems. By 1963 about 100 cities, including nearly all of the largest, had shown *Operation Alphabet* once or three times through, largely on commercial stations. "At any one time television stations in twenty cities around the country were showing the series."

In 1963, Dr. Cass in her then-capacity as Supervisor of Adult Elementary Education in the New York State Education Department, proposed that *Operation Alphabet* be used in the four largest areas of illiteracy concentra-

tion, of which New York City with over three quarters of a million illiterates was the largest, in the State. Three NYC stations used the tapes, 'bicycling' them on for same day presentation, and then sending each week's set on to Albany which was one week later in the utilization of the cycle. The series was widely promoted by pamphlets, street car broadsides, newspaper publicity, etc. A second screening on the three stations commenced as soon as the 100th program had been shown. 2500 participants received certificates as a result of passing the terminal test for the first showing.

On the basis of experimental findings in the basic education and related fields, and on the basis of the observations of experienced literacy workers, Dr. Cass develops a schema of thirty-six 'standards of excellence' in eight major areas by which literacy programs in general and television literacy programs in particular can be evaluated. These standards of excellence form a new contribution to the field, and are not subject to summarization. Those evaluating television literacy programs or planning to present such a program should be aware of Dr. Cass' work here, and would find perusal of the original document of value. In evaluating the New York presentation of *Operation Alphabet*, Dr. Cass finds that 16 of the thirty-six standards were met very adequately; 17 were met partially, with minor 'gaps', many of which were unavoidable in the circumstances; and three of the standards were not met: (1) Provision of widespread publicity and the development of machinery to recruit viewers, (2) provision for frequent and varied repetition of content, and (3) response of the larger society to the new literates in the form of a significant recognition as a reward for the effort involved in completing the lesson series (particularly recognition in the form of advantage in securing better employment). It might be noted, parenthetically, that as John Ohliger observed in his study of tele-discussion groups, reported in MM/AE's last issue, the development of publicity and machinery to recruit participants has long been one of the most significant weaknesses of programs developed for 'listening' or 'viewing' groups of all kinds.

Dr. Cass makes a number of significant recommendations which should be of interest to planners of such programs in the future. Among these are that considerable time (two or three years) be budgeted *in advance* for

building community awareness of the magnitude of the problem—nearly one adult in four functionally illiterate; one in twelve totally illiterate—and in securing both broad community support, moral and financial, for the program, and broad community commitment to 'reward' those who complete the course by considering them for job-advancement or for initial employment in the light of new-skill acquirement; and that research on the effectiveness of the series must accompany and follow presentation both to increase effectiveness of subsequent series and to provide data to support further presentations. Additional, more basic, research is also needed on learning characteristics of adult illiterates (and thus on teaching methods) and on techniques of motivation applicable to a population group which has suffered repeated rebuff and failure in attempts to move into the mainstream affluent society.

Says Dr. Cass, in a concluding remark: "television is no panacea for adult illiteracy...when utilized, it should be considered as only a part of a total community campaign against illiteracy."

This new study, coming as it does not only from a perceptive researcher and thoughtful analyst, but also from one who has had significant responsibility for the planning and implementation of literacy programming for the state of New York, is one to be noted by all basic education people and in particular by those contemplating the use of television in the struggle against illiteracy. MM/AE does not have information on the availability of the Dissertation at this time, and therefore refers inquirers directly to Dr. Cass, Program Head/Asst. Professor, Adult and Community Education, City College of New York, 414 East 52nd St., New York, N.Y. 10022.

POVERTY IN CANADA

(Report of Section II of the Assembly of the Canadian Council of Churches which met in Montreal, November 24-28, 1969. As the first paragraph of the report notes, the Section included, in addition to delegates from the denominations, representatives of citizen groups, the National Work Council, the National Indian Brotherhood and other "peoples organizations".)

In the spirit of our Christian faith we have met for two days with persons who have suffered hurt and injustice from the social,

political and economic realities of Canadian life and we have, to a limited but definite degree, experienced their hurt. We have become more deeply aware, consequently, of the forces operating in Canadian life that affront and destroy human dignity. We have gained some understanding of the meaning of poverty to the poor. We have heard that our society at the moment merely offers to those it hurts palliative measures. It but applies salve for the sores. Those trapped in poverty, we have come to understand, comprise the deprived, mentally and physically; the welfare recipients, the low income worker, the sick; the handicapped; the less brilliant; the timid; the needy mothers; and the old; and their number keeps growing. The sores suffered by the poor arise we have learned from the operation of our society and, more fundamentally, from the dominant motive from which it acts, namely to value profits more than people.

We have become more deeply aware that the Church itself to a large extent accepts the assumptions of the society and helps to perpetrate and perpetuate the hurts suffered by the poor. Too frequently our helping others exacts from them the price of accepting their depressed condition.

We are also aware of the appalling apathy and ignorance in this area on the part of a great number of Church people. We call upon the Canadian Council of Churches in co-operation with the Canadian Catholic Conference and all their member bodies to launch a massive campaign to break down these areas of unconcern and lack of knowledge. We are also aware that the organized Church still has a voice which can be heard and it is our duty to speak for those who have the least opportunity to speak for themselves. We observe a tendency on the part of churches to assume that they can do almost anything better than anyone else. This leads to denominational programs receiving priority in time and finance without a true recognition of the contribution that can be made by some of the newer organizations; opportunities for new involvement outside our traditional structures. We must see beyond the "protest" in these groups the constructive programs for a better and more just society with which we are in whole-hearted agreement.

Our values need honestly to be reexamined so that people can be given control of their lives and destiny. We need to understand that

society is for people rather than people for society.

We have learned specifically that the poor have been deprived of such rights as:

1. Free assembly in certain instances.
2. The right of public assembly in certain instances.
3. Personal dignity in the administration of welfare.
4. Ready and accurate information as to their rights under existing law.
5. Fair and equal treatment as to allowances made under the law. (which in any case are below the poverty level set by the Economic Council of Canada).

In order to give the poor a voice so as to make possible the redress of these grievances we urge the Churches to recognize and support the validity, and advocate the establishment, of "citizens rights committees", welfare rights unions and tenants associations as collective bargaining units.

We urge the establishment and promotion of community development approach to programs among the poor to enable them to identify their needs and to decide the methods to meet those needs.

Funds for these programs should be provided by government, business and churches. We urge, therefore, that the Canadian Council of Churches:

(a) Through the Canadian Affairs Commission ask its member communions and their parishes and congregations to examine the role that the Canadian Council of Churches can play in their name in involving them in bringing to bear their resources on the social policies of federal and provincial governments in conjunction with their own efforts in local areas and regions; and to urge the communions and/or parishes and congregations to provide the resources (funds, personnel and authority) necessary to perform this role; and to make their information concerning the federal and provincial social policies available to the public. We further suggest that the Canadian Catholic Conference be requested to take similar action appropriate to their structures.

(b) Make available a national fund (or funds for organization of people's com-

mittees in a wide range of problems at the local level. These committees should operate autonomously as to policy. The Churches should provide staff or money to hire staff, and subsidize other Church committees may be organized ecumenically on a local or regional basis to recommend an allocation of funds. Members may participate in policy committees but must be careful not to run them.

In addition, clergy and laity in their respective roles should become actively involved in assisting the disadvantaged people of the community in dealing with their problems particularly in matters of employment, welfare and housing.

The congregations or parishes should become involved in working with other community groups as advocates of reform in the law:—

(1) *Law of Landlord and Tenant*—in respect of a human standard of accommodation and reasonable security of tenure, and further, to afford protection against unjust rents;

(2) *Family Law*:

(a) to afford better protection for separated spouses and children

—to provide maintenance from public funds without placing the onus of prosecuting the deserter upon the deserted partner;

—to protect better the rights of children born out of wedlock by removing the requirements of the mother taking proceedings against a putative father;

—proceedings (in each case in which proceedings are justified) should be taken by the province where public assistance has been given, or on request by the mother or deserted partner

(b) to permit supplementing from public funds the income of disadvantaged families to bring their income to a level necessary for adequate support of the family as a unit;

(c) and to ensure that these things are done without prejudice or affront to the dignity of the poor as human beings.

We believe that the Council ought to concern itself with those people in our society who have been victimized by our attitudes to offenders against the laws of our land. We are concerned that our governments must direct

more efforts towards rehabilitation and that we should stop the practice of breaking up families and thus contributing to the problems of poverty by putting men and women in jail for relatively minor offenses.

In the light of authoritative projections that the technological society will radically reduce the number of persons involved in the traditional ways of the production and distribution of goods and services we urge that a high priority be given to the development of viable alternatives to the present means by which

wealth and power are distributed through the work ethic to the end that all might know dignity and worth no matter what their work and social situation.

To establish a reasonable basis of rights for all citizens the Canadian Council of Churches should advocate the work for the ratification by the federal and provincial governments of the United Nations conventions on political and economic and social rights and for the establishing of an adequate guaranteed annual income though we are aware that this is not in itself a solution to poverty.

APPENDIX "D"

"CHALLENGE FOR CHANGE"

(Excerpt from Mass Media-Adult Education—No. 22 October 1969)

Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio)

The Canadian National Film Board's newsletter *Challenge for Change* is a three or four times a year short magazine which offers news of the uses to which film and other media are being put, in Canada, in the social change-social action area.

In the Spring-Summer issue, four such reports appear; all of them of potential interest to Mass Media concerned educators. One report is on the Lakehead (Port Arthur-Fort William, Ontario) *Town Talk* project, which MM-AE told you about a couple of issues ago; another reports on the experiences of *Fron-tier College* teachers in an Indian community, using almost every sort of medium from slide projector to videotape in a year-long adult education project; a third report consists of a dialog between a young black citizen of Halifax whose group was filmed for a documentary, and who objects strongly to the way in which the film was edited, and a reply from the filmmaker. The fourth report, which is the issues's lead item, is entitled *In the Hands of Citizens: A Video Report*, and deserves careful attention from all Mass Media theorists.

What the Film Board put *In the Hands of Citizens* was a $\frac{1}{2}$ " videotape camera, microphones including a directional mike, a shoulderbag battery-operated videocorder with recharger, and an 8" monitor and playback unit. The Citizens were members of a Montreal slum neighborhood committee founded in March of 1968. The question being experimented with was that of what ways (and with what effect) television equipment would be and could be used in the context of a community organization-citizens' action situation.

Working with the equipment initially were six interested committee members and two Film Board people. At the beginning, the equipment (VTR) sat in the office and nobody used it. Then members of the VTR group began to take the equipment home for an evening and photograph their children for playback on the monitor; "playing" with it. The effect of this experience was that members of the VTR group got over their diffi-

dence about the equipment, found out how easy it was to use, and started using it in all sorts of ways.

They taped a citizens' meeting and then played the tape back at a student meeting as students were approached to integrate into the committee. The students could see graphically the problems the people of the neighborhood, Saint-Jacques, were confronting. Then they taped the subsequent student meeting, and went with the VTR to classrooms to solicit support and donations. "The whole operation was surrounded by all the aura of glamor and gadgetry of this new technology," report the NFB members of the VTR group. "It was fun."

The first 'big project' followed: the preparation of a half hour presentation focusing on the problems of the people of the area. This presentation was edited down from some four hours of interviews in a restaurant, on the street, outside a hospital, a welfare office, a Manpower office; early footage being shot inside a hospital waiting room distressed the director of the hospital so much that the cameramen were hauled into his office, their tape confiscated, and its erasure demanded. After discussion with other members of the committee, the VTR group decided to comply with this demand, since they had chosen neither the subject nor the terrain for a confrontation in their filming, "But we fully measured the effect this simple recording device could have on an authority that did not have faith in free information."

The half hour presentation was prepared for showing at a series of five neighborhood meetings on successive nights, and was kicked off with a press conference. At the press conference the VTR group found out that "journalists, who talked loudly of freedom of the press, consider themselves immune from interviews or cameras: they became angry when they became subjects for the citizens' cameras... they were unwilling to be recorded as individuals, and became even more hostile to the citizens." In several ways the committee was learning that VTR gave them an 'edge' over powerful agencies which had heretofore ignored them.

The day before each meeting the VTR unit was out in the streets of Saint-Jacques, interviewing citizens. All were invited to attend and see themselves on television. These inter-

views were run during the half-hour preceding the meeting proper; VTR served as a recruiting device. The presentation itself served as a 'kick-off' for discussion...attendees were ready to begin to air deep feelings because the mood for such revealment had been set by the common experience of seeing other citizens like themselves talk about what was wrong in Saint-Jacques.

In many different ways (and we have not recounted them all) the VTR equipment was an enabling and an empowering tool in Saint-Jacques. "Could we have stopped people in the street and questioned them, the same way, if we had not had the camera and

microphone?" asked one group member, "I don't think so. It's a good pretext for talking to them." Conclude the NFB writers of the report: "The Comité des Citoyens de Saint-Jacques could have accomplished any of their actions without the video equipment. We could not say that at any time it made the difference between success and failure. But it made good things better, and helped people to grow. It is a useful tool."

For this Spring-Summer issue and subsequent issues of *Challenge for Change* (free) write: Challenge for Change newsletter, National Film Board of Canada, P.O. Box 6100, Montreal 101, Canada.

APPENDIX "E"

"THE CHILDREN OF THE POOR ARE NOT BEING EDUCATED"

(Excerpt from a Paper prepared by Mr. Timothy Reid, M.P.P. (Ontario) November, 1969)

THE HARD EVIDENCE

The documentation on the comparative survival rates of the children of the poor and the children of the well-to-do is conclusive. It need not be repeated here in detail. In summary it is this, *in Canada today, if you happen to be born into poverty, you have only between a third-to-a-half the chance of getting into post-secondary school education that another person of equal ability has who is born into a middle income home.* And that ratio, or "educational participation gap", has not changed for the better over the decade of the 1960's despite the massive infusion of public funds into educational institutions in Canada during those 10 years.* A stark way of describing the "educational participation gap" is to say that whereas one third of the brightest children of the poor in Canada do not survive to the final years of high school, one-third of the stupidest children of the rich clutter up our universities.

Reasons for the Failure to Educate the Children of the Poor

The basic reason why our educational institutions remain the preserve of the well-to-do half of our population is that the priorities in educational concern, research and expenditures for the last decade have been on post-secondary school education rather than on 'education at the beginning'. Another way of putting this is to say simply that the basic concern has been with widening and deepening educational opportunities for those young people who survive to the end of high school. The basic concern has not been with the question "Who survives to the end of high school?"—*the basic concern has not been with educational programs in pre-primary and primary school designed to change*

the socio-economic mix of students who survive to the end of high school.

It is for this reason, for example, that the expansion of student aid programs for university and college students in Canada over the past five years has really amounted to no more than a transfer of disposable income within the well-to-do half of the Canadian population.

Let me quote from a study done *this summer* in Ontario entitled "Student Aid and Access to Higher Education". The study consisted of administering a questionnaire to 8,700 representative students in 25 high schools across Ontario, (the so-called Province of Opportunity).

"The Ontario Student Awards Program was initiated 'to ensure equality of educational opportunity at the post-secondary level'. If this phrase is to be meaningful, it must imply that any student who is capable and wants to have a post-secondary education, is financially able to do so. Yet many young people, because of economic and social factors, never seriously consider going to university. Large numbers of students never reach the level where they are able to enter university, and thus be eligible for student aid, because they give up before then".

The Authors went on to note that only "the very brightest, highly motivated lower class student" gets to the stage where he is "able to obtain a post-secondary education". Therefore, conclude the authors, if the objective of the Ontario Student Awards Program is to be really meaningful, the socio-economic mix of the students reaching the final year of high school "should not be very much different from those who started in the educational system". In short, present student award programs have very little to do with educating the children of the poor in our society.

Little can be done to change the socio-economic mix of young Canadians reaching the final years of high school by a continuation of the massive infusion of public funds into universities, community colleges or, indeed, into the high schools themselves. Some semblance of equity in that mix in the final years of high school depends primarily on such equity in Grade 8 which, in turn, depends on preferential educational programs for the children

*For the hard documentation see: Timothy E. Reid, "Priorities in Educational Expenditure: The Essential Basis", *Dalhousie Review*, Autumn, 1968 Vol. 48, No. 3 pp. 333-346; Timothy E. Reid, "Education: The Key to Freedom in an Automated Society", *Labour Gazette*, October 1965, Vol. LXV, No. 10, pp. 887-896.

of the working and "public-assistance" poor when they are 3, 4 and 5 years old.

The rationale behind this argument is two fold.

First, it must be emphasized that one essential aspect of the "poverty syndrome" is that "poverty homes" produce too many children without adequate words at the age of 3,4 and 5. Such children have not had the opportunity of the encouragement to pick up the basic skills of communication and understanding of language that are largely a pre-requisite for success in senior kindergarten and Grade 1.

All later learning will be influenced by this lack of basic learning—having names for things is essential in the learning process. The average child from such a background will have difficulty and constant frustration from the demand of a typical primary school programme. He cannot cope with the change and with the expectations about what he should achieve, and he is baffled and feels inadequate. No wonder the desire grows to escape from the virtual imprisonment which school comes to represent as he experiences failure year after year. Instead of eight or ten years of primary school curing the basic handicap of such a child, he has either left school for good or if he lasts through secondary school is probably reading at a level approximately three and one half years below the expected grade average. Since he literally cannot read the secondary school arts and sciences text books of Grade 9, it is probable that he will shift into truncated occupational streams. In too many cases, the choice is simply to get out of the tough reading courses of the arts and science programmes which are geared to post-secondary education. A great many gifted children from poverty homes end up in courses below the level of their actual intelligence because they *appear* to lack the ability. Most simply do not get into the streams leading to university and many other kinds of post-secondary school education.

A much deeper aspect of the communication alienation between these children and the schools they go to—in terms of what they expect to happen to them—was put this way by a youth streetworker (Y.M.C.A.) in Toronto's Cabbagetown.

"You see these kids at *thirteen* and you know what might happen and there's nothing you can do about it. Anything we can do is really only putting a bandaid on. People say these kids just live on a day-to-day basis and don't plan ahead,

but they've got nothing to plan for. There's no talk about having careers."

The second part of the rationale behind the argument for the government sector identifying the pre-primary school level of education as having the first call on public funds in education has been summarized by two experts on learning in this way.

"Our present knowledge of the development of learning abilities indicates that the pre-school years are the most important years of learning in the child's life. A tremendous amount of learning takes place during these years; and this learning is the foundation for all further learning." (A.R. Jenson)

A further statement by Jerome Bruner supports this concept.

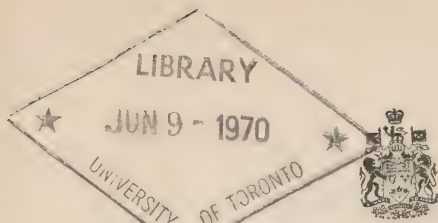
"It is not surprising in the light of this that early opportunities for development have loomed so large in our recent understanding of human mental growth. The importance of early experience is only dimly sensed today. The evidence from animal studies indicates that *virtually irreversible deficits can be produced in mammals by depriving them of opportunities that challenge their nascent capacities.*"

The children who will be in their early twenties in 1985 are already born. The vast majority of the 30 per cent of the more than 530,000 5 year olds in Canada who are not attending school are from poverty and low-income families—children who were born behind the eight ball of disadvantage, children who need preferential pre-primary school education if they are to have a meaningful chance to develop the abilities with which they were born and have an equal chance in competition in school against the children from more affluent and advantaged homes. In the world of 1985 it is doubtful that very many of these children will feel like worthwhile citizens and independent members of society; their process of alienation started the day they were born and there is still no basic commitment to them by the government sector before they are 6 years old to help them lift themselves up. Nothing is being done for them when they are 4 years old (our nursery schools have children who are mainly from well-to-homes where the opposite ought to be the case). And 4 years old is an age which learning experts state is much more potentially productive than 5 years old.

Those with power in our society have not yet decided that the children of the poor are going to be educated. It's as simple as that. If, at the beginning of the 1960's, there had been a commitment that the children of the poor were going to be educated there would now be a fundamentally different educational system in Canada. A much, much larger proportion of the educational expenditures pie would not be spent on pre-primary and primary education. For one thing, almost every three and four year old especially from the "inner city" would now be in school for at least four hours a day. The best and the highest paid teachers at any level of education would be teaching the four year olds who happened to be born into poverty. The best teachers would be teaching the children of the poor; they would have the smallest classes; they would have the largest budgets for out-of-school education programs; they would have first call on education research

funds; they would only "teach" the children five hours a day thereby giving them plenty of time to work with the parents both in the school and at home to teach the parents to be "parent-teachers". These teachers would have undergone a kind of teacher-training program that virtually doesn't exist in Canada—a program that would develop in them the sensitivity and skill to work with young children who are already, at the age of three and four beginning to destroy themselves. In short, the kind of training that develops a person into a first-rate streetworker in Toronto's Cabbagetown. It would be an educational program for three and four year olds that would have the backing of their parents because they would have been consulted and would be active participants themselves.

But this isn't the educational picture in Canada today. Today everything still conspires against the children of the poor.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 32

THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association: Mr. A. Alan Borovoy, General Counsel; Mr. Robert Cooper, Director, Community Legal Service, (Montreal); Mr. Michael Posluns, Director, National Capital Area.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief submitted by The Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle,	Hastings,
Carter,	Inman,
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>),	Lefrançois,
Cook,	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>),
Croll,	McGrand,
Eudes,	Pearson,
Everett,	Quart,
Fergusson,	Roebuck,
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> ,	Sparrow.
<i>Deputy Chairman</i>),	

(18 Members)
(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and Macdonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, April 16, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll, (*Chairman*); Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (7)

In attendance: Mr. Fredrick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE CANADIAN CIVIL LIBERTIES ASSOCIATION:

Mr. A. Alan Borovoy, General Counsel;

Mr. Robert Cooper, Director, Community Legal Service, (Montreal);

Mr. Michael Posluns, Director, National Capital Area.

The brief submitted on behalf of The Canadian Civil Liberties Association was ordered to be printed as appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 11.45 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, April 21, 1970, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST.

Georges Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, April 16, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, the delegation this morning represents the Canadian Civil Liberties Association. Mr. Alan Borovoy, the General Counsel of the Association, will introduce the members with him.

Mr. A. Alan Borovoy, General Counsel, Canadian Civil Liberties Association: Thank you Mr. Chairman. On my immediate right is Mr. Robert Cooper, Director of the Community Legal Services, Point St. Charles, Montreal. He is a lecturer on law and poverty at McGill University. To his immediate right is Mr. Michael Posluns, Director of the National Capital Area Chapter of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

A word about the Canadian Civil Liberties Association, which is not in the brief. I had planned to add an introductory note, and I will supply that orally at the moment. We are an organization that was established essentially to protect the freedom and dignity of the individual citizen against unreasonable invasion by society. To this extent we have right now in Canada, and this is on the basis of a couple of years' growth, over 1,000 members. We have chapters now in Nova Scotia, Fredericton, the National Capital Area here, Toronto, London, and in Manitoba, and we are in the process of negotiating for further chapters in other cities in other provinces across the country.

Our president is the Honourable J. Keiler McKay, former Lieutenant Governor of Ontario. Our Board of Directors includes a wide variety of trades, callings and interests from television performers like Pierre Berton, actors like Bruno Gerussi, writers like June Collwood to experts in finance like Walter Gordon, political leaders like Dalton Camp, trade unionists like Eamon Park of the

United Steel Workers and Dennis McDermott of the United Auto Workers' Union. We have the President of the Union of Ontario Indians, the Jamaican Canadian Association, the Japanese Canadian Citizens' Association. We have a number of lawyers, of course, including the Dean of the Faculty of Law at the University of Toronto, and the Associate Dean of the Osgoode Hall Law School at York University. That gives some idea as to the composition, background, nature and interests of the Canadian Civil Liberties Association.

If I may, sir, I will begin with some comments on the submission itself. Our submission begins with the observation that the fulfillment and extension of civil liberties quite clearly is not going to resolve the problem of poverty in this country. As an organization our primary thrust is directed not to the substance of economic policy, which ultimately contains the solutions to the questions of poverty, but rather to the method by which existing policy is administered and the processes by which existing policy is changed. Those are the essential civil liberties interests in the poverty question. To that end our concern will be to minimize the disadvantages of poverty in the administration of existing law and policy and to minimize the disadvantages of poverty in the processes that are necessary to change existing policy and law.

The brief is divided into two parts: the first part, Poverty and the Procedural Protections of Existing Law. Here we are dealing with the first component of our interest and subsumed in that area, the first sub-topic, legal rights and legal service. Here, of course, we make the point that an opportunity for proper and competent legal advice is necessary to equal legal rights. Assuming, as we do, that all are entitled to equality before the law, we then go on to make the point that there cannot be equality so long as poverty reduces the ability to call upon competent legal service. It is quite clear from a glance at the state of affairs across the country that those living in poverty and near poverty levels do

not have a proper call on the legal talents that are otherwise available to protect the legal rights of citizens in this country.

Although we point out in our brief that we have not been able to make anywhere near what we would call an exhaustive analysis of this problem, what we have been able to do is take some random samplings which we suggest, if they do not lead to conclusive observations, they at least lead to highly suggestive observations. Now, for example, we had some people doing some research work in Halifax, Montreal and Winnipeg. They were conducting a survey of the criminal courts—magistrate's courts. Now, you will notice from our statistics on page 3 of the brief, take Winnipeg for example, and we just took some of this material at random because we have not yet been able to complete all of our findings and we have not subjected them all to the proper analysis. But just taking five randomly chosen days in Winnipeg during the month of January, 1970, of 37 accused persons whose cases were disposed of in those days, only 6 were represented by counsel. Significantly, 36 people were convicted; 36 people pleaded guilty and 10 of them were sentenced to various terms of penal incarceration.

Senator Pearson: May I ask a question? What class of crime had these people committed? You talk of 36, were they all drunks or what were they?

Mr. Borovoy: I doubt very much if they would all be drunks. Unfortunately, those are the statistics that we haven't yet been able to...

Senator Pearson: They don't mean very much.

Mr. Borovoy: Well, I would suggest, sir, that it is significant that that many people find their way into gaol and have their freedom lost without competent legal counsel. I would submit, with respect, that that is a meaningful statistic. Whether or not the offences were what one might call serious as opposed to something one might say is not serious, surely, if one ends up in gaol that is some indictment on the state of legal aid service. Now, significantly, the Province of Manitoba now is spending more than it ever has as of the year ending March 31st, 1969, \$160,000.00, which in a province of a million people, is not very much money.

Now there are similar, as I suggest, suggestive material from Nova Scotia and from

Montreal. You will notice in Nova Scotia three days were chosen. 51 persons were convicted on the basis of 47 pleas of guilty. Only 7 were represented by counsel. We have some similar information for the Province of Quebec from some work in Montreal. I am hoping, in a little while, to have a much more refined breakdown of some of this information that I unfortunately am not able to give you today.

The Province of New Brunswick, as I understand it, has committed itself to the principle of enacting a legal aid plan but at the moment it does little more than pay the defense of poor prisoners who are indicted or committed for trial in a restricted number of criminal offenses. That, again, once one is indicted, of course, that implies, at least, that it has gone beyond the magistrate's court level and, as you are well aware, the overwhelming number of cases in the criminal courts are processed in magistrates court. This would suggest that very few people, indeed, who are caught up in the criminal processes in that Province get proper legal representation; at least of those who are poor.

In Saskatchewan eligibility for government subsidized legal aid requires an annual income amounting to less than \$2,000 for unmarried persons and \$2,500 for married persons. You can imagine what quantity of legal aid is available at those near starvation eligibility requirements. In addition to that, if one examines the fee schedule that Legal Aid does provide in the Province of Saskatchewan in the greatest number of Magistrate's Court hearings, senior counsel are entitled to \$40 for a half day and \$20 on a plea of guilty; junior counsel to \$40 and \$15 on a plea of guilty. As we observe, on the private market, such a schedule of fees could purchase little more than the introductory salutations at the beginning of the hearing.

Senator Fournier: How many cases a day? You say \$40 per case?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes.

Senator Fournier: How many cases a day do you process?

Mr. Borovoy: Do the Magistrates' Courts process?

Senator Fournier: No. You say you are paid \$40 a day for the legal counsel?

Mr. Borovoy: No. The Province of Saskatchewan will reimburse those lawyers who

acted in Legal Aid matters to the tune of \$40 for a half a day's appearance in Magistrate's Court.

Senator Fournier: Suppose he appears only half an hour? It doesn't take half a day in all cases. Does he get the \$40?

Mr. Borovoy: I would assume he would on those Legal Aid cases. However, I would suggest to you that a fee of \$40 for up to a half a day's appearance would not command very much attention on the private market. If someone were asking a lawyer to act on a case I would suggest he would be charged something in excess of \$40 for that appearance.

Senator Fournier: I quite agree with you.

Mr. Borovoy: What we are suggesting is that the concept of regional disparities, when we are concerning ourselves with equality before the law, is a most repugnant idea. To this extent we are asking, as our first major recommendation, that the state of Legal Aid service be equalized around the country and that it is the role of the federal Government to take the initiative in providing some sort of equity among the Provinces insofar as Legal Aid is concerned. To that extent we suggest that it apply, of course, not only in criminal cases but also in civil matters. That is the first recommendation and that leads directly to our second recommendation where we ask that we go even beyond the provision of legal aid in litigation, as Ontario now does to a much more substantial degree than most of the other provinces, and provide some funds for preventive legal services, as well. Bearing in mind that most of us who go to lawyers seek legal advice in order to avoid the court room, the problem is that for those in poverty, the legal aid they usually get under most legal aid plans in this country arises only at the level of litigation. We submit that we should devise a system of providing preventive legal aid advice to people so that they would not find themselves in that position and so that their position would be made somewhat more the equal of other people in the community who can command legal resources with their own money. In this area we have suggested the concept of the legal aid clinic operating in the indigent area where its function would be not only to sit there and wait for cases to come to them, but also to go out and to aggressively attract the patronage of the poor on the basis that great numbers of poor people are not aware

of these services, are not aware that many of their problems can be characterized as legal problems and that what is required is not only an available service but an educational programme in order to inform people that such services are available. To this end we are recommending that the federal government and the provinces investigate ways and means of setting up all-purpose legal aid storefront clinics in poor areas where lawyers would be working on salary paid for by government and paid to go out and give preventive legal assistance to indigents.

Senator Fergusson: May I interrupt there and ask if this has been tried anywhere and, if so, with what success?

Mr. Borovoy: I understand that there are a number of rather successful experiments of this kind in the United States under the OEO programmes. This is one of the reasons I have asked Mr. Cooper to join us this morning. He is the Director of one such operation in the City of Montreal that is now getting off the ground and that, unfortunately, is not subsidized by any arm of government. They were able to get some money from the private sector. Perhaps he would care to explain something about the way they operate.

Mr. Robert Cooper, Director of Community Legal Services, Pointe St. Charles, Quebec: I will give you an idea of our composition which will help you in understanding how our policy is or how we are evolving. We are an incorporated body comprised of 13 directors. The directors, these 13, are formed as follows: 2 are from the Junior Bar Association, in addition there is the full-time attorney, the attorney and director of this project. That makes 3 attorneys. Then there are 2 law students at both McGill University and University of Montreal. This includes the President of the Law Faculties and the student in charge of legal aid at both universities. As well, we have 6 residents of the Pointe St. Charles area on our Board. In other words, this legal aid service is composed of 13 people of which only 3 are lawyers. I believe we have the advantage of a strong people participation and at least 10 of these 13 who are not lawyers and might help lawyers in broadening their, perhaps, traditionally restricted view of the law.

Our functions are essentially three-fold. We are now trying to work out our priorities. Firstly, the service orientation. We will, for that area, attempt to give legal advice and

handle the litigation for those people in the area faced with a legal problem. If that is all we can do then we are an obvious failure because, firstly, this is in a sense what the actual Legal Aid Service is doing in Montreal and I don't think a community legal clinic should stop at that. That is why our second function is much more important and that is the law reform function or test case function. The taking of a case that may not help the individual party but rather help the group as a whole. Then our third function is the educative one in which we are actively attempting to instill a legal awareness and involvement among the residents of the area. We are starting to do this by very simple means: colourful brochures, "Are You a Tenant? Did You Know That You Can..." and listing very few simple basic rights. We have prepared little stickers that go onto telephones, just as you might have for emergencies, for ambulance, for fire, for police, in addition, we have this for day and night calls at all hours to obtain our services for these emergencies. We are spending approximately four months just establishing links in the community. We will not take a legal case until September 1st. We believe that right now we have a far more important task and that is to establish a basis of trust and to hopefully change the image of the lawyer as we have already met, it hasn't been easy. The fact that we are lawyers has not enabled us to be greeted with open arms at this point. We hope, through our Board of Directors, through the liaison men we have in the area, that this will be overcome.

Senator Fergusson: Where do you get the money to carry this on?

Mr. Cooper: Originally we approached the Bar and the Government and were refused. Two students at McGill University vigorously approached various foundations who have privately and anonymously funded us. There is not a penny coming from any government source.

Senator Fournier: How much free time do you give to your service?

Mr. Cooper: I, myself, am on there on a fulltime basis and will be the fulltime attorney of the clinic.

Senator Fournier: You didn't answer my question. How much free time do you give? How much free time do you put in the organization yourself? Do you sometimes work free for your organization?

Mr. Cooper: No. I'm being paid by this corporation.

Senator Fournier: I am not just asking about you. The group. How much free time do you put in your own organization?

The Chairman: How many paid people have you on the staff?

Mr. Cooper: Our staff right now is, admittedly, rather small. There is one full time attorney.

Senator Fournier: That's you?

Mr. Cooper: Right. There is one articling student and two legal secretaries. In addition, lawyers have volunteered on a regularized basis at nights. This is very important to us because we are anticipating and we have already met with the fact that our greatest amount of service and time involved will be at night when the people of the area are most free to see us. We have therefore prepared, through active work with lawyers in Montreal, lists of people available on various nights to work with us. We are, in a sense, perhaps beggars because we can't pay these people. We are very fussy beggars when we approach any lawyer. Any lawyer that says to us that he will give to us his time when he has a chance is automatically refused. We will only take someone who will guarantee us that every Tuesday night at 6 to 10 he will be there.

Senator Fournier: At what cost? You haven't answered my question. I regret to tell you that. You have evaded my question very smartly.

The Chairman: These lawyers that you have working there at night, do you pay them?

Mr. Cooper: No.

Senator Fournier: That is what I want to know.

Mr. Cooper: The only ones being paid then are myself, the articling student, the legal secretaries. Everyone else is free.

The Chairman: Continue Mr. Borovoy. We will get back to the questions.

Mr. Borovoy: We also recommended, of course, in order to iron out many of the inevitable problems, some demonstration projects at the federal level to begin with in order that we could get some idea of how

these things would function. We have recommended some additional protections in the criminal law. This grows, again, out of the experience that I suppose one could have from walking into a gaol. In many places in this country you will probably find people who have been sitting there for great periods of time waiting for their cases to come up and who have not been convicted of anything. We took, just at random, the August Court Calendar for the City of Toronto and began to examine it. We found, for example, that an aggregate total of 232 days were spent in goal by approximately 6 people against whom all charges were withdrawn during the month of August, 1968. A most interesting case was a charge which was withdrawn against a man who had been arrested on March 23rd, deprived of his freedom for 131 days and then the prosecution decided that it was not going to press on for prosecution. That sort of experience, of course, we all know about and has taken place all too often in this country. To that extent we have recommended that the bail laws be changed. Our position is that most of these people who are incarcerated owe their incarceration before trial less to the quality of the act they have performed than to the size of the income which they earn. They are being gaoled essentially because of poverty. To that extent we think that the Minister of Justice ought to be supported as vigorously as possible when he says that the bail laws should be reformed.

Our recommendation is, that as a matter of course in the greatest number of cases, financial bail be completely eliminated and that all accused persons be entitled *prima facie* to their freedom unless the Crown, and the onus would be on the Crown, can satisfy the Court that the accused is not likely to show up for his trial or that he poses some substantial danger to the community by being allowed to go free and subject to those conditions it is our recommendation that they ought to go free following arrest or summons or whatever way we involve them in the legal processes.

Senator Fournier: I think you opened the door for long discussions, which I am not going to get to, but I think the effect of the counsel is the answer to your questions. The ability of the counsel.

Mr. Borovoy: We have suggested, also, that another problem with the criminal law and the poor is the question of fines. To this extent we are recommending a mandatory system of reasonable installments. Too many people go

to gaol because they cannot pay their fines immediately and our suggestion is that the courts be required to give reasonable periods of time before they can impose gaol penalties for failure to pay monetary fines.

Then we go into the long question of the welfare law. Now, this is what we call the special protections of the welfare law. The welfare law is the special poor law in this country; the laws dealing especially with poor people. It has been the experience of our organization, after having been involved in a number of cases on behalf of welfare recipients and having had some experience with this, that the poor law, the law we have designed especially for poor people, contains some of the most flagrant violations of the most basic canons of procedural fairness that are available in most other legislation and, certainly, in the common law that is applicable to all people. Some examples of this, and we have recommended changes here as well. We know in many municipalities in Ontario when a person applies for welfare he is required to sign a form giving the welfare office a continuing right of access to his home, they say, at reasonable hours. Now, of course, you can appreciate the homes of most of us are inviolate and the only time even the police can enter the home of the most dangerous criminal is in hot pursuit or with a warrant, after satisfying a disinterested judicial officer that there are reasonable and probable grounds for the belief that an investigation will disclose the fruits or implements of a criminal offense. But in the case of the innocent indigent on welfare, he finds that he has fewer legal rights than some of the most dangerous criminals in society.

Now, following on that, there is what we call the right to a hearing. We have always believed that before a person's rights are determined he should have a reasonable opportunity to persuade the decision maker of his case. We have run across situations where women on welfare have received a letter one morning and have been advised that as of a few days earlier their welfare benefits were being cancelled. They are told that, in fact I can almost give it to you, "From information on file it appears that..." and, of course, what "information" they are not told. They are not told who their accusers are and they are not given the opportunity to make representations at the point of decision. We have also argued that the appeal provisions are not enough because the appeal won't take place for weeks and in the meantime what is

the welfare recipients supposed to do when they are cut off.

Following upon that, of course, is the whole question of the way this appeal machinery operates. The Canada Assistance Plan, properly, has provided a condition on the use of federal money for welfare purposes that there be appeal machinery. We know in Canada, as of this day, that not every province has even proclaimed the legislation for appeals that are required by the Canada Assistance Plan. Mr. Cooper from Montreal advises me, for example, that the Province of Quebec has not yet proclaimed its legislation. My understanding is that they are still receiving welfare money. On top of that the question also is to what extent does the welfare appeal machinery function like an appellate tribunal. We take a look at the Province of Ontario, for example, we will find that many Members of the Board of Review are former welfare administrators and we have the interesting situation where they are sitting on appeal from the very policies that they formulated when they were in the Welfare Department. You can appreciate that that is somewhat of a departure from the maxim that the law must not only be just but also appear to be just.

Now, the interesting thing in the Province of Ontario is that the Board of Review, on a number of occasions, when faced with the problem of evaluating some person's case has justified its decision, and this is almost a quote, it has always been the practice of the Family Benefits Branch to do such and so. What they're doing is basing their decision on the policy of the tribunal that they are supposed to be reviewing which, as I suggest, is a most novel form of appellate jurisprudence.

I have one example here of the Province of Nova Scotia where a person who had applied for appeal received a letter dismissing his appeal. The letter was sent on the stationery of the Welfare Department and signed by one of the Welfare administrators. Many of these Welfare Appeal Boards do not have provision for independent legal counsel. We know that they have to get legal advice. Where are they getting it from? The appearance, at least, is that they would be getting their legal advice from the government service; the very government from which they are supposed to be sitting as an appeal tribunal.

Now, we have a number of recommendations to make, as you can see from our brief, about making the boards of review and boards of appeal function as independent

proper appellant tribunals. It is not enough for the Canada Assistance Plan simply to provide that there ought to be appeal machinery. The appeal machinery must function like appeal machinery.

Now, of course, one of the most important recommendations we make in the welfare area is the problem of informing the welfare recipient as to his legal rights. As far as we know there is a veritable dearth of information given to welfare recipients regarding their rights and particularly is it important when there is a conflict of interest, as so often there is, between the welfare office and the welfare recipient. The recipient should have some opportunity to know what his rights are when he comes into conflict with the welfare office. To this extent we have quite frankly recommended that there be proper distributions of literature, advertising, if need be, in the press, radio, television, tramways, taxis, subways in order that this service be properly communicated to people, as many other government services are, to the more affluent sections of the community.

That would finish the first part of the brief where we talk about the procedural protections of existing law. The second part is Poverty and the Democratic Right to Change the Law. Here what we are concerned about is the extent to which people living in poverty can effectively influence legislative change.

If we bear in mind that pressure is the chief instrument of persuasion, then what we must recognize is the terrific disadvantage the poor suffer in participating in the democratic processes for change. The rich man can use his financial resources as an additional instrument of pressure. The poor man has only his body. His ability to speak. His ability to demonstrate; to picket or demonstrate non-violently. The problem is, we have learned in the past year, that the effective right of non-violent dissent in this country is not nearly as securely based as it ought to be in a democratic society. Where most of our experience thus far has concerned the middle class dissenter, who has been trying to get into the act and challenging government policy, our feeling now is that the lower class dissenters who are now beginning to organize much more than ever before, of course, are governed by the same laws but they are even more helpless and more vulnerable than those middle class dissenters have been. If we just take one year, the past year in Canada, we have following a little bit of pressure and this is what

concerns our organization that when there has been some pressure, some upheaval, some tension or disruption in the community. Going across Canada out west you have a young person charged with and convicted of criminal libel for writing in an off-beat journal that a certain judge behaved like Pontius Pilate he finds himself now with a criminal record for that. Another one in the Maritimes found guilty for contempt of court for writing in his newspaper column that the courts are tools of the corporate elite. In Toronto we have young people shouting at a noisy picnic nasty slogans at the Prime Minister. They are set upon by others. They are charged with causing a disturbance. In Montreal when there is some violence in the streets we find all demonstrations are prohibited except, of course, the Grey Cup Parade. An interesting example of selective demonstrations.

It is our view that in order that the poor people who are now beginning to involve themselves much more vigorously in the democratic processes than they ever have before, it is now important for us to shore up the law respecting non-violent dissent in this country. We look at the by-laws of many cities across this country and we see the power to determine the parade routes—the route and the time of parades and demonstrations exist totally with the police authority who we argue are one of the parties to the dispute. It puts them in the position of umpiring their own ball game because they can effectively, instead of banning demonstrations, reroute them. We find with something like labour picketing that people are often entitled to picket but often only in such small numbers that they won't be effective. That tenants do not have some of the bargaining machinery that would put them on a more equitable bargaining basis with land lords.

Senator Fournier: Could I ask a question on this? You are covering a lot of material my dear friend. You are taking all the time.

Mr. Borovoy: Well, since we are assuming it's read, I really think there ought to be more time for discussion.

Senator Fournier: You are covering a lot of material and talking about the low class dissenters and so on. In my mind and the example which I have laid in Canada, not in the United States, it doesn't matter what you do, if you belong to a certain class of society and you do certain things against the law, you can curse the law and you can damn the justice,

you can damn freedom, you can do anything and there is never any problem for some lawyers to defend these type of guys. To my knowledge, I don't think there has ever been one who has been left in gaol because he couldn't get assistance. This is a very serious matter.

Mr. Borovoy: I'm not sure to what you are addressing yourself to Senator?

Senator Fournier: I am addressing myself to the things you read in the paper, the things you see on the news, the things that are taking place in Canada today at this moment and in the United States.

I will give you an example: when this affair arised at St. George Williams which everybody felt sorry for, nobody agreed with it, damage of two to three million dollars. None of these boys were deprived of lawyers, in fact on the contrary, there was a flock of lawyers from Montreal trying to defend these boys the next morning. There was no shortage of lawyers because these boys were not wealthy people.

Mr. Borovoy: I take it you are addressing yourself to, the problem we mentioned at the outset, about legal aid.

Senator Fournier: I'm talking of things you implemented in your report.

Mr. Borovoy: I suggest to you where some people will often be able to get lawyers, their ability to do so often depends upon their ability to purchase the legal talent. You will find in many cities in this country large numbers of people going through the magistrate's court who have no legal representation and one of the reasons they have no legal representation is because they cannot afford it. Now, sure in a lot of the sensational cases you are talking about they will usually have lawyers, but there are many non-sensational cases.

Senator Fournier: Let me ask this question: would the same lawyers be willing to defend justice without the money? It is a matter of justice and principle. Would the same lawyer be willing to defend this hippy, these rebels, without being paid?

Mr. Borovoy: Well, if you are asking me now to make a comment on the morality or idealism of the law profession I perhaps would have to beg off and not try to portray myself as a competent spokesman for what lawyers would do.

Senator Fournier: I am satisfied with your answer.

Mr. Borovoy: Be that as it may, I would like to embellish it, as least to this extent, to say that regardless of the state of morality or otherwise in the law profession, I am not sure that any profession has any claim to or any monopoly of idealism or the lack thereof. I would suggest this though, that our concern must be not the morality of lawyers as our primary problem, but the service available to people; that should be our primary problem and to that extent let me suggest whatever one says about lawyers, let us provide the proper service for people who need it and therefore that leads necessarily to some kind of proper level of legal aid service in this country.

Senator Fournier: You have more than answered my question.

The Chairman: You may remember, that the services there were purchased by the governments of the persons who were charged. If they came from some Caribbean country their government made sure that they had the very best legal services that was available. That was a little different from normal. Was that the case in Montreal?

Mr. Cooper: Yes.

The Chairman: You don't know?

Mr. Cooper: No. That I am aware of.

The Chairman: In a number of them, any way, that was the case.

Senator Fournier: When I read this brief last night and this morning, I came to the conclusion that the witnesses here this morning have something to sell. You are a good salesman. You made a very good approach to it. It seems to me that I can see there an open field, an untapped field, for the legal profession to get into for the poor people. I think they can see it. I can see it in this brief. On account of lack of money, and so on, they are trying to organize a scheme whereby they can tap this field and get paid for it. I don't blame them. I don't expect anybody to work for nothing. Every once in a while I like somebody to sacrifice half an hour or more for the good cause like we do. But, you know, there were many things mentioned here: legal rights, legal service, legal talent and so on, promoting legal service. I agree with that, but what is the difference between legal service and justice? Have we taken justice away

from the books completely or can you buy justice? I can give you many examples where money is a great influence today and you mention in your brief if you hire a good counsel, that is your answer, he is going to fight your case regardless of justice because he will say, "That's my client. I am working for my client." It has an effect on the uneducated people in Canada, like myself, when we see what is taking place sometimes in justice in Canada and in the United States what money can do. It seems to me that justice is forgotten somewhere or bought. I will leave it at that until I have more.

Mr. Cooper: If I may just make a comment, the word justice is very difficult to define but I would suggest that, perhaps, the poor man does not want justice; he wants help, which is very different, I think, from the traditional conception of justice as our courts have presently evolved.

I might add just one other point, too, and this is quite related. When I think of the relationship between law and poverty I don't just think of legal aid in the sense of getting more lawyers. I think the very court system and court process has to be questioned. The very idea of a court deciding upon extractions, upon precedents and determining a decision that does not go to the poor person. It doesn't say you can do this and you can do that and it goes to the lawyer and it says: plaintiff and defendant and a tremendous amount of jargon. The poor person, firstly, does not understand the decision because it is not written for him. It is written for the lawyers and the legal profession. It renders a decision that is in terms of all or nothing, black or white, rather than attempting to mediate and conciliate the problem. As I said before, it doesn't deal in concrete terms as the poor people would see the problems but in these generalized intellectualized principles.

What we have tried to do, if I may mention, in our clinic is to set up neighborhood courts in Pointe St. Charles. Now, we don't have a compulsory jurisdiction, but what we can do is in a sense provide arbitration by the poor for the poor. We have three judges. Two of them are residents of the area and the third is a lawyer. We have rules of practice; general rules of practice that encourage mediation, the bringing together of two sides and that would encourage not saying that the decision is either the landlord repairs or the tenant leaves, but rather the tenant will pay, per-

aps, \$2 more and the landlord only has to repair this amount until he can afford more.

Senator Fournier: Well, sir, in your long answer to a very short question you said one word that impressed me when you said that the poor are not looking for justice, they are looking for help. I quite agree with you. That is a good statement. I wish it would be used more in your brief. This word justice is almost lost at this very moment.

I pass to somebody else.

The Chairman: Senator Inman.

Senator Inman: Well, I was very interested in this brief all through when I read it. There seemed to be a lot to consider.

On page 5 you were discussing legal aid for the poor and the legal clinics located in poor areas. I am interested to know how would you go about setting those up. You have spoken about store window clinics and that, but to get down to a real business basis, how would you suggest doing that?

Mr. Borovoy: Our submission is, admittedly, short on detail that way. That is why for these purposes we contented ourselves with recommending the provinces and federal government jointly study the problem, set up a couple of demonstration projects because, clearly, a number of problems are involved in it.

Senator Inman: How would you suggest these be set up?

Mr. Borovoy: At least, as a general concept, what we are suggesting is that you take a few lawyers on salary from society and they would have a store front office, an office that tries to attract people to them. They would go out into the community, they would speak at home and school meetings and the church meetings and they would have literature with them and go out and try to promote their service. The would make sure that they knew the leaders in the local community. Probably, also, a board of directors that was drawn, in part, from people who actually live in the community as an advisory committee to the functioning of the project. That, in general terms, is the way we would envision it being set up but beyond that, as I say, there would undoubtedly be problems that would have to be worked out.

Senator Inman: I was just thinking of the point that a great many of those people would

not want the public to know that they were seeking aid.

Mr. Borovoy: There might be some people who wouldn't.

Senator Fournier: This is one problem with welfare now; the recipients sometimes don't want to be on the list.

Mr. Borovoy: The welfare office is still a place anybody can walk into and see who else is there, anyway. Our hope would be, also, that it would become an established institution in an area where people would feel some sense of identification with this kind of operation and the operation with the community so that some of those problems might be handled. But, of course, the other thing to bear in mind is that this is one of a number of alternatives. This isn't the only way of offering legal aid service. The present system we have, at least, in Ontario of going and getting a certificate and picking your lawyer you could still have, but this is a concept established in order to provide that preventive service that often, just otherwise, isn't available.

Senator Fournier: I would think there would be just a slight minority that would oppose. My opinion is that if you had such a clinic it would be well patronized.

Mr. Borovoy: I would think so.

Senator Inman: Another thing I was interested in was on page 7, speaking of bail. What alternative have you to offer instead of bail. It is all very well to say these people would not be incarcerated, but there are cases you wouldn't call them hardened criminals but there is a pocket of people, I was thinking for instance of robbery. I know of a case, from personal experience, where a young chap was let go and not put in and while he was sworn not to go at it again and waiting until his time came to come up before the courts, he made three other attempts.

Senator Fournier: He had to get money to pay his lawyer.

Senator Inman: May be. I am just wondering, have you any alternative to offer?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes; the alternative we suggest is that if the Crown feels that the man is a potential menace to society, and I mean a substantial menace, or that he is not likely to show up for his trial, then the onus would then be on the Crown to go before the judge

and make an application to incarcerate the man pending his trial and only if the Crown can satisfy the court that this is a very dangerous person to have at large or that the offense with which he is charged and his background is such as to create a probability that he won't show up, then he is incarcerated without bail. In other words, what we are suggesting is that there is no rational basis for the payment of money. Make a determination that the man is dangerous or let him go, but don't base it on money. What we do today is decide he might be dangerous or he might not show up and attach a financial price to it. All that means is that the poor criminal can't get out.

Senator Inman: In lieu of money, though, supposing you took away the question of paying money and still didn't want to put him in gaol, is there any other alternative that you have where you can keep the man under surveillance?

Mr. Borovoy: I hadn't worked out a third alternative.

Senator Inman: I am thinking of people who are not, as I said, hardened criminals but still a bit of a menace going around, you know, on the loose.

Mr. Borovoy: Of course, in the greatest number of cases what I would say is, of course, there are lots of people whom you might consider menaces who haven't been charged with anything. We are not prepared to lock them up.

Senator Inman: They are not caught yet.

Mr. Borovoy: That's right; and, we are not prepared to lock them up on the if-come. What I am therefore suggesting to you is that only if the Crown can satisfy the court that there is some reason to believe that this person is a substantial menace or that he won't show up, but apart from that let him go. Naturally there is a risk involved. There are all sorts of risks involved, but our view is that if we balance the risks, bearing in mind the foolishness of making people pay money for it, surely that is a much more sensible risk to take.

Senator Inman: I am interested in having your opinion.

Senator Fournier: I want to finish this. I think we are missing the point here; we are back in the same wagon again. I think the effectiveness of the counsel to convince the

Crown that my poor little client, my innocent client, could not have done such a thing and he should deserve mercy has a lot to do with it. I have seen it. I can mention cases that are terrible. I leave it at that.

Mr. Borovoy: I would not want to appear here as the defender of the legal profession. I hope you wouldn't want to appear here as the attacker of the legal profession.

Senator Fournier: I am very sincere, sir.

Mr. Borovoy: I am sure you are, but our point is that, sure some lawyers can be very helpful but you will find, very often, in magistrates courts because of the way things have gone on over the years that bail will be granted at certain sums for certain kinds of offenses and it becomes a practice and what we are saying is that the criteria under which the judges operate have to be changed.

Senator Pearson: Doesn't it become not a practice, but an experience?

Mr. Borovoy: In part, but the experience, as such, the consequence of the experience is to incarcerate poor criminals because the rich man can afford the bail. In other words, the real point of this is why make money the basis upon which a person goes free; make his behavior the basis on which he goes free but not his pocketbook.

Senator Inman: I was just thinking you were speaking of fines. Do you think fines on installment would be a good way to do this?

Mr. Borovoy: I would think it would be much better than not having it on installment. This is really our proposal. It is much better than demanding payment immediately.

Senator Inman: I agree with that. I think that sometimes a man can pay his fines if he were given time to do it whereas right then he mightn't.

The Chairman: Just at that point in fairness, it should to be said, that the judiciary are now, in a great number of instances, giving them the opportunity to pay their fines on the instalment plan.

Mr. Borovoy: That is true. Many judges are very liberal about that.

Senator Inman: I am very glad to know that.

The Chairman: That is done across the country pretty well.

Mr. Borovoy: Unfortunately, there are others who are not. This is what this is designed for.

Senator Inman: At page 18, the second paragraph, you speak of the demonstrations and that sort of thing. I read that, in a way, you are almost in favour to a certain extent, but you wouldn't advocate this way of doing things; would you? Showing strength?

Mr. Borovoy: Would I advocate demonstrations?

Senator Inman: Yes.

Mr. Borovoy: For these purposes I am neither advocating nor attacking. What I am trying to do is to protect what I conceive to be a democratic right. If you were to ask me, I would say that non-violent demonstrations have been a most potent instrument for mobilizing political pressures on behalf of things you happen to believe in. It is not my role here to advise one group or another what tactics they might use to be effective. My view is, though, that it is a perfectly legitimate tactic to use and should claim greater legal protection than it now does.

Senator Inman: Non-violent ones, of course?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes, of course.

Senator Fournier: Where do you draw the line between violent and non-violent?

Mr. Borovoy: I am not sure I could give you a conceptual definition of what violence is, but surely assaults on persons and property one might consider violent and peaceful behaviour, I'm sorry to define the terms in the very words, but I don't know of any better way of doing it. I am not suggesting for one minute that we have to tolerate illegal acts or violent acts.

Senator Inman: I am thinking more of tying up industry by these picket lines. So many of them on a large scale not allowing people to go in and do what they can do. It is against the economy of a country.

Mr. Borovoy: I think we have to make a distinction here, Senator, when we talk about tying up and obstructive picketing. Merely a picket line may not physically obstruct people. It may not physically stop them from going in, but they should have the ability to marshal social pressures at the plant gate. In other words, if you are going to have an

equally weighted competition—we have decided that there was the right to strike in a certain situation. If you decide there isn't, that is another question, if in certain industries you think there is an overwhelming public interest to keep the thing going. So long as you say there is the right to strike, then the conflict between the striker and the proprietor must be more equally weighted. Now, the proprietor offers economic benefit to those who will come in. Either a job or his products. In order to compete with that, I suggest, that the picket must have the ability to marshal unpleasant social pressures. By that I mean he should be able to visit unpopularity and social contempt on the picket line interloper. If I can put it in more commonplace language: he should be able to make the picket line interloper feel that he could stand up under a worm every time he walked into the plant.

This, to me, is a more equally weighted conflict. The interloper has the right to go in, the proprietor has the right to attempt to attract him in and, under what I am suggesting, the picketer has a more effective method available to persuade him not to go in. That I suggest is a much more equally weighted conflict.

Senator Pearson: In other words you think that the picket has a right to rough up a man for going in there?

Mr. Borovoy: No, sir.

Senator Pearson: I have seen it done more than once.

Mr. Borovoy: Let me deal with that. There is no reason why an assault committed on a picket line should be treated any differently from an assault anywhere else. If a person commits assault on a picket line he ought to be charged with and convicted of assault. There is no suggestion in what I have said that a picket should enjoy immunity from the criminal law. What I am saying, though, is if X commits assault on a picket line there is no reason to prevent Y from picketing.

Senator Pearson: I am not saying he has not a right to picket. He has a right to picket, but a peaceful picketing is all that he has right to.

Mr. Borovoy: Of course. But the problem that we raised in our brief is that very often the injunctions that are issued in labour disputes by prohibiting the greatest number of the people from picketing are, in effect, pun-

ishing Y for the illegal conduct of X. This is what I am suggesting is not proper and loads the conflict in favour of one side against the other, where I am submitting that the Civil Liberties position would be that the conflict ought to be more equitably weighted.

Senator Inman: I have one other question. In speaking of these legal clinics, you have consulted, no doubt, with a great number of lawyers. What was the thinking of the legal profession?

The Chairman: Of what?

Senator Inman: On the setting up of these legal clinics.

Mr. Borovoy: Again, I always feel somewhat remiss in trying to represent somebody else's opinion, Senator. There are some lawyers and, of course, I tend to speak to the more libertarian lawyer. I don't want to discriminate against the others, but that is the way it works out. They are very receptive to this idea. Now, there may be others who are not so receptive. What we suggest is that the government should provide as many creative alternatives as possible so that those who like this method can work this way and others, another way.

Senator Inman: Thank you.

Senator Pearson: I have not very much to say except that I feel that this brief, prepared by this group of Canadian Civil Liberties Association, would be far better if it be prepared five years hence, after you have had considerable experience in building up your associations. To me it seems to be that you are just sort of guessing at things all the way along. You're putting legal thoughts in here which are quite good, but at the same time you lack a tremendous amount of experience in affairs and cities and suchlike. Affairs of the rights of people, etc. Just, for instance, you talk about the police. The inuendo that the police are a bully. That they are not allowing these demonstrations on certain streets and they push them over onto another street. It is the job of the police to be there. They are hired by the City to be there. They are doing the work that the city asks them to do. Their job there is to see that the people do not demonstrate on a highway or a street that is very busy with traffic. They can't have these people demonstrating just because they want to demonstrate and spoil the traffic of everybody else in the city.

I don't see the sense of this. I think your whole brief is based on that same idea. It is something that might be and might not be.

Mr. Borovoy: Well, senator, I am prepared to answer point by point. It is somewhat more difficult to answer the general remark that the brief shows a lack of experience. Apart from cataloguing the experiences of the rather eminent people we have in our organization, I don't know how else I might reply to that. In any event it is not really relevant to the merits of our proposals.

I would suggest this to you, in response to the particular point you raised and I would be happy to respond point by point wherever you think a recommendation or analysis is faulty, but in response to that particular one, quite clearly demonstrators cannot have automatically the right to demonstrate wherever or whenever they please. Our argument, though, is that the police authorities should not have the sole and unilateral power to make that decision because the interests of the police are an orderly flow of traffic; quite properly. The interests of the demonstrator is a conspicuous event. You often find those two interests in conflict with one another.

Senator Pearson: Do not the demonstrators have to have a license?

Mr. Borovoy: That's right. Let me just draw this out. What we are suggesting is that we ought to have a look at the state of affairs that makes the police the judge in their own cause. For example, you take the City of Toronto there is a police bylaw saying that you cannot demonstrate on busy streets unless you have been doing so annually for 10 years prior to October 1st, 1964 or unless the Chief of Police and the Police Commission consider your parade application to have been made under unusual circumstances of municipal, provincial or federal importance.

Now, there are several objections to handling things that way. In the first place, it is certainly my view at any rate, that appointed police commissions should not be enacting legislation. That should be up to elected representatives who are accountable to an electorate.

Senator Pearson: The elected representatives appoint the police to do this work. They delegate the police commission to do this work.

Mr. Borovoy: I am suggesting, Senator, that that is an improper delegation of authority.

Elected representatives should not delegate legislative power in that way to appointed representatives. That is precisely my point, sir. In addition to that, what we are saying is what requires consideration is the concept of having the police making the decision when there is an application for a parade permit because the police are charged with the responsibility of enforcing the point.

Senator Pearson: Is it your belief that the police have got to go back to the commission and the commission have to go back to the city council and ask them for an opinion as to what to do?

Senator Fournier: No, sir. They have legal advisers. In Montreal, though.

Mr. Borovoy: In Toronto the police commission makes that decision and what I am suggesting is that an improper confusion of the enforcement power, with the legislative power, with the adjudicative power and that they ought not all to reside in one authority. I suggest that is not a proper way of handling these things.

Senator Fournier: This is getting to be completed. Let us get to something more actual.

The Chairman: Just a second. Senator McGrand has to come in. I think we ought to make clear that the police commission in Toronto consists of five people or three people?

Mr. Borovoy: I think five.

The Chairman: I think two are elected; are they not?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes.

The Chairman: There are two elected members on the commission and three appointed members. So the group are represented on the police commission.

Now, Senator McGrand.

Senator McGrand: Earlier in the discussion you make some remark about the home of a suspected criminal couldn't be entered without a warrant or something of that nature, but welfare officers did go into the homes of welfare recipients. I want to know what is your objection to a welfare officer checking the home of a welfare recipient to check on the progress the family is making? Maybe I have your remark wrongly?

Mr. Borovoy: The objection is not to visiting per se, Senator. The objection is to a compulsory right of access of the home. The objection is being able to compel entry into the home. That is what I object to. There certainly is nothing wrong with a cooperative relationship existing between the welfare office and the welfare recipient, but the recipient must have the legal right to say get out and not worry about jeopardizing his welfare allowance as a result of that.

Senator McGrand: Well, if there is an objection to a check on the recipient of welfare—going in to check how he is making out with money he is being paid by the taxpayers, then there would be an equal objection to questioning a person who applies for relief.

Mr. Borovoy: No.

Senator McGrand: Well, there certainly is. I'd better explain what I mean. If a person is on welfare and they are receiving a monthly cheque and someone from the Department of Welfare goes down to visit the home to find out how they are making out or whether they need more money or less money, and if that is objectionable then it is equally objectionable to say to a person we will give you money or we will not give you money when they apply for relief, if he has the right to spend his money as he feels he should because he feels he is on relief or needs welfare then it is equally objectionable to say to a person who applies for welfare that we can't give it to you. There has to be an investigation of his—

Mr. Borovoy: Of course.

Senator McGrand: Where is the objection?

Mr. Borovoy: Nobody is suggesting that it is not proper to have an investigation. The objection is to subject a person to a continuing compulsory investigation and thereby continuing invasions of his privacy. In order to be reasonable about it, I wouldn't handicap the state to the point where they are not entitled to investigate initially. What I am suggesting is that it need not follow that the person's home is fair play for the welfare office thereafter.

Senator McGrand: But the home is the only place you could make an investigation. If you said to that person, you come down on Tuesday morning to the office and we want to discuss your problems with you, you don't get as good an appraisal of his problem as you do when you enter his home.

Mr. Borovoy: No. But, Senator, why should this be. Assume, that as most legislation provides, there is a mandatory first visit which we have really never objected to the first time. Why must the welfare recipient's home be a continuing place of investigation when there is no reason, particularly, to suspect that he is doing anything wrong.

Senator McGrand: Well, if there is no suspicion that the things are going poorly then there is no need of them going down and they usually don't.

Mr. Borovoy: They may or they may not. What I am saying to you is why should the welfare recipient, at that point, be in any different position from anyone else? If you suspect that he has done something wrong then get a warrant to compel access to his home. Otherwise leave it between the voluntary relations of the two parties.

Senator McGrand: I think it is on that basis now. There is no use belaboring the point. We disagree.

Michael Posluns, Director of The National Capital Area of The Canadian Civil Liberties Association: Not even the warrant is essential. If you want to investigate simply to update your file, surely you do not require that the person sign a statement that he will give you access to his home as a matter of compulsion. Surely in a normal welfare investigation the social worker ought to be able to go and knock on the door and expect, if he has the kind of reasonable relationship that you are referring to, that he will be let in to carry out his interview.

Senator McGrand: I think in this way: that the welfare officer has the right to go into a house where people are spending monies given to them by the taxpayer. He goes into a house and finds very little food, but the place is cluttered up with beer bottles and he has an idea that things are not going well. I don't see anything wrong with that procedure.

Mr. Borovoy: Alright.

Senator McGrand: I think we have discussed the matter.

Mr. Borovoy: Well, I would like to respond to it though Senator. I say alright, if that is the case then the homes of the rest of us should be equally accessible to see that we are not loading up with beer bottles and depriving our children of food.

Senator McGrand: You are not a recipient of welfare.

Mr. Borovoy: That is precisely the point Senator. I am suggesting what is sauce for the affluent goose should also be sauce for the less affluent gander.

Senator Fournier: You are surely missing the point.

Senator McGrand: If I'm spending money on marijuana or something like that then have the right to come in; don't they?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes. If they get a warrant Senator.

The Chairman: The point made here, as I see it, and I think the Senator see it too, is a condition of receiving welfare he or she must sign a document which says I can enter the house at any time. Now, what is receiving is a matter of right and not a matter of privilege. Once they demand that might go far beyond the bounds of the law. Surely.

Senator McGrand: Here's my point: if you are going to accept a person's word that he is spending his money as he feels it should be spent and that he needs relief and continues to need it, then you must accept his word that he needs relief when he walks down and says I am not making enough money and demands as right, without any further investigation that he be paid so much money a month.

Mr. Borovoy: Most welfare legislations, in that respect, are even more progressive than that. They do not require an accounting of how the person spends the money.

Senator McGrand: I have some other questions I would like to ask. We have not settled that one.

Senator Fournier: Never will.

Mr. Borovoy: I would agree, at least, with that.

Senator McGrand: On page 20 of your brief there is a paragraph I would like you to read yourself. I'll read it to you:

"Why do our courts retain the power to punish scandalizing statements about the courts that are made miles from the courtroom? Would a person who shouted 'Bravo Trudeau' be as guilty of creating a disturbance as the one who shouted 'Traitor Trudeau'? Is it an offence to shout nasty slogans at a noisy picnic?"

Here is the line that I would like to clarify:

"Does the offence arise simply because other people are likely to be provoked? Does this mean that the speaker must be silent because he might be attacked?"

Would you just explain what you mean?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes. What I mean is this: I am trying to understand the basis upon which a person is convicted for shouting nasty slogans at a noisy picnic. Clearly shouting slogans doesn't interfere with the operation of a noisy affair. If I make noise and someone else is making noise that isn't the key to it. I would assume, although I don't know, that the key to it might be that he was shouting unpopular slogans and he was running the risk of being attacked by those who happened to like the prime minister.

What I am suggesting here is that it is a somewhat tenuous position on which to condition the right of dissent to convict the person of a criminal offense for saying something that would make himself the target of a physical attack. What that means is the hooligan becomes the effective censor of freedom of speech if I must confine myself only to saying popular things because otherwise I might be attacked and if I'm attacked I am guilty of causing a disturbance.

Senator McGrand: What I am coming at is that you will get noisy meetings, noisy picnics. You will have 5,000 people going to a meeting to cheer a political leader. The applause they get is noise, of course, but it is not offensive noise. It is noise where they are voicing their approval. When they shout offensive things at him because he says something they don't like and they take over the meeting and they prevent other people from hearing what he has to say, that is a little different.

Mr. Borovoy: You have mixed up a few problems here. Taking over someone else's meeting, of course, I do not for one moment think there ought to be immunity to those who take over someone else's meeting. To those even who behave in such a way that someone else's meeting may not go on, no. What I am talking about is not taking over someone else's meeting. I am talking about shouting slogans at a picnic where whatever slogans are shouted clearly could not prevent the picnic from going on.

Senator McGrand: You are distinguishing between a picnic and a political meeting?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes.

Senator McGrand: I am not. A thousand people at a picnic or a thousand people at a political meeting is much the same thing to me.

Mr. Borovoy: The setting, of course, is always material. If someone came in here and started shouting any kind of slogans, even if they were slogans of brotherhood, they might prevent us from communicating properly with each other and be subject, therefore, to the criminal law.

The test should be whether or not you are effectively preventing the next person from carrying on his lawful activity and if you are not, then it is my submission that no criminal penalty ought to attach itself to your act. In this case, using this example, the offense, as I understand, clearly they couldn't by shouting whatever they were shouting to prevent a picnic from going on. All they were really doing was antagonizing people.

Senator McGrand: If a picnic consists of eating food, I would say yes. If it was an audience who wanted to listen to someone deliver a message, that is a different thing.

Mr. Borovoy: Apart from the normal heckling, of course, that is part of the game.

Senator McGrand: Do you consider the use of personal abusive language directed at a certain person at a public meeting to be offensive or would you consider it to be a breach of the peace? Shouting at a certain man, would you consider that a breach of the peace or offensive?

Mr. Borovoy: I might consider certain types of language very offensive. The question is whether criminal sanctions ought to attach themselves to that offensive language and there it would depend upon the context. Clearly if somebody began to shout in the middle of the night when people were sleeping they might properly...

Senator McGrand: I am not talking of people sleeping in the middle of the night. You are going off the point.

If you were addressing a meeting under the auspices of your organization and I was in the hall and I didn't agree with you and I stood up and I made offensive remarks—I call you certain names and continued to call you names—is that a breach of the peace?

Mr. Borovoy: Well, I would say this to you...

Senator Fournier: Why don't you say yes or no? We don't want a long story about this.

Mr. Borovoy: I think, Senator, unfortunately problems of civil liberties do not lend themselves that easily to yes or no replies. I am sorry that I am not able to blend down an analysis that simply.

The Chairman: Can you still answer the question?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes I can.

What I have suggested is the test is whether or not the conduct effectively prevents the meeting from taking place. If it does, then even if they are shouting lovely slogans but shouting them in such a way that the others cannot carry on their meeting, then in my view the criminal sanction properly attaches. If, however, on the other hand even if they are shouting unpleasant slogans but it comes within our tradition and experience of heckling and it doesn't interfere with the meeting, then I don't think a criminal penalty should attach. Their key point is whether or not it interferes with the ability of others to carry on their lawful activities.

Senator McGrand: Do you object to the use of verbal or obscene language in a court room after a judge and jury delivered a verdict?

Mr. Borovoy: I would object to it even before the judge and jury have delivered a verdict.

Senator McGrand: At any time?

Mr. Borovoy: Yes, at any time. Any time that I am able to conceive of at the moment, anyway. Perhaps if nobody else was there I wouldn't, but so long as the court is in session I would suggest that because of the nature of the functions of a court, different standards have to prevail in a courtroom from those prevailing at picnics or political rallies.

Senator McGrand: Going back to this question of bail, a man comes out and he has no lawyer and he is going before the magistrate to ask for bail, isn't it a practice for the magistrate and Crown prosecutor to discuss the bail on the reliability of the defendant? Isn't that usually what takes place?

Mr. Borovoy: It often does, yes.

Senator McGrand: It should take place every time.

Mr. Borovoy: It should take place every time; it doesn't always, as I think you know.

Senator McGrand: Unfortunately in court where you have a heavy docket with dozens of cases there is a tendency to put them through rather quickly I'm afraid.

Mr. Borovoy: That's right.

Senator McGrand: Going back to this one more question on personal liberties, do you believe that a person, any person, has the right to smoke marijuana or to use LSD as he wishes? Has he the right as an individual? He has the right to smoke tobacco. He has the right to drink a little alcohol. Why can't he smoke a little marijuana?

Mr. Borovoy: In the course of preparing this submission, Senator, I attempted, as much as I could, to address our submissions to the relationship between poverty and civil liberties. I have some difficulty seeing the connection between poverty and marijuana. Most of the experience I am aware of is that marijuana and LSD addicts usually come from the more affluent middle classes than the less affluent lower classes. To that extent we have prepared our submissions accordingly. I must tell you, in frankness, that some of the issues you are now raising are issues that our organization has not yet had the opportunity to deal with. If you want to give us a homework assignment, we are quite prepared to undertake it concerning a submission on that subject.

Senator McGrand: I don't agree with you that LSD and marijuana is something that is used by the upper and middle class. It is in every group. It is because, I think, they are trying to escape something. Trying to escape from a problem. An awful lot of people among the poverty group drink beer, take anything to escape their boredom.

The Chairman: Is drinking beer bad?

Senator McGrand: They drink more than they should sometimes.

The Chairman: That trait certainly doesn't belong to the people who are poor. What you are talking about is people who are much more affluent than they are who would drink more. Usually the poor man has one glass of beer.

Senator McGrand: I have said that a person has a right to drink a little alcohol, a little beer and has the right to smoke tobacco. Has he got the right to smoke marijuana?

The Chairman: Marijuana is illegal; isn't it?

Senator McGrand: This is a brief on civil liberties.

Mr. Borovoy: It contains two components, Senator: civil liberties and poverty. As I suggested, we tried to address our submissions to the relationship between the two. On the surface I think you will agree there is at least a surface relationship. If you would like a submission on marijuana and LSD we would be happy to. If you will forgive my behaving...

The Chairman: We have enough problems that are legal without getting into that.

Let me just ask you a few questions. Senator Pearson raised the point and said that you had been in our midst not too many years. Actually you have been in existence since when? The Civil Liberties group were there when I was a boy.

Mr. Borovoy: Yes, there have been a succession of civil liberties groups.

The Chairman: Having knowledge of what is going on and what has been happening to the people on welfare, and it has been happening to them for a great number of years, both with respect to their civil liberties and rights, why haven't we any case law on the subject? Why haven't you taken a case to the courts dealing with someone who was refused or cut off assistance and had a delegation by the courts on their rights? Theirs is a matter of right and not as a matter of privilege.

Mr. Borovoy: One of the reasons why we haven't done it is because, until recently, the resources of our organization were not available for us to do as much of this sort of thing as we would like to do. We have been involved in some cases in the courts, but certainly not as many as we would like to.

I will just amplify that. In addition to that, throughout the years, our courts have not been as responsive to many Civil Liberties arguments as we would like them to be. There are a number of problems that accompany involvement in civil liberties cases. One of them is the status of *amicus curiae* in the courts is not a particularly well entrenched one in this country as it is in the United States. The difficulty that a civil liberties organization has is that we must go to court to represent a client, not an issue. The problem with that, of course, is that if you are representing a client then the interest of the client must come first and the civil liberties issue is only one of several issues and it could

get bargained away during the give and take between Crown and defence. For that reason we haven't been able to take as many things in the courts as would like to because of the procedures for appearing exclusively on the civil liberties issue haven't been strong enough.

The Chairman: I am not suggesting that. We have had legal aid in this province of Ontario for some three or four years. We are spending in Ontario on legal aid 7 million dollars which is more than is being spent in all the other provinces put together. Why haven't the Legal Aid people taken a case, that you have divided to them, to the courts on behalf of X or Y and tested the law as they have done in the United States.

Mr. Borovoy: Unfortunately, our procedures and our custom has not been particularly hospitable to that sort of test case approach as it has been in the United States.

Let me just go over this. There are a number of things. There is the procedure, there is no *amicus curiae*. Also, we haven't had a constitutional bill of rights or, up until recently, what we thought was an effective bill of rights—a way of challenging—as maybe the case now. There haven't been a lot of the instruments as readily available to those who wanted to challenge as there have been in the United States. If I may, Senator, even though within that we have been prepared to take cases. Just recently, for example, our organization was instrumental in getting the government to change its policy with respect to what they call the man in the house rule for welfare recipients.

The Chairman: I know about that.

Mr. Borovoy: That arose because we were prepared to go to court.

The Chairman: This was the case that you referred to.

Mr. Borovoy: She had a man in the house and she was cut off welfare.

The Chairman: Yes. It was one of those silly things that the Department did and shouldn't have done.

Mr. Borovoy: It was well entrenched policy.

The Chairman: As civil liberties people you must have a feeling of what is in the air. There has been a new orientation, a new thought and a new concept, as expressed by

the Supreme Court of Canada on the bill of rights. That is revolutionary. It's something that is new and different. That came to the Supreme Court of Canada through a case that didn't seem important at the moment but it had a great principle involved.

These abuses under the welfare laws have been going on for years. In all this time we have never taken one case and tested it in the courts. Why? It doesn't involve any great cost particularly. All it involves is some work on behalf of some legalites and you would get many of them who would be delighted to step in and try a case such as that. Why haven't we done it in order to establish for these poor people what they need establishing? It's a matter of right and not as a matter of charity or gift or privilege.

Mr. Borovoy: This is something that our organization is now prepared to undertake. Up until a couple of years ago we didn't employ, for very long, a fulltime staff as we now do. Although it is somewhat unusual for those in political offices to be putting pressure on us, Senator, I gladly accept.

The Chairman: No. As Members of the Committee we have no way of doing it and the legal aid departments are there for purposes of carrying out their function. If we had no Legal Aid in this province, your organization a year ago could have approached the best lawyer in Toronto. All you had to say was we would like you to take this case. He would have taken this case to the Supreme Court of Canada and never asked you for a penny and moreover he would have been delighted to do it. You could have had a dozen to do that. That is so; isn't it?

It has been bothering me why wasn't it done. It could have brought you nothing but credit.

Mr. Borovoy: There are a lot of problems with this Senator. We are going to do it. Do it a lot more, particularly in view of the recent Supreme Court of Canada's decision. But, you know, very often the experience has been that when there have been civil liberties issues in cases the cases very often have been decided on grounds other than the civil liberties arguments.

The difficulty has often been because there hasn't been that sensitivity in society, in the profession, in the courts, to these civil liberties issues. It was very hard to make the civil liberties issue the litigatable issue in the dispute.

The Chairman: I'm not talking about a civil liberties issue at all at the moment. I am talking about the Canada Assistance Act which stated we had to deal with people on a basis of need. It is in the statute. There is the basis for suing. Their rights have been denied to many people across this country for various reasons, as you well know.

What is troubling me is why no one has come forward and tested this right to the Supreme Court of Canada and said there is the law, what does it mean? That is my point.

Mr. Borovoy: We haven't been at it on a fulltime basis long enough and I gladly accept the challenge on behalf of the Organization.

The Chairman: Senator Inman, when you talked about prevention, to place these offices in the area of the poor for the purpose of advising them, I suppose it would be a legal out-patient department in the same way as the medical people would have for the purpose of looking after their needs rather than before they became acute. That is what they have in mind.

Tell us something about this: what is the state of legal aid in Canada?

Mr. Borovoy: Very bad.

The Chairman: That doesn't answer the question. Tell us what it is like. Give us some idea. We have to deal with that problem.

Mr. Borovoy: Would you like to comment on the Quebec situation?

The Chairman: Leave Quebec alone for a minute. Let us hear about the rest of the country.

Mr. Borovoy: In our brief, as I have indicated, I don't have all the information I would like to have on this. We pointed out, for example, in Nova Scotia I don't think they are spending much more than about \$25,000 per year. I believe, on legal aid. Most of the civil work is given as a gratuity by the bar and is not compensable through legal aid.

In New Brunswick only the most serious of criminal offenses arising after indictment or committal for trial are handled on a legal aid basis.

Quebec you have heard.

Ontario, at least in litigation, it is working much better. However, as we say, it is not as yet handling adequately the preventive legal problem.

In Manitoba they are spending about \$160,000 and that is about four times more than they have ever spent before. That doesn't amount to very much.

Saskatchewan, I have indicated eligibility requirements of \$2,000 or \$2,500 per year to qualify for legal aid isn't very much.

The Chairman: What about Alberta?

Mr. Borovoy: Unfortunately, as I say, I don't have all the information.

The Chairman: Alberta has some legal aid. I talked to the Deputy Attorney General who told me that they are a considerable amount of legal aid at the moment. They are going to try to improve on it.

British Columbia, do you know anything about it?

Mr. Borovoy: I just can't recall it offhand.

Senator Inman: I know a little of Prince Edward Island. They have it for extreme cases. Crown cases.

Mr. Cooper: In connection with the Quebec experience, I mentioned what we are trying to do but this is the seed which is now just beginning. If I could just mention a word or two about how the legal aid system is now I think it might indicate some of the problems of the legal aid system and of the legal profession.

The legal aid system in Montreal excludes various cases. One, no one may obtain a divorce, only separation. The reason ostensibly is because they are too busy with separations and they cannot do divorces. One can speculate as to what the real reasons are. If I might suggest, it's a general view that the poor do not mind living with other people anyways. They do not mind the moral situation, so we don't have to worry about giving them divorces. That one case is excluded. A Second one, they will not take any case in damages as a plaintiff. If anyone were to come in for, let's say, having been hit in a car accident or not receiving their wages, they could not make any claim through legal aid. The reason, again ostensibly, is that if they do have a valid case they can go to a lawyer and the lawyer will do this case on a contingency fee basis. The realities of the situation are that the lawyers, unless it's such a clearcut case, will demand a retainer fee. Once again one might wonder why this is so and again I would speculate the reason they will not

allow this is because legal services can exist for the poor but not to remove them from their poverty situation. You can help the poor, but don't help to give them more money. So no plaintiff actions will be taken in those cases.

No cases in the magistrate's court, other than the Montreal Magistrate's Court, will be handled by Legal Aid. If it is the Montreal Magistrate's Court, the Municipal Court, only the more serious offenses and the vast majority of them will not be handled. Bankruptcy right now is a tenuous matter as to whether or not they will accept it. In general they have not, but they are moving towards accepting bankruptcy cases.

Finally, if I may mention just one other point here, the cases in Montreal, if they are civil ones, and if they will be handled are not handled by the Legal Aid Bureau themselves. They will prepare a form which will be sent to all lawyers or to various lawyers in Montreal which will say that it's your duty to accept this case and it will improve the image of lawyers and for the benevolence of the people in the profession you ought to take this case. Therefore the party is then sent to which ever lawyer the Legal Aid Bureau wants to send them to and the lawyer receives this form and in actual practice this form dwindles down to the bottom line and the first year lawyer or, more so, the articling student will handle the case. This is how the Montreal system works.

The Chairman: Mr. Cooper, all you have said is what Judge Proveau said about the image of the legal profession in the Province of Quebec. He said that the public image of the bar in the Province of Quebec has not a good our. Very unfortunate. I don't think it's any better than many of the other provinces either.

Is there anything any Senator has? Senator Fournier?

Senator Fournier: I do not know whether it is worth extending this much longer. I think that we had a very good debate this morning and I certainly want to thank the witnesses. Usually we get more out of the arguments than we get out of the briefs and this is why we spend more time discussing the briefs and this is a fact. It happens all the time.

There is a lot of points that I disagree with. I am not going into that. There is one point I was going to question, Senator Pearson, the duties of the police against the demonstrators.

Our witness here has given long lectures and free legal advice this morning which has gone way over my head by now.

Mr. Borovoy: It may be worth no more than what you're paying for it.

Senator Fournier: Let me give you a very simple example here and you don't have to answer it. I'm a policeman on one side of the street and you are demonstrator on the other side of the street. You encourage me. You call me everything possible. You have a stick in your hand and you hate me from a long date. I have an order not to let you cross the street. After a while I stand there very quietly and take everything that you tell me for hours. I have a stick and you have a stick. Then you start to cross and you come to my side. What will I do as a policeman?

Mr. Borovoy: You say for some reason there was an order that nobody be allowed to cross?

Senator Fournier: Yes.

Mr. Borovoy: Then you have to stop him.

Senator Fournier: That is the point. Who is going to hit first, you or me?

Mr. Borovoy: When a person has committed an illegal act, some more free legal advice, the policeman has the power to use whatever force is reasonably necessary to prevent the commission of the illegal act.

Senator Fournier: I agree with that. I expected that. This is an organized demonstration. These people have a couple of lawyers on the other side of the street watching him with a camera. Naturally the policeman has got to defend himself. Now, these lawyers are going to get together and they are going to try to murder the poor policeman because he has handled this poor innocent hippy so roughly and so on. We see these things and read these things. This is alarming. Believe me, it's alarming.

Mr. Borovoy: It depends on any given time on the state of the facts. If the policeman was carrying out his duties properly, he certainly is entitled both to defend himself and to use whatever force that is reasonably necessary to prevent the commission of the illegal act. On the other hand, there have been occasions where police officers have gone way beyond what was reasonably necessary and when they do we might even suggest that there be better procedures available for handling that kind of situation.

Senator Fournier: I don't want to get into an argument. I am going to finish now because we have different views on that. The policeman is a human being and after he has been molested and receives a black eye and a couple of broken teeth he is not the same guy that he was a minute ago before that. He loses his temper. He is fighting for his life.

Mr. Borovoy: I hope that there is nothing in our brief that suggests a policeman has to wait until he has two broken teeth before he is entitled to retaliate.

Senator Fournier: Many of them do and don't get any credit for it.

Mr. Borovoy: Many of them do on the one hand and some of them retaliate even before they get provoked on the other hand.

Senator Fournier: Can you blame them?

Mr. Borovoy: If they do it without proper provocation I certainly do blame them.

Senator McGrand: I intended to ask you this before when we were discussing the abuses sometimes handed out to a judge or jury in court rooms. This has nothing to do with our subject, but it is involved. This famous trial in Chicago, would you just say a word or two? It seems to me a person who shouts obscenities at a judge or jury at any time during the trial there is two ways he could be handled. One is to be escorted out and say you haven't committed any offense so just go out or he could be detained for having done this.

I think you get into a lot of trouble if you were to charge a person who simply shouted in a court room an obscenity to a judge. I mean you could get into a lot of trouble, maybe the best way is to escort him out. Would you give me your opinion what happened at that Chicago trial?

The Chairman: Maybe the best way is not to ask that question. He is not an expert. He is a Canadian and his work is in Canada. Lets leave at that.

Senator McGrand: I will let it go.

The Chairman: Do you think you could make any useful contribution?

Mr. Borovoy: Except only insofar as it may suggest something about our discourse this morning, it may not be necessary for me to go into any great elaboration about the situation in Chicago which, you quite rightly say,

is not germane to our discussion. What I am concerned about is the possibility what the Senator may be implying is that there may be something in our brief which would tolerate and even suggest that rowdy court room behaviour is within the permissible limits of dissent. Let me assure the Senator that it is not. Certainly, in our view, courts have every business controlling what goes on in court rooms and maintaining an atmosphere of decorum.

I have many qualms about the statutes under which those people were charged in Chicago. I think the statutes may properly be subject to examination from a civil liberties stand point and subject to very serious challenge. Insofar as court room conduct is concerned I have no difficulty to say that those kind of antics cannot be permitted and I hope that nothing in our brief suggested to you that we were in favour of permitting it. The one reference I made to the court, if you will recall Senator, was not the conduct of people in the court house but remarks they made miles from the court house. It is that that I don't think should be subject to the contempt power of the courts.

Senator McGrand: You mentioned that in your brief, yes.

Mr. Borovoy: Now, in our contempt of court concepts, the courts can exercise the power to punish statements made miles from the court house. In my respectful opinion that leaves something to be desired.

Senator McGrand: That's why I mentioned it.

Mr. Borovoy: I would not apply that to inside the court room; certainly not.

Senator Fournier: Let's finish this up.

The Chairman: Yes. Go head.

Senator Fournier: The point the Doctor mentioned, you escort these people from the court. There is a point where they cannot be escorted from the court. They have to be dragged out by the hair. That gives a different picture altogether.

The Chairman: We have never faced that in this country.

Mr. Borovoy: I wouldn't want to write a manual here on the various techniques of ejecting people from rooms. Suffice it to say that the minimal force required to execute the legal obligation and I agree with the present state of the law on that score.

The Chairman: We are dealing with real life problems as they affect the poor. We have had a very interesting morning, ably presented. If you run short of legal briefs we have left you with a brief this morning as to what action you can take in the immediate future which will keep you well employed. I think you should direct yourself in that respect because it is essential.

On behalf of the Committee, Mr. Borovoy, we are aware of the very distinguished service that you are giving to the Civil Liberties Organization and the progress that it has made under your guidance. To you Mr. Cooper and Mr. Posluns we extend our thanks for coming this morning.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

Submissions to:
 Special Senate Committee on
 Poverty
 Re:
 Poverty and Civil Liberties
 From:
 Canadian Civil Liberties
 Association
 Per: A. Alan Borovoy
 General Counsel
 Ottawa, Thursday, April 16, 1970

PART A—Poverty and Civil Liberties—Some
 General Observations

Clearly, it will require much more than the extension of civil liberties to abolish poverty in this country. Of necessity, a civil liberties submission will not deal with the various economic solutions which have been recommended in our succession of wars on poverty. Nowhere in this submission will there appear either a favorable or a critical evaluation of fiscal and monetary policy, the nationalization of industry, the white paper on taxation, or the Prices and Incomes Commission.

Civil liberties are concerned less with the substance of government economic policy than with the *method* by which existing policy is administered and the *process* by which change in policy is effected. The civil liberties contribution to the problem of poverty lies mainly in overcoming the disadvantages of poverty in the administration of existing law and the processes available to change the law. Our thrust will be essentially twofold.

1. How can we promote greater equality for the poor under existing law?
2. How can we increase participation of the poor in the processes to change the law?

PART B—Poverty and the Procedural Protections of Existing Law

(1) Legal Rights and Legal Service

One of our favorite social doctrines is equality under the law. Every man—black or white, Jew or Gentile, Protestant or Catholic, rich or poor—is entitled to equal treatment under the law—the right to present his evi-

dence, the right to cross examine his adversary's evidence, the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty.

Of course, there is an uncomfortable dichotomy between possessing and enjoying these legal rights. In our complex society, we cannot enjoy legal rights without legal service. Between the doctrine and the reality of legal equality stands the lawyer trained to navigate through the increasingly murky sea of laws, customs, restrictions, and regulations. But the very complexity of legal training has compounded the costs of legal services.

Thus it is clear how the fact of poverty can subvert the goal of equality. Meagre resources cannot purchase costly services. Yet costly legal services are indispensable to equal legal rights.

The challenge of poverty to the goal of equality is to devise a method for making the voices of the law responsive to the call of the voiceless.

Thus far, Canada has responded to this challenge with a series of publically subsidized legal aid plans in the many jurisdictions of this country. Our problem is to determine whether and to what extent the present state of legal aid can resolve the dichotomy between equality in legal theory and equality in legal practice.

Regrettably, very few comprehensive studies have been undertaken into the state of legal aid service in this country. Thus, whatever material we have will be more suggestive than conclusive. Within these rather severe limitations, we will do the best we can.

Our own organization's survey into the administration of various aspects of criminal justice has already yielded some suggestive information about legal aid service in Winnipeg, Halifax and Montreal. Although we have not yet had the opportunity to subject our findings to proper analysis and indeed even to complete our finding to proper analysis and indeed even to complete our findings, some of the preliminary material is rather revealing.

Of thirty-seven accused persons whose cases were disposed of on the court calendars of five randomly chosen days in Winnipeg, only six were represented by counsel. The magistrates court disposed of criminal charges

against thirty-one persons who had no legal representation. Thirty-six persons were convicted; in fact all thirty-six pleaded guilty as charged. Ten of them were sentenced to various terms of penal incarceration. Yet the one hundred and sixty thousand dollars currently allocated for the year ending March 31, 1970 represents a substantial increase in Manitoba's public commitment to legal aid. In the year ending March 31, 1969, there was an allocation of only forty thousand dollars of public funds.

Three randomly chosen court calendars from Halifax during the month of January 1970 depict something of the Nova Scotia pattern. Of fifty-nine disposed of accused, only seven were represented by counsel; fifty-two were unrepresented. During this time, fifty-one persons were convicted on the basis of forty-seven pleas of guilty and four findings of guilt. Six persons went to jail. The Nova Scotia Government is currently spending about twenty-five thousand dollars per year on legal aid.

Of twenty-six disposed of accused in three randomly chosen court calendars from early February in Montreal, only four were represented by counsel and twenty-two were unrepresented.

Although as high a number as thirteen went free because of withdrawals of the charges or acquittals, eight were convicted and five were committed for trial. We have no record yet of incarcerations during this period.

Although the province of New Brunswick has committed itself to the principle of enacting a legal aid plan, at present it does little more than pay the defence of poor prisoners who are indicted or committed for trial in a restricted number of serious offences.

Eligibility for government subsidized legal aid in Saskatchewan requires an annual income amounting to less than two thousand dollars for unmarried persons and twenty-five hundred dollars for married persons. Although we have no evaluations or statistical evidence on the operation of the plan, we can well imagine what quantity of legal service is available for poor people on the basis of these near-starvation eligibility requirements.

The actual fees payable to lawyers under the plan bolsters the picture. In any case tried in the district court judges criminal court, the half day fee for senior counsel is fifty dollars

and, on a plea of guilty, twenty dollars. Junior counsel in the same situation are entitled to forty dollars and fifteen dollars. In magistrates court, senior counsel are entitled to forty dollars for a half day and twenty dollars on a plea of guilty and junior counsel to forty dollars and fifteen dollars. On the private market, such a schedule of fees could purchase little more than the introductory salutations at the beginning of the hearing.

By contrast, during the year ending March 31, 1969, the province of Ontario incurred a net cost of over seven million dollars to subsidize legal fees in close to fifty thousand cases. Significantly, these statistics represent assistance both in criminal and in civil cases.

When we are dealing with the fundamental civil liberty of equality before the law, a situation of "regional disparities" is especially repugnant. To this end, our first major objective should be the equalization of legal aid services throughout the country. It is no longer tolerable to perpetuate a state of affairs in which indigent persons who run afoul of the same law in different provinces will owe their legal protections less to the quality of their act than to the place where it occurred.

Accordingly, we recommend a system of federal grants to insure everywhere in Canada at least that state of subsidized legal aid that is available in Ontario. Some adjustments might be made in other federal services in order to promote equity between those provinces that provide these legal services through their own resources and those calling for a greater share of federal assistance. However, because of the resources at its control and the pivotal character of its role, it is the federal government which must take the initiative.

But the goal of equality under the law requires that we go beyond the level of legal aid experience in Ontario. The bulk of Ontario's publically subsidized legal aid has been used in litigation. What this means is that most of the help we have given to the poor has arisen *after* the damage has been done. But General Motors' battery of lawyers provides assistance in *avoiding* the courtroom...

In order to promote both greater equality and greater substance in the exercise of legal rights in Canada, we must devise a more effective programme of state-subsidized *preventive* legal service. In this connection, we associate ourselves with the concept of a

community legal clinic physically located in the residential areas of the poor. The concept calls for state-salaried lawyers who operate a store front clinic that aggressively attracts the patronage of the poor.

The lawyers would be encouraged to specialize in the problems of the poor—consumer credit, landlord-tenant, welfare, workman's compensation, unemployment insurance etc. Unlike the traditional law practice that refrains from advertising its services, the state-subsidized clinic would go looking for problems. Because of generations of alienation from the legal world, poor people are often unaware that their problems can be resolved or even characterized on a legal basis. That is why traditional law practice is often irrelevant to their needs. The clinic lawyers would publish and distribute literature, visit homes, speak at community meetings in order to promote a maximum use of their services. The emphasis would be what it is in the corporate world—how to vindicate their clients' interests, as much as possible, without resort to litigation.

Of course, within the context of this submission we are not able to deal adequately with the details of such a proposal. It is not difficult to conceive of a wide variety of problems which would accompany the introduction of such a programme. Suffice it, at this stage, to point up the desirable *direction* of government effort. To this end, we join the community and legal aid services programme of the Osgoode Hall Law School at York University in recommending

"a joint federal—all province study... of probable legal needs of indigent areas under an all-service providing legal aid scheme."

As an additional aid in working out the details of such a proposal, the federal government should undertake much sooner the establishment of some legal aid clinics on a demonstration project basis. They could provide a useful guide to the ultimate development of nation-wide comprehensive program of all-purpose legal services.

The gap between the theory and practice of Canadian legal equality is great indeed. As a whole, legal aid in this country is little more than a ritual gesture on the road to equality. As such, it is more a salve to those who have, than a help to those who need. With respect, it is time we were more serious.

(2) Some Additional Protections in the Criminal Law

At almost any time, we could walk into a Canadian prison and find a number of people who are suffering forced confinement without ever having been found guilty of a criminal offence. Sometimes the incarceration under such circumstances has gone on for days, sometimes for weeks, and sometimes even months.

In a great number of these situations, the imposition of the penalty is attributable more to poverty than to any other factor. Many of these people are languishing in jail because they lack the financial means to pay the bail which has been set in their cases. Great numbers of those charged with criminal offences whose trials are delayed must purchase their freedom with money during the interim period. Thus, the liberty of the subject often depends less on the nature of the impugned conduct than the size of the accused's wallet.

Our legal system contains fewer inequities more offensive to the principle of legal equality than the concept of financial bail. Persons, whom the law presumes innocent, suffer long periods of incarceration essentially because they are too financially poor to purchase their freedom.

This deformity in our legal structure was persuasively brought to our attention a number of years ago in Martin Friedland's classic study "Detention Before Trial". Unfortunately, there has been little significant change since the publication of Professor Friedland's work.

A few random tests undertaken more recently convey the same basic pattern. When our organization examined a Toronto court calendar for August 1968 we found that an aggregate total of two hundred and thirty-two days were spent in jail by approximately six people against whom all charges were withdrawn during the month of August. A sixty-eight year old man was arrested and charged with making a false statement on July 3rd. He sat in custody until August 1st when his charge was withdrawn. The prosecution withdrew charges against other people who had already been in custody for 19 days, 16 days, 33 days, 3 days, and 2 days. Perhaps the most shocking of these cases occurred on August 2nd. A charge of possession of narcotics was withdrawn against a man who had been arrested for this offence on March 23rd. He had been deprived of his freedom for 131 days and, in the final result, the prosecution

decided it lacked sufficient evidence to go to trial.

The same court calendar discloses an aggregate total of 235 days of jail time which were served by four people whose ultimate penalty was either probation or suspended sentence. One of these cases involved a seventeen year old boy who was arrested on June 3rd, charged with possession of a dangerous weapon and a breach of the Liquor Control Act. From June 3rd until August 1st, 58 days, this boy sat in custody. On August 1st, the Crown withdrew the serious charge of possessing a dangerous weapon and the court imposed one year probation for the liquor offence.

Recent news stories suggest that a year and a half later, we would probably find similar cases in many jails throughout the country.

Significantly, not even the goal of public safety is adequately protected through the bail system. Often, the *wealthy* accused who are able to purchase their freedom until trial pose a much greater threat to society than many of the impoverished accused whose financial insolvency keeps them locked up until trial. In the greatest number of cases, we achieve virtually nothing with financial bail except incarceration of the poor.

Fortunately, the Federal Minister of Justice has announced his intention to reform the bail laws. We should give this effort every support. To this end, the Canadian Civil Liberties Association recommends the adoption of a different system for determining the issues of freedom and detention before trial. Consistent with our legal presumption of innocence all accused should be, *prima facie*, entitled to their freedom before trial, unless the Crown can satisfy the court of one of the following:

1. Because of the nature of the offence with which he is charged and the life style he has been pursuing, the accused is not likely to appear in court for his trial.
2. Because of the accused's propensity to commit dangerous acts against persons and property, it is not safe to set him free.

On the basis of these criteria, the entitlement to freedom would be behavioural rather than financial. By reshaping our law in this way, we could maximize the conditions of freedom and minimize the disadvantages of poverty, without significant jeopardy to the interests of public safety.

Another inequity in the criminal law concerns the imposition of monetary penalties for criminal conduct. Obviously, this punishes the poor man more severely than the rich man. Moreover, when the fine is demanded immediately more poor men than rich men will be forced into prison. Again incarceration is more attributable to financial limitation than to criminal behaviour. Accordingly, we recommend a mandatory system of reasonable instalments for the payment of criminal fines. At least, this would give the poor offender a more equal chance to avoid the jail house.

(3) Some Special Protections in the Welfare Law

The concept of legal equality requires adjustments not only in the general law applicable to everyone but also in the special laws applicable to the poor i.e. welfare law. What about the complex of procedures and rights in the body of the law which deals especially and daily with most impoverished people in our society? Do the laws of special application to the poor provide the procedural fairness that characterize the laws of general application to everyone?

In this regard, we applaud the initiative undertaken by the federal government in the Canada Assistance Plan. In order to promote procedural due process for the impoverished recipients of federal welfare funds, the participating provinces must provide a "procedure for appeals".

Again we regret that such a measure may be more of a ritual gesture than a legal safeguard. An investigation of provincial welfare practices will disclose the violation of some of the most fundamental canons of procedural fairness known to the law. On most of these issues, the Canada Assistance Plan maintains a resonant silence. Moreover, even some of the provincial appeal procedures, notwithstanding the requirements of federal law, contain more verbal bark than legal bite.

Our experience with public welfare administration in the province of Ontario has disclosed a rather questionable practice at the outset of a recipient's relationship with many municipal welfare administrations. The recipient is required to sign a special consent form giving welfare officials a continuing right of access to his home. The affront to the principle of legal equality is clear. The privacy of the home is one of the most sacred doctrines in our legal tradition. This doctrine protects all the rest of us including the most dangerous criminals. Unless there is a situa-

tion of hot pursuit, even the police are obliged to secure a judicial warrant before entering the home of a dangerous criminal.

In this way, the innocent indigent on welfare claims fewer legal rights than the suspected robber at large. To effectuate the principle of equality between the general law and the poor law, the Canada Assistance Plan should provide another condition on the use of federal money—no welfare officer should be entitled to compel access to the home of a welfare recipient unless he can secure a warrant upon satisfying a disinterested judicial officer that there are reasonable and probable grounds for the belief that a search of the premises will disclose a violation of the law.

Recently, an Ontario deserted wife on welfare received some shocking news when she opened her mail one morning. A letter from the Director of Family Benefits simply informed her that "because of information on file" she now fell into a disqualifying category, and that, effective a few days earlier, the welfare allowance for herself and four children was cancelled.

Again, the discrepancy between the poor law and the general law is obvious. The common law and statute law of general application invariably require the right to a fair hearing. For example, if one party is sued for a minor debt, he is entitled to advance notice of the claim against him, representation by counsel, an opportunity to cross-examine his adversary's evidence, an opportunity to present his own case and adjudication by a disinterested third party. In the case of our deserted wife on welfare, however, a very major matter, her entire livelihood was taken away without any hearing of any kind. Moreover, the decision-maker, far from being a disinterested third party, is the cost-conscious dispenser of welfare.

No appeal machinery can adequately rectify this violation of fundamental due process. Invariably, the appeal machinery takes time. But *any* delay could produce irreparable damage to the family dependent on welfare.

Much of the provincial welfare legislation in this country is silent on the issue of a fair hearing before the occasion of the first adverse decision. This situation calls for a cure at the federal level. In order to provide minimum standards of procedural fairness throughout the country, the Canada Assistance Plan should base the use of federal funds in provincial welfare administration on

the condition that the provincial legislation require a fair hearing *before* the first adverse decision is made. If the welfare administrator is intending to deny, adversely vary, suspend or cancel welfare benefits, he should be obliged to give reasonable advance notice of his intention and reasons for so doing. This notice should include a summary of the evidence that is being relied upon. At that stage, the applicant of recipient should be entitled, with or without counsel, to challenge the evidence and present evidence and arguments of his own. This could be done orally or in writing. The hearing need not be formal or lengthy. It could take the form of an interview or discussion. The objective is to give the person affected a reasonable and effective opportunity to persuade the administrator *before* the decision is made. The right of a fair hearing is so basic to procedural fairness that a federal initiative is crucial.

Having legislated the requirement for appeal machinery as a condition of obtaining federal funds, the federal government has not exhausted its role.

Have all the provinces enjoying federal assistance complied with the requirement? Thus far, in at least one case, the province of Quebec, the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council has failed to proclaim the legislative provisions for appeal machinery. Moreover, is the provincial appeal machinery operating according to the intention of the Canada Assistance Plan?

In some cases we have our doubts.

In the province of Ontario, for example, the welfare board of review contains a number of people who had previously served for long periods of time in provincial or municipal departments. As such, they were intimately involved in the formulation and execution of department policy. Yet, it is this very policy which will so often be under attack at board of review hearings. The problem is to what extent can we anticipate a fresh and independent evaluation of welfare policy under such circumstances.

Indeed, a number of board of review judgments in the province of Ontario have dismissed welfare claims without the slightest attempt to analyze anew or even to examine the statute or regulations. These judgments have upheld the policy of the Family Benefits Branch by simply proclaiming that the disputed policy has been the practice of the Family Benefits Branch. It is rather a novel form of jurisprudence, to say the least, for

the appellate tribunal to invoke the authority of the very tribunal whose judgment is under appeal.

Both the reality and the appearance of independent procedures require that the appeal boards be made up predominantly of people from *outside* the ranks of welfare administration.

Independence also requires a structural separation between the operations of the appeal board and the department. In mid February 1970 an applicant for public welfare in Nova Scotia received the following letter:

"In January you requested an appeal under the provisions of the Social Assistance Act in respect to your application for Municipal Social Assistance... It was the unanimous decision of the Appeal Board that you do not have the budget deficit as defined under the regulations of the Social Assistance Act and, therefore, municipal social assistance to you and your family cannot be granted at this time."

Significantly, this letter was sent on the stationery of the Department of Public Welfare and signed by the Administrator of the Public Assistance Division of the Nova Scotia Department.

The imposition of departmental intermediaries creates the *appearance* of a dependent relationship between the appeal board and department. Accordingly, another minimum standard which should be required of welfare appeal boards is direct communication between the appeal board and the public.

It appears that very few lawyers have been appointed to serve on the welfare appeal boards. It appears also that appeal boards are often called upon to interpret statutes and regulations. Clearly, legal advice is necessary to competent performance. The present state of affairs in many of the provinces would create the impression that the appeal boards might seek legal advice from within the government service. Again, such an arrangement or even the appearance of such an arrangement would be a negation of the independent role of appeal machinery. Again, the Canada Assistance Plan should require that welfare appeal boards be given the resources to engage independent counsel.

Not all welfare boards publish the judgments they render. Clearly, publication is necessary to due process. Tomorrow's applicant is at an unfair disadvantage unless he has

the knowledge of what happened to today's applicant.

Publication is a vital safeguard against arbitrary adjudication. In allowing for public scrutiny and open criticism, publication promotes the objectives of consistency, fairness, and improvement. Again, we have a discrepancy between the procedures provided in the general law and those in the poor law. Society has provided some kind of publication for the decisions of virtually every other tribunal that exercises judicial functions. But the tribunals which are involved in the special problems of the poor appear to operate behind a veil of secrecy.

The Canada Assistance Plan should add the requirement of publication to the minimum standards of performance which would be expected of welfare appeal boards.

It is obvious from the actual experience that the principle of due process of law in the field of public welfare requires much more than a provision for appeal. There are too many other areas where basic procedural fairness is violated and even the right of appeal does not conform to the prevailing standards of appellate jurisprudence. Even though the federal government may wish to avoid intruding on the substance of welfare law, it has a duty, where federal funds are involved, to promote the adoption of proper procedures. The laws which are especially devised for poor Canadians should be administered with the same regard for due process as the law of general application to all Canadians. The federal government is in the pivotal position to make this contribution to legal equality between the poor and the non-poor.

But this requires even more than the adoption of the foregoing legislative recommendations. It also requires a continuing review function. We know now that some provinces which received federal welfare funds were delinquent in setting up appeal machinery. We know of at least one province which hasn't done so yet. When other minimum procedural requirements are written into the federal law, we must develop some machinery to guarantee that the provinces play their part. Again, this is a responsibility of the government that sets the minimum standards—the federal government.

While the federal government, itself, should be involved in the process of review, it might also assist welfare recipients to perform this function. One of the most glaring inadequacies in the administration of welfare law is

the wide spread ignorance of the rights and duties created by the law. Too many welfare applicants and recipients don't know their rights and are reluctant to exercise them. Too many welfare administrators don't know their limitations and are eager to exceed them. The federal government could perform the vital service of helping to fill the knowledge gap.

Either by itself, or through grants to the provincial governments and/or the voluntary sector of the community, the federal government should take the initiative in a large scale programme of public education regarding the provisions of welfare law. To this end, advertisements should appear in the press, on radio, television, tramways, taxis, billboards etc. Leaflets and other forms of literature should be especially distributed in low-income areas and public housing developments. Just as we have allocated so many resources in getting needy people off the welfare rolls, so should we spend some resources in putting needy people on the welfare rolls. Moreover, we should make a special effort to inform people of their rights and duties where we can anticipate conflict between the interests of the welfare office and the interests of the welfare recipient. Recipients are not likely to press their rights against officials unless the government has specifically advised them that they may do so. Accordingly, we would urge the federal government to promote the distribution, through the mail and in welfare offices, of leaflets and pamphlets which set out, among other matters, the rights which we have advocated in this submission.

Again, a vigorous educational programme would help to resolve the inequality between the poor law and the general law. Other government services have not been so reluctant. There has been considerable publicity about Medicare, unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, etc. Legal equality between the poor and the non-poor requires a similar effort to promote information in the welfare area. Accordingly, we request a federal government initiative in this direction.

PART C—Poverty and the Democratic right to Change the law

(1) Political Pressures and Legal Restraints

But the better administration of existing law is not good enough. The road out of poverty will have to be paved with *changes* in law. As we have indicated, civil liberties are concerned less with the substance than

with the process of change. To what extent does economic privation undermine political participation? Does our system provide a fair opportunity for the poor as well as the rich to influence legislative policy? Again, we must look behind the formal provisions and examine the substantive reality.

Pressure is the instrument of influence. Where money is an additional source of the rich man's pressure, the human body is the *only* source of the poor man's pressure. The pressure weapons of the poor flow from the human body—the right to speak and the right to demonstrate. Thus, in order to make the political processes more responsive to the pressures of the poor, we must examine the legal restraints on speaking and demonstrating. The more restrictive the law is of these activities, the less able the poor will be to impress their interests on government policy.

In the current era, our society has faced more challenge from dissenters of the middle class than from those of the lower class. But the experience of to-day's middle class dissenters is highly relevant for tomorrow's lower class dissenters. The law respecting dissenting speech and deed has universal application. What signs are there that the law is receptive or hostile to challenge? What can we expect in the days ahead as the poor intensify their pressures for change?

Thus far, Canada has felt few of the tensions generated elsewhere by those attacking the status quo and the repressions returned by those defending it. But during the past year, we have seen some striking examples of the Canadian capacity for retaliatory repression in the face of unpleasant pressure. Following a series of campus upheavals in the West, a young person was charged with and convicted of criminal libel for having written in an offbeat journal that a certain judge behaved like Pontius Pilate. Following some student upheaval in the Maritimes, a student was found guilty of contempt of court and went to jail for ten days for having written in his campus newspaper that a certain trial was a "mockery of justice" and that the courts were "tools of the corporate elite". In Toronto, some young demonstrators were convicted of creating a disturbance for shouting "traitor Trudeau" at a Liberal Party picnic. In Montreal, several outbreaks of violence in the streets provoked the enactment of a by-law prohibiting *all* demonstrations in the streets except, of course, the Grey Cup parade.

It is one thing to punish the assaults on persons and property that preceded the foregoing acts. But it is another thing to punish unpleasant words and to prohibit non-violent demonstrations. The fact that all this happened within so short a period of time conveys both the repressive potential of our social character and the fragile basis of our right to dissent. The implications for poor peoples pressure are as obvious as they are ominous.

If the law of dissent is neither fair nor secure, the poor dissenter will be even worse off than his non-poor counterpart. While the middle class dissenter has other resources, the poor class dissenter has only his body. Where restrictions on speaking and demonstrating can handicap middle class dissent, they can obliterate lower class dissent. Moreover, the poor will be more helpless against the pressures of police and prosecution.

Thus it is time for a more thorough evaluation of the right of lawful dissent in this country. Why do our courts retain the power to punish scandalizing statements about the courts that are made miles from the courtroom? Would a person who shouted "bravo Trudeau" be as guilty of creating a disturbance as the one who shouted "traitor Trudeau"? Is it an offence to shout nasty slogans at a noisy picnic? Does the offence arise simply because other people are likely to be provoked? Does this mean that the speaker must be silent because he might be attacked? Can the offence of participation in an unlawful assembly punish those who attract violence to themselves as well as those who incite it against others?

Should the time and route of assemblies in the streets be as subject as they are to-day to the discretion of the police? Should the right to large numbers of pickets in labour disputes be as subject to injunctive restraint as it is to-day? Should the law provide for collective bargaining in landlord-tenant disputes with some kind of protection for rent strikes as it does not to-day? Should the law punish retaliatory evictions of tenants from their homes for membership in tenant unions as it now punishes retaliatory discharges of workers from their jobs for membership in labour unions?

The effective participation by the poor in the democratic processes of changing the law requires a painstaking examination of these issues. As we have indicated, the right to speak, to picket, and to demonstrate are the

chief instruments through which poor people can effectively influence legislative policy. Although this is not the place to enter upon an analysis of the legitimate extent and limits of the right of effective dissent, it is the place to request that the job be undertaken. The federal and the provincial jurisdictions are both involved. Accordingly, we recommend that the federal government initiate with the provincial governments a co-operative investigation of the law respecting the right of dissent in this country.

At issue is the confidence of poor people in the non-violent democratic processes and, indeed, the very viability of the democratic processes.

(2) Toward More Viable Pressure Groups of the Poor

To a very great extent, ours is a society of pressure groups. At any given time, government policy will reflect the balance of power among the pressure groups. For too long, those at the bottom of the economic ladder have been left out of the social consensus because they failed to organize self-serving pressure groups.

At last, the situation is beginning to change. Pressure groups of the poor—welfare recipients, public housing tenants, urban slum dwellers, Indians—are beginning to emerge all over the country. However, although the organizational activity is great, the political impact is slight. This is because the problems of internal organization are enormous and the conflict with outside groups is severe. In our complex society, effective citizen organization requires money. There must be money to recruit members; there must be money to hire competent staff. All the major pressure groups in this society have resources to advance their interests. Many of these groups are exerting pressures on the government in direct conflict with the interests of poor people. There is no way that a poor people's organization can survive in this atmosphere of complexity and conflict unless it has an adequate amount of money.

Yet the very poor people whose interests the organization has been designed to advance, don't have the money to support the effort. Such groups will be forced to solicit contributions from beyond their own ranks. Invariably, there are more affluent elements of the population whose generous impulses are propelled in these directions. Unfortunately, however, there are serious impediments to such voluntary donations. Under the

law, donations to such organizations are not deductible for income tax purposes. In order to secure tax deductible status, an organization must be *totally* involved in "charitable" activities. The exertion of political pressures to effect legislative goals falls outside of what the law considers "charitable". This constitutes a major impediment to the fund-raising efforts of the poor people's organizations. Many potential donors and most foundations will not contribute under such circumstances.

We, therefore, recommend that a workable formula be devised to extend tax-deductible status to pressure activities and organizations for and of the poor. Once the formula is developed, the Income Tax Act should be amended accordingly.

One other way for poor peoples organizations to secure money is through the provision of public funds. Indeed, the Department of National Health and Welfare has already begun to extend subsidies to poor people's pressure groups. The problem, of course, is the limits of government's willingness to subsidize pressure upon itself. At the point where the pressure group becomes most effective it may pose a political embarrassment to government.

Even though the Minister of National Health and Welfare has made some admirable statements about his desire to give money without strings and his willingness to risk unpleasant pressures, there is a structural restriction on the autonomy of the poor people's organization. This Minister may very well be good for his word. But what about tomorrow's incumbent? Moreover, to what extent might the recipient organization restrict itself out of *anticipation* of political interference?

It would, therefore, be desirable to devise a method of providing some public financial assistance to poor people's organizations with a minimum of partisan influence. In this connection, we might give consideration to the establishment by government of a council with an adequate budget and independent statutory power to allocate public funds for organizational activity aimed at the relief of poverty. In making the appointments to the council and in setting the annual budget, the government would retain a degree of control over the operation. But the control would be less direct. Moreover, if the council members, as individuals, enjoyed public respect and, as officials, enjoyed some tenure of office, they

could function with a fair degree of independence.

Of course, numerous problems would accompany the attempt to establish such machinery. It is in the hope of precipitating soon a more thorough analysis of these problems, that we recommend now consideration of this concept.

PART D—Summary of Recommendations and Conclusion

The Canadian Civil Liberties Association requests the Special Senate Committee on Poverty to recommend the following:

- (1) a system of federal grants to promote all over Canada a more equal and substantial level of legal aid service in civil and criminal matters.
- (2) a federal-provincial investigation of legal problems of indigent areas under an all-service legal aid scheme and, in the meantime, some federally-funded storefront legal clinics on a demonstration project basis.
- (3) the reform of our bail laws to provide that all accused persons are entitled to their freedom pending trial, unless the Crown can satisfy the court that the accused is not likely to appear for his trial, or that his freedom will endanger public safety.
- (4) a mandatory system of reasonable instalments for the payment of criminal fines.
- (5) more effective federal review of the requirement for welfare appeal procedures in those provinces receiving federal welfare funds.
- (6) an effective federal initiative to promote in those provinces receiving federal welfare funds, the following additional minimum standards of procedural fairness:
 - (a) the payment of a welfare allowance will not enable welfare officers without a proper warrant to compel access to the homes of welfare recipients.
 - (b) no one will suffer a denial, adverse variation, suspension or cancellation of a welfare benefit unless he has a reasonable opportunity to present his case before the decision is made.
 - (c) welfare appeal boards will be composed predominantly of people from outside the present and former ranks of welfare administrations.

- (d) welfare appeal boards and welfare departments will be structurally separate and have separate legal counsel.
- (e) welfare appeal boards will publish their judgments with names deleted.
- (f) a major educational programme will be undertaken to more adequately inform welfare recipients, welfare administrators and the public regarding the rights and duties in the welfare law.
- (7) a federal-provincial investigation of the legal right of effective non-violent dissent in Canada.
- (8) the development of a formula to extend tax-deductible status to pressure activities and organizations for and of the poor.
- (9) consideration of independent grant-giving machinery to provide public funds for organizational activity aimed at the relief of poverty.

The foregoing recommendations neither disparage nor idolize those who live in poverty. We take issue with those who impute all wisdom to the poor and those who impute no wisdom to the poor. As a civil liberties organization our prime concern is the viability of political democracy. The poor must get equal treatment under existing laws and equal access to the processes which change the law. Our one commitment of faith is that more equitable decisions are more likely to flow from more equitable representation. The democratic processes cannot guarantee justice, but all other systems *can* guarantee *injustice*. This submission has been designed less for the special interests of those in poverty than for the general interest of all in liberty.

Respectfully Submitted

A. Alan Borovoy
General Counsel
Canadian Civil Liberties
Association



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament

1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 33

TUESDAY, APRIL 21, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Board of Evangelism and Social Action, the Presbyterian Church in Canada: Rev. Arthur J. Gowland, Secretary; Rev. Alexander K. Campbell, Chairman; Rev. Thomas Gemmell, Committee on Economic and Social Justice; Rev. W. L. Young, Past Chairman; Rev. Alexander Zeidman, Superintendent of Scott Mission.

APPENDICES:

- "A"—Brief submitted by the Board of Evangelism and Social Action, The Presbyterian Church in Canada;
- "B"—Study by the Social Policy and Research Department of the United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area, entitled "Guaranteed Income or Guaranteed Employment?"

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle,	Hastings,
Carter,	Inman,
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>),	Lefrançois,
Cook,	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>),
Croll,	McGrand,
Eudes,	Pearson,
Everett,	Quart,
Fergusson,	Roebuck,
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> ,	Sparrow.
<i>Deputy Chairman</i>),	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Mada-waska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

“With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—

Resolved in the affirmative.”

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, April 21, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Eudes, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Inman, McGrand, Pearson and Quart. (9).

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE BOARD OF EVANGELISM AND SOCIAL ACTION, THE
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH IN CANADA:

Rev. Arthur J. Gowland, Secretary;

Rev. Alexander K. Campbell, Chairman;

Rev. Thomas Gemmell, Committee on Economic and Social Justice;

Rev. W. L. Young, Past Chairman;

Rev. Alexander Zeidman, Superintendent of Scott Mission.

The brief submitted by the Board of Evangelism and Social Action, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

A study by the Social Policy and Research Department of the United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area, entitled "GUARANTEED INCOME OR GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT?" was ordered to be printed as Appendix "B" to these proceedings.

At 11.50 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Thursday, April 23, 1970, at 10.00 a.m.

ATTEST:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, April 21, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: I now call the meeting to order. All of you have received a copy of this report entitled "Guaranteed Income or Guaranteed Employment". It is by the Social Policy and Research Department of the United Community Services of the greater Vancouver area. I think it is one that should be on our record.

(For text of report see Appendix "B").

We have before us this morning the Board of Evangelism and Social Action of the Presbyterian Church in Canada. On my right is the Reverend Arthur J. Gowland, Secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action. He is a full-time national staff person. He brought with him some others whom he will introduce to you and then make a statement.

Reverend Arthur J. Gowland, Secretary, Board of Evangelism and Social Action: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. On my right is the Reverend Alexander K. Campbell, the Chairman of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action of the Presbyterian Church in Canada and the Minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Thorold, Ontario.

Sitting next to him is the Reverend W. L. Young, Minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ontario, and a former Chairman of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action.

Next to him is the Reverend Thomas Gemmell, Minister of St. Luke's Presbyterian Church, Oshawa, Ontario, and a member of the committee on Economic and Social Justice, a committee of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action.

There is another member of our delegation, the Reverend Alexander Zeidman, the Super-

intendent of Scott Mission in Toronto who is coming by plane this morning. We hope he will be here shortly.

Mr. Chairman, in introducing our report I am not going to read it because you have copies of it before you. I want to begin by personally, and on behalf of those of us here and all of the members of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, to express our sincere appreciation for the opportunity of being able to present this brief on this very important issue in the life of Canada and the world today.

I would also like to congratulate the Senate on your interest in this very vital issue, both for Canada and the world and on what you are doing to bring the plight of the poor to the attention of the people in Canada and the world. I am sure that this, in many ways, is a unique undertaking and for what you have done we are most appreciative.

With regard to our brief, it is quite short. We made it that way because we feel that in view of the large number of groups that will be appearing before you and that have already appeared before you there is no point in our trying to cover the whole field of poverty and every aspect of it. We feel that what we should do, as a church, is to deal with those things in which we might be considered to have some competence, such as matters dealing with the attitudes of people to poverty and the poor and the impact of poverty on persons, families and society. We also have done this because we feel that the church must accept some responsibility for the elimination of poverty and it is in these areas that the church is able to make its best contribution.

We also want to recognize and express our appreciation for what the Government is doing. In presenting this brief on poverty, we are not doing it as though nothing is being done to alleviate and eliminate poverty today. We recognize the splendid programs that already exist and for these we are really appreciative.

We are also mindful that, as far as Government is concerned, while we accuse Government of not doing certain things, we have to recognize that Government can move only as the people are prepared to stand behind it and as the people of the nation are prepared to make the resources available for programs such as this.

With regard to what is poverty, we have in the appendix of the report indicated what it is. I would like talk about that for a few minutes.

We would say that poverty is more than just being short of money. This is to be found on page 5 in the appendix, in the last paragraph on that page.

We feel that poverty is a state of deprivation that results in people being bowed down and afflicted. We believe that poverty must be looked on as an unmitigated evil.

Poverty deprives people of the opportunity for personal fulfilment and of making the best and full use of their gifts and energies in the service of God and man. We would underline this aspect of the definition of poverty.

We recognize that while money is necessary to help eliminate poverty, it cannot be a fixed sum, because as Professor Galbraith has said, the poor are those who have fallen behind the rest of society. It is necessary, therefore, to have an escalator clause so that, as the cost of living goes up, the amount of money that is made available to the poor also increases. What I am saying is that we have to see poverty as a relative thing.

I would like to say a few words about the causes of poverty. It has been pointed out that we have to be careful lest the war on poverty becomes a war on the poor; lest we think that the really important thing in this war on poverty is to motivate the poor to change their ways and their attitudes to life. There are many people within the church and within society today who have that attitude towards the poor, that if the poor would just change, if they would do something, if they would have a better outlook, the question of poverty would be solved.

I would like to underline what we say in our report, on page 6. We tried to base what we say about poverty on what the scriptures teach. This is found in the second paragraph from the bottom on that page. It shows that the causes of poverty are not just the atti-

tudes of the poor; the causes of poverty are to be found in society itself. If there is anything in our report that should be underlined, it is this, that we must get away from putting the emphasis on the poor as being the cause, and put the emphasis more on society. The statement which is quoted in the brief on that page 6 says:

While in no way seeking to minimize the need for individual initiative and the necessity of doing all within one's power to help oneself, and while recognizing that the poverty of some people is their own fault, the Scriptures speak of a God who loves poor people as well as others, and who is genuinely concerned about their plight. Though poverty may be the result of the sin of the poor, the Scriptures are more inclined to attribute it to the sin of society. They suggest that their plight is due to the greed of the rich (Amos 8:6), to the low wages paid by employers (James 5: 1-4), and the lack of genuine concern on the part of all of us for the total welfare of the people of our communities and the world (St. Matthew 23: (31-46).

That final reference should be corrected to St. Matthew 25.

We feel it is important to emphasize this.

In our brief, we emphasize two things, education and income. We are not saying that there are not many others, but in our brief we feel that these are the things which have to be stressed. I have already indicated some of these things, but we feel that the education that is necessary is not just an education of the poor or providing more education for the poor, but it is to try to change the attitude of many people in our communities, to the poor people. Some of the other delegates will be speaking to this. We have gone to our congregations and have discussed this with them. We brought it to the attention of general assembly, our highest court. In discussing the question of poverty with many people, we have discovered that they have this strange attitude to the poor people, namely, that if they would just work harder, try harder, they could help themselves and take care of their own problem.

We feel that what has to be done is to mount a campaign or a program of education that will change the attitude of the people of Canada to the poor and their situation.

On page 4 of our brief, we have a recommendation with regard to education:

1. That a program of education be mounted to avoid a condescending and sneering attitude towards the poor, e.g. radio and television programming, special releases by the National Film Board, the Queen's Printer, etc., that the situation as to the varying qualities of life existing in Canada be publicized so that the concern of all might be aroused.

The other thing we wish to emphasize is the need of money. We believe that money is required, that it is essential, and the decision of our board with regard to this is to be found on page 5, in appendix 1. The simplest thing to do would be for me to read the recommendation. The other members of the delegation may wish to speak to the recommendation. It reads as follows:

1. That the Ministers of the Crown responsible for welfare be commended for seeking improvement in the Canadian welfare system, and that they be urged to base any changes on principles which include the following:

- (a) The method, whether by means of the guaranteed annual income, or some other, have for its objective giving people necessary support without the dehumanizing effect and the stigma associated with "welfare" as presently understood;
- (b) The level of support should be adequate, perhaps necessitating an increase in the minimum wage, and it should include opportunity for self-improvement so that people might be encouraged to increase the degree of their self-reliance and humanity through training, and part or full-time work without penalty;
- (c) The scheme should be integrated with health departments in ways which would help the emotionally disturbed and mentally incompetent and those otherwise unemployable because of life peculiarities.

These are the things we would like to emphasize.

I think what our brief adds up to is this: that we feel that anything that is done to help the poor financially should not be done in the nature of charity or hand-outs; that it should be given as a right; and to this extent we would agree most heartily with section 25 of

the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, adopted by the United Nations in 1948.

I believe that is all I need to say in introducing the brief. The other members of the delegation are prepared to speak to the brief.

Senator Carter: This brief has emphasized over and over again the key to this problem of poverty, which is the attitude of the rich towards the poor and the attitude of officials, and the attitude of the Canadian public generally. That is the big problem to be tackled. I wonder if you could give us some specific things that your institution is doing to change these attitudes.

Rev. W. L. Young, Pastor, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ontario: The General Assembly, the highest court of the Presbyterian Church, makes statements of policy and sees its role not just in terms of calling on governments at various levels to do things but calling upon its own people. Some of the recommendations of the General Assembly have been beamed in the direction which this question raises, calling upon our own membership, our own people to adopt different attitudes, more wholesome attitudes, towards the poor people who find themselves in difficult circumstances. I suppose we can scarcely avoid the image of the denomination being sort of middle-class, but we regret it. However, so be it. But this does not mean that we should not identify as much as possible with the people who are poor. And we have called upon our congregations to emphasize with the poor, to avoid the temptation to profiteer in any way as landlords, and, within our congregations within our churches to seek to mount programs or participate in community programs already underway that will help to bridge this great gap between the well-to-do, and I don't mean the rich but the comfortable people, and the people who are really poor.

Senator Carter: In your brief, on page 7, you cite a recommendation adopted by the 1967 General Assembly, and you state in your brief that the General Assembly is the voice of the church. That is a very good recommendation, but it is in very general terms. What has been done to follow up, to see what impact that recommendation has had?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Mr. Chairman, to reply to that question, you will find in Appendices 2, 3, 4 and 5...

Senator Carter: That is what I am citing now, page 7, Appendix 2.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: That was in 1967. Then in 1968, Appendix 3 goes on to indicate some of the things we were doing in addition to that. In addition, we have sent letters to all the sessions and all the congregations across Canada and we have asked them to study this. We have not only asked them to study it but to meet with the poor people; to visit the poor people in their situation and to take action within the community.

What we are trying to do is not just act as a single denomination. We are endeavouring to work with other Christian communions and other agencies within the nation. A really outstanding illustration of the co-operation of the churches in Canada was the Montreal Conference on Christian Conscience and Poverty.

That Conference was sponsored by all the Christian churches of Canada. The Roman Catholic Church and all the Protestant churches met together and planned it from the very beginning. I was one of the members of the Planning Committee. The way in which it was jointly planned and carried through by all the Christian denominations of Canada is, if I may say so, something worthy of note.

In addition to that, we worked on the study, "Towards a Coalition for Development". So we are working as a church. Our board has been given responsibility by the Presbyterian Church in Canada for following through on this, and we are co-operating in the Canadian coalition for development. The coalition is composed of the churches and other national groups in Canada, and it plans to get information out that will change the attitudes of people and get them to take definite action.

Senator Carter: I understand that, but that is not quite what I asked. I suggested that the recommendation which was adopted by your General Assembly three years ago was couched in very general terms. And I wanted to know if you had gone back and seen what effect that recommendation had had. Has anybody paid any heed to it? Has anything developed from it? Has it brought forth any fruit?

Rev. Alexander K. Campbell, Chairman, Board of Evangelism and Social Action, and Pastor, St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Thorold, Ontario: I think yes, because this is being studied throughout the whole church

throughout Canada. It is not just that we passed it at the General Assembly, but the presbyteries have taken this up. It is hard to tell the response to this study, but at least, if people are concerned with their communities, eventually there will be a response. And I think this is one thing, as Mr. Gowland has mentioned, where government will get its backing through the education and encouragement that a church gives through its various courts and through its congregations to the people to make them concerned about the needs of poor people. I think there is a response. How much response is hard to say. All you can do really is plant the seed. It is hard to say at the moment how great the response is, or the growth of that seed.

Senator Carter: All right. You say the 1968 recommendation was a specific one. Can you give me any results of that? Apparently your 1967 one was very general, but the 1968 one was specific. You yourself cited that the 1968 one was specific, and that is two years ago. Has anything specific happened as a result of the recommendations in 1968, the specific recommendations?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I can give you one illustration, namely that of the churches in Calgary, Alberta. This was not done by the Presbyterian Church alone; but as a result of prodding our ministers and people and congregations into action, they got together and developed a plan whereby they are going to erect a building which will be a low-rental housing unit. I would say this is a direct result of the action that was taken by our board and the action taken by the General Assembly.

Another illustration is that in one small town in Ontario where the Presbyterian Church got together with the other churches. What we are trying to do is to not act independently as a denomination, but to work with other denominations. If we are going to achieve any results, really, we have to work with other denominations and other agencies within the community. In this small town, the various churches got together, went out and canvassed the small town and the township around it and raised over \$6,000 to help get a program underway as a concrete expression of their concern for poor and the poverty situation in Canada today.

Senator Carter: Has the poverty of any group in any of your congregations been

lifted up or been changed by the action of your church? That is what I am really trying to get at.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: You are asking if individual people have helped, is that it?

Senator Carter: Groups or individuals. I suppose individual people, yes, but in terms of the group. There are pockets of poverty in every community in Canada, and I am thinking not so much of the individual person in that pocket but of the pocket itself.

Let me give you an example of what I have in mind. As a committee we have been probing around in the cities and we have found that children who live in ghettos of poverty, places where people have no wealth, are cut off almost completely from any spiritual resources. Such children are, for example, cut off from Sunday School, from being members of children's organizations such as Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, organizations of strong influence that could have the effect of inculcating in such children a strong positive character. So far as we can see, or at least so far as I can see, these poor children are practically abandoned by the church. They don't go to Sunday School. In fact, I don't think that idea even enters their minds. And the church does not go to find them. What does your church say in respect of that kind of problem?

Rev. Mr. Campbell: On the contrary, I say the church does go out to them. But people have to respond. They have to come to these groups. I can cite instances where we go out to these people, yes, and maybe in the larger cities there are pockets as you state, but in smaller communities I am sure the situation is being taken care of. Then again, on the other hand, you can present something, but there must be a response from the children so far as coming into these groups is concerned.

Senator Carter: I do not quite follow what you are saying now. I am asking what you are doing and what is going on. For instance, are you getting those children to go? Are you trying to supply the spiritual influences that will lift them up?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I will ask Mr. Young to answer that.

Rev. Mr. Young: Yes, I would like to respond to this question because I appreciate your particular emphasis. I would like to

explain to this gentleman what is happening in Hamilton where I am Minister. This is happening at two levels; we co-operate with other denominations in the urban renewal area where we are ministering to the children and the young people in the area with specific programs in recreation and spiritual development, not just on Sunday but every day of the week. We have seen some very interesting and very encouraging responses from these children. I know exactly what you mean when you say that children in some of these ghetto areas seem to have been abandoned, and while it is true that some denominations have fled to the suburbs for more comfortable work, some of us have seen our role as living with and identifying with the poor in the centre of the city and ministering to them. My own congregation is one of these, and our ministry as we see it, is to these people and the only reason for us to continue as a congregation in a downtown area is so that we may be able to minister to these people. If we do not do that, then we might as well flee to the suburbs or fold up.

We have programs in the Church going on almost every day to help in this situation. We have moved into the area of co-operative nurseries for children of working mothers, or mothers with psychological problems, nervous problems or health problems. We have begun opportunities for English-language studies for parents—mothers especially—of children, using the volunteers of our congregations plus some experts from the social service organizations in the community to bring small discussion groups for mothers on child-care, nurture and family budgeting and nutrition, and we see these rather specific things as a real justification for our continuing to be a Church in the area we serve. I would like to say that one other thing we have done in the community is to pull together a public meeting on housing, because we discovered one of the real problems of the poor is housing, at least in our area. People are having to pay unreasonably high rents for just deplorable accommodation, and we felt that the public simply had to know about it, and so we pulled together a large meeting with representatives of all levels of government, including our city council and planners for urban renewal development.

Quite a number of poor people themselves also attended and at first they didn't think they would even dare to speak at such a meeting, but eventually they began to get

their steam up and to respond, and this is exactly what we wanted, because we wanted people in responsible positions and in the Church to hear the people, the poor people for themselves. Out of this came some rather significant programs in subsidized housing and housing for senior citizens in our city.

Senator Carter: Have you raised any hell about this housing situation? As you know, we get these fellows who buy up substandard housing, charge exorbitant rents, and do not improve them at all and then when the old-age pension goes up, up goes the rent. Have you done anything about that? Have you raised any hell about that?

The Chairman: Senator Carter, do you think that that is their business—to raise hell?

Senator Carter: Yes.

Rev. Mr. Young: Mr. Chairman, in such things as the meeting I referred to and the excellent Press coverage we got at the time, plus the things we are doing all the time—letters to the editor of the local newspaper; I don't know whether that is really raising hell or not, but we sure would like to.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I would like to ask Mr. Gowland about the report of the Montreal Conference which he showed us on priorities. Is this available to the public?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Yes, it is.

The Chairman: We received copies of this.

Senator Fergusson: I am very much interested because of some of the reports that I have heard that came out of some of the discussions at that conference.

Senator Carter: Is that the World Council of Churches?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: No, this is the "Churches of Canada". It followed as a result of the World Conference on Church and Society which was held in Geneva.

Senator Fergusson: I think we are all very grateful to the delegation here today who have gone to a lot of trouble to appear before us. I found the brief most interesting. The two subjects which you have stressed are education, particularly education of the public—and we certainly learned that this is really important from the meetings we have had—and you also stress the subject of income, and

that is the one I would like to speak about. On page 5 in Appendix 1(a) you say—"The method, whether by means of the Guaranteed Annual Income, or some other,..." Now we have had a guaranteed annual income recommended to us on many occasions, but what others do you suggest? We have not had any others suggested.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Well, perhaps what we had in mind was the negative income tax. This was one thing.

The Chairman: The negative income tax is merely a term used to describe the mechanics of a guaranteed annual income.

Senator Fergusson: I thought perhaps you had some other ideas that we could think about.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I might say that the reason we put it this way was that we felt that we should not be too specific in this area, as a Church, because this is not an area in which we are supposed to have real competence. We thought what we should do would be to bring to the attention of the special committee the fact that there must be something done, but we are not absolutely sure just how it should be done. However, we feel something should be done and we are quite prepared to let others who know more about it do it, and do it in the way it should be done. This is really what we are trying to say.

Senator Fergusson: I thought perhaps you might have some specific suggestions in mind. Also in (b) you say—"The level of support should be adequate." What would you think would be adequate in terms of 1970 dollars? Would you have any ideas?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: For a family?

Senator Fergusson: Yes, the level of support for one person. I suppose you would have to start with that and then go on to a family of two persons and three persons, and so forth.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Would one of the other members like to comment?

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: The figure that gets kicked around quite a lot is the figure of \$3,000 as a kind of mean.

The Chairman: \$3,000 for two?

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: Yes, and I think that is pretty mean! The people in Toronto who seem to know people in the welfare busi-

ness and in the labour field seem to indicate about \$3,000 per person is more like what is required for an adequate living standard in that city. I think we have to get above the subsistence standard in our thinking; otherwise the children will not have a chance for education. I think what we are trying to do is to help people not only to live but to raise their horizons and capabilities and potentials. So I think it has to be geared to the cost of living; it has to have an escalator clause; but I think we have to look at more than \$3,000 per family of two.

Senator Fergusson: Do you think they would have to have the same amount, no matter what part of the country they live in?

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: That is one for the politicians. You almost have to say so, but I know that there are regional differences that could make a difference.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I think we can answer that question. It does make a difference where a person is living. If a person has to pay \$85 a month out of \$1,500 a year for rent, then they do not have enough help, and there must be some flexibility in the amount of income that is available. If a person is paying \$30 or \$40 a month rent, that person could be living well as compared to another person with the same income, so there has to be some thought given to different amounts available in different regions of Canada. Again, if I may say so, Mr. Young mentioned something about a lady last night, when we were discussing our brief, who had to pay \$85 for rent; and what was her income?

Rev. Mr. Young: \$111.

The Chairman: In Hamilton?

Rev. Mr. Young: Yes.

The Chairman: Of course, you in Hamilton have had a very tight situation for some years, even tighter than Toronto.

While we are talking about variations—and that is very important for us and the people of Canada—we make no variations with family allowances; we make no variations on the Old Age Security; we make no variations on Unemployment Insurance; I do not know of any subsidy in which we make any variation. Why should we make a variation on income?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Are you asking us?

The Chairman: Yes. We have been discussing this among ourselves. You are the pigeons this morning.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I think it is very simple. If you do not have some variations, one person can be living in downright destitution while another person can be getting by adequately, because where one person is involved a difference of \$60 makes a tremendous difference in how well that person can live. So I think in this area there has to be real consideration given to the situation in which the person is living or in which the family is living.

The Chairman: Let me put it to you this way then. Supposing we make an allowance in Toronto. Do we cut it off at Willowdale, on the outskirts? What street do we cut it off at, and do we say, "This side of the street, you get so much; and on this side of the street you get so much"? How would you like to be given that kind of undertaking? How could you do it?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I appreciate what you are getting at, in an across-the-board program. If you have to get into individual cases, the cost of maintenance and so on becomes difficult.

The Chairman: What difference does it make? Is it not a good thing for the country that in the less prosperous areas there are a few more dollars being pushed in by the rest of the country? Is it not a good thing? After all, they spend it and do not put it in the bank.

Rev. Mr. Young: Mr. Chairman, you have indicated here awareness of the fact that Hamilton is a pocket with a special problem, but I am sure there are others in the country.

The Chairman: And a housing problem.

Rev. Mr. Young: Yes, and this reflects on the whole poverty situation. Perhaps even taking into account, say, the average cost of rent in a community or an area, that would determine the level of the kind of support they should have, and you could make an extra allowance for those areas of the country which are known to be higher in rent.

The Chairman: Mr. Young, you have had a great deal of experience in welfare work and amongst the poor. In so far as the Chairman is concerned—and I am not speaking for the rest of the committee—once we make an

allowance it must be across the board, there are no special cases, because once you do that your allowance is not worth much. You say that a man is entitled to "X" dollars every place, but the minute you say that he is entitled to "X" dollars here and is entitled to something for housing and for another reason, your system is worth nothing and you are back where you are at the present time.

Rev. Mr. Young: I am glad you have brought it up just this way because this is the way the system is working now, and this is what bugs me. To use the words of the honourable senator back there, "raising hell," this is what I feel like doing all the time, and the system is grinding people down. I have some documentation here I may share with you later. A family can have so many dollars for their rent, and the landlord knows that they can have that many dollars for rent, so he tacks on so many more dollars that he requires them to pay, and because housing there is hard to come by the family cannot say, "Sorry, we will move somewhere else." So, in addition to what they get for welfare for rent, they pay out of their grocery and clothing allowance, but the landlord does not really deserve it because he will not even fix up the premises.

Senator Fournier: Mr. Chairman, I would like to change the subject a little, though it is very interesting and I hope that we can come back to it later.

We have men of the church here, and I am looking for advice from them this morning. I think that everyone of we old politicians have had a fair amount of experience with the local poor problems. Often when we talk about the poor we take poor on the average, and there is a great variety of poor, as far as I am concerned. We have the attitude of the people that was mentioned here, and I agree with the brief as a whole and I am not being critical of your brief. The attitude of people towards the poor will be changed because we are talking about the problem. We are drawing the attention of the public to it, and it is going to have some effect. But then there are the attitudes of the poor themselves. I think they are learning something also—that is, the responsible poor. Now, there are the irresponsible poor. To me, this is really a problem, and very few briefs have really gone into the question of the irresponsible poor. It gives you a class of society of people who I cannot

say are happy to be poor, but they are poor and they like living poor and they will remain poor, and it is a very sad situation for the children. It does not matter what we do with these people because they are irresponsible. They will always be poor. I can give you three examples.

A man whom I know very well came to my door. He is very poor. He has six children and no job. I did my best for him. I knew that he is just about starving, so I called a contracting firm and said: "Here is Joe Blow; can you help him out." The manager said: "All I can pay him is \$60 a week because he cannot read or write, and he is not a carpenter or anything else. In spite of this I will go along with you for a couple of weeks." But this man then said that he would not work for \$60 a week because he had too many commitments. He had just bought a TV set or a refrigerator and he just could not work for \$60 a week, so he did not take the job. I call such persons the irresponsible poor, and we have a lot of them.

Another fellow who is in the same situation may come to me. He has a large family, and that is probably the result of his being poor, because he has lots of spare time. I find him a job. Soon after he gets his second pay I find out that he has bought a second-hand car, which he does not need, for \$260, and that does not help his situation. If we gave these fellows a minimum income I do not think it would improve their situation at all. We have to change their attitude.

I will give you another example. Around Christmas time a club to which I belong prepares Christmas boxes for poor people. This year we prepared 40 boxes worth about \$30 each, containing canned goods, candies, and little gifts for the children. We delivered these boxes on Christmas Eve. I found out afterwards that three of these boxes were taken down to the bootlegger and traded for whiskey. I call the people who do this the irresponsible poor. This happens every Christmas. The poor fellow gets drunk and has a hell of a good Christmas, while there are millions of people starving to death.

This is a bad situation, but what can we do about it. I would like somebody to tell us what we can do for these people who are the irresponsible poor. We have a great number of them, but we seldom talk about them.

Then we have the abusers of welfare, while there are others who are ashamed to go on

welfare because they do not want to be humiliated; they do not want to be in any of those three classifications I have just mentioned, although they are so classified by other people. It is difficult to draw the line. What is society going to do about this type of person?

We are talking about a minimum income. You could give these fellows \$3,000 or \$4,000, or \$5,000, and it would not improve their situation at all. They are irresponsible.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Mr. Chairman, I would be very happy to respond to the senator because we recognize the fact that there is this group of persons. What we would say, however, is that there is a tendency to exaggerate out of all proportion the number of people in this group. We find that this is a problem within the church. Somebody was talking about the church, but you cannot generalize about the church. All people do not think alike. You have every viewpoint within the Church of Jesus Christ. I find in the work of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action that one thing we have to fight against is the attitude that causes people to select a person such as those that have been mentioned, and project the description as though it includes all the poor. What we say is: Yes, there are these people, and we have to recognize the fact that they are irresponsible. We have to use that terminology. This is what we are trying to say in the appendix, that there are people who are poor today through their own fault. There is no doubt about that. They drink their money away, and they waste it. What we are trying to say is that we must recognize this fact. I suppose that this kind of poor will always be with us. But, we must not be blinded by this fact in looking at the whole question of poverty, because the great majority of people who are in the poverty category today are just as wholesome, just as motivated, and just as good people as the people in the church or in any other group.

This would be my answer. Perhaps other members of the delegation would like to speak to it, but we must look at this particular group in its true light and in its true perspective.

Rev. Mr. Young: I can see a very real role for the church to play in ministering to this particular problem that the senator has raised. If we can help these people have a different attitude towards themselves as people, and a more responsible attitude

towards their families, then any kind of welfare assistance they may receive from the state will be much more meaningful. While we recognize the need for the state to do many great things in terms of welfare there is, at the same time, a great role for the church to play in working with these people personally and as families, and in helping them to learn how to live, to find out what life is all about. Perhaps we are not really touching the problem, but we are trying.

Senator Fournier: I quite agree with what you are saying, and I understand it very well, but I should like to clarify this a little more. Perhaps we have to accept the fact that the head of the family is a lost cause, and that we should do something with the children through education. We may have to kiss the man goodbye, and say: "You are gone. We cannot do anything more for you."

The Chairman: I hope that we will kiss him goodbye with enough money to live decently on.

Senator Fournier: He would never have enough, even if you gave him a million dollars.

Senator Quarr: I should like to ask a question to follow up what Senator Fournier has said. The type of poor person with whom I have come in contact is the one I really pity. I have not bumped into any of those mentioned by Senator Fournier, but do you not think that our welfare system is to be blamed for a lot of these troubles? A member of the staff of this committee knows personally of the case I am about to describe, and telephoned me about it. This is the case of a woman who has been deserted by her husband, and she has a child who is seven years old. She was on welfare, but some of her very uncharitable neighbours reported that she had a job. She is working as a waitress. The minute this fact was reported, she was cut off from welfare, and she did not know she was cut off until she received a letter from the welfare group saying that she was cut off. Now she is in debt. The child has been sick, and she has had to pay somebody to look after it. She did not declare to the welfare people that she had a job. She thought she would be able to get away with it for a while. Had I been in her circumstances I would have done the same, I think.

The Chairman: I presume she did not declare her income?

Senator Quart: Yes, her income. She has now received a letter instructing her to attend at the office. When her landlord discovered that she was working he raised her rent from \$85 to \$110. In the meantime we tried to find out where she could get legal aid. I have even offered to telephone the landlord. The point is that she is cut off. She now considers that she will have to discontinue working. In my opinion these people should be allowed to work and earn probably \$100 or \$150 before they are cut off. Give them a chance to pay back before they are cut off. Since we all seem to be talking about hell I might as well mention the devil: we are all between the devil and the deep blue sea as to whether she should continue working and pay a woman to care for her child, or just go back on welfare, which I believe she has now decided to do. It will be a couple of months before it is resumed. That is where the system is terribly wrong. They should be given a little more chance.

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: The Ontario Government announced in the legislature recently that this is going to be possible.

Senator Quart: Yes, but when will it be applied?

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: Your concern combined with Senator Fournier's (Madawaska-Restigouche) does not result in it being a case of the irresponsible poor, but of the irresponsible rich.

The Chairman: Irresponsible government. You are saying the Government has not taken the proper action.

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: The Government is also rich. If a man can only earn \$60 a week and cannot live as well on that as he can on welfare, it is not a case of being irresponsible in refusing the job. Is it not a case of the company being irresponsible in paying a substandard wage? We have to get our reasoning straightened out a little. The cause of what we refer to as irresponsibility has been the dehumanizing of these people over generations and generations. We cannot expect them at one fell swoop to pick up by their own bootstraps and become like us.

Senator Quart: If we pay a guaranteed income and do not increase the minimum wage, why would they work?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Mr. Chairman, part of our brief is concerned with this very ques-

tion, how do you make help available to people who need it and yet provide the incentive to earn more? I think this is an essential because this lady is a classic example of many poor people today. All the money they earn is deducted from that received and they cannot improve their lot at all.

Senator Quart: There is no incentive.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: There is no possibility of doing it.

The Chairman: You represent the Presbyterian Church of Canada, not Ontario. I should think that as people who are interested in the social aspects of the Canadian scene you would know, and particularly Rev. Mr. Young, you would know, and you, Rev. Mr. Gowland, that in eight provinces in Canada a person in such circumstances as described by Senator Quart would be able to go to the welfare office and receive a subsidy so long as she worked. Ontario is not doing this; Quebec is doing very, very little, if any, but the rest of the provinces are doing some subsidizing. The Province of Alberta is subsidizing more than all the other provinces put together.

Senator Quart: Yes, that is right.

The Chairman: That, of course, is what the committee has been trying to tell the people.

Senator Quart: These people do not know; they need a co-ordinating council of some kind. Unless some person of certain influence takes a little interest in them, they do not know what to do and become discouraged. One of the welfare workers asked this lady why she was working.

The Chairman: That is one of the statements Senator Carter, Senator Fournier and others have made on the floor of the Senate in the last weeks: how do you get these laws across to the people? That is what we have been talking about: how do you get them to know about it? During these hearings we have repeated the statement time and time again. It is going out to the press and yet it has registered. However, my friends here, and no reflection on you people at all, ought to know that sort of thing, and be familiar enough with it to know what is being done. For instance, in the case raised by Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche), \$60 may be the normal wage in that area. There is no use in saying raise all the minimum wages; it does not work that way and you people know

it as well as I. He has a large family with six children and the cost of living is going up. There is nothing to be done except to keep him working and assist him. That is my own view, but I believe it is the view of the committee. We are not the only ones who do not completely know what is going on in the country. You share a little of that with us. The poor people themselves have so little knowledge that you would be amazed how ignorant they are of their rights. That is the name of the game.

Senator Inman: I have read this brief twice because I was so interested in it and found much to consider. How do you think the committee can deal with the myth that there is a job for everyone? Some people will say there are jobs if people will work. Do you think that is so, and how do you think you could dispel that idea?

Rev. Mr. Young: The very introduction of some kind of guaranteed annual income would have to be justified by educating the public to know that there just are not enough jobs to go around any more. With automation being what it is we can no longer say if a person is going to eat then he must work.

Senator Inman: I come from a province that is supposed to be one of the most depressed in Canada. Of course, I cannot agree with that.

The Chairman: I do not agree.

Senator Inman: There are small businesses run by men who perhaps employ two or three people. They cannot pay more than \$60 a week without their business closing. Is that a case where the Government should supplement that? Is that Senator Croll's idea of a guaranteed income?

The Chairman: Senator Inman, what you and I are saying is that the purpose of the exercise is to try and keep him working. So long as he is willing and anxious to work and cannot earn enough, he has to be assisted. It is as simple as that.

Senator Inman: A man running a small business is limited in the amount he can afford to pay to two or three people. Do you feel that the churches as a whole are doing their part with regard to the conditions of the poor and the underprivileged and taking all the interest they should?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I am absolutely certain that we are not. One of the greatest jobs of

education with regard to the plight of the poor has to be done within the church. I find that in going from congregation to congregation within our own denomination I have to break down the wrong attitudes to the poor. In many essentials the church is not doing what it should, because we have some people within our denomination—I am not going to speak for any other—who do not feel the church should be involved in social issues at all. They are quite prepared to leave all this to secular agencies.

I think one of the contributions the Board of Evangelism and Social Action of the Presbyterian Church in Canada has been that of emphasizing the wholeness of the Gospel; the church is not just interested in people's souls but is interested in whole persons, in communities, the nations and the world. It is because many people within our congregations are prepared to dismiss poverty as though it is not a concern of the church that we have this problem. I am very happy to be able to report that there is an increasing number of people within our denomination who feel that the church's concern has to be for the total person in every area of his life.

Senator Inman: Do you feel that perhaps it is the better off people who have the feeling that they are not too interested in the condition of the poor? Do you find that perhaps amongst the wealthier people in your congregation?

Rev. Mr. Young: The question is?

Senator Inman: The question is: in the congregations of the church, do you think perhaps it is the wealthier people who are unconcerned about the condition of the poor in the church? Are they the ones who sort of brush it aside, more than the medium income people?

Reverend Mr. Young: I think this is perhaps a natural tendency, but I would suggest from my experience, and within my own congregation, maybe those who are hardest to convince are the middle class people; the wealthier people have seen it as their mission to support some fairly expensive, if you like, programs through their church on behalf of the poor.

Senator Inman: I am glad to hear that.

Reverend Mr. Young: However, there are people who have good jobs, who work every

day, who have never had a real run of illness, whom it is difficult to convince that the plight of the poor is in any way their concern.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: I would add that I do not think it is peculiar to any income group. Maybe those who are most responsible for this attitude are those who have the attitude that they are self-made people. They say, "I did it. Therefore they can do it. I have worked hard and got this money. They can do the same thing." People say to me, "Why should I take my hard earned money and give it to those people?" Some of these people are not very rich themselves, but this is their attitude towards those who are a little poorer than they are. I think it is a few people in every area.

Senator Pearson: As I read this brief, your main topic is really the attitude of people. Sixty years ago, when I lived in Winnipeg, a great many people were very concerned about the poor and there were small organizations, in churches and suchlike, working on their own to try to better the condition of the poor. However, there were so many of these organizations that finally it was thought that community funds would be the answer, so it was decided to collect a large sum of money once a year and hand it out to different welfare organizations and tell them to go to it. This left a great many of those who had been working in the small church organizations a feeling of not being wanted. Consequently, they said to themselves, "All right, let the community fund handle it." This is the sort of attitude that grew up then.

Over the years the middle-class people have got to the point where they are successful in their line, they are making good money, the young folk are out on skidoos, skiing and so on, having a whale of a good time, and have no thought of the poor in their own community. There is now the feeling that there has to be a guaranteed minimum income, which is an enlargement of the community fund idea as far as I can see. But we are not getting at the attitude of the people. We need to get the people involved, the whole community, in the needs of the community for the poor. How do you propose we should do this, to bring the community together again? These funds will never bring the people together at all; they just leave everybody cold. They just say, "To heck with it. I

have done my job and that's it. I have given \$10 and that's enough." Do you think there is any way of overcoming this attitude?

Reverend Mr. Gowland: I am wondering if part of the problem is not how the poor people look upon the help that is given. I believe every one of us has an aversion to accepting charity. I do not think we understand the poor or the feelings of the poor. A lot of our churches have been handing out Christmas baskets and that kind of thing, and having been a minister in a congregation for over 20 years, I happen to know that a lot of the people receiving this help just detest it; it is humiliating; they take it out of courtesy, but if they could find any way of not taking it they would not take it. The reaction to this attitude is, "How come? They are not appreciative."

I think what we are trying to get at is that we have to get away from help to the poor in terms of charity and hand-outs. What we are trying to say here is that there must be something that makes this available to people as a right. This is why, as far as I personally am concerned—I am not here speaking for the Board of Evangelism and Social Action—the pension for older persons has been a God-send.

The Chairman: Old age security?

Reverend Mr. Gowland: Yes. I know older people who would not have asked for help, but the fact that this has been made available to them as a right means they will take it and use it, and it has been a great blessing to them. My answer would be simply this. I think we must not give money to people as though it is a hand-out from the community, but as something given to them because they are persons, because they are human beings and have a right to live like decent human beings.

Senator Pearson: In other words, you would say the guaranteed annual income is a real need for the times we are living in?

Reverend Mr. Gowland: Yes.

Senator Pearson: So they do not get the feeling that they are living off the community or on the community fund?

Reverend Mr. Gowland: That would be my opinion.

Senator Pearson: You talk in your brief about recreation. When the committee was in

Halifax we looked at one of the local public housing estates there and found that the children had no place in which to exercise or play, except the yard between the two rows of houses. What do you think about recreation? What do you mean by recreation?

Reverend Mr. Young: Certainly the type of housing that you mention, senator, puts people together in a very condensed community and if there is no place provided for the children then you are really aggravating the problem by creating another ghetto. Perhaps the answer would be for laws to be implemented which would require communities, contractors and builders, when building this kind of facility, to provide for recreation or indoors and outdoors, so as not to allow this kind of thing to happen.

Senator Pearson: What do you mean by recreation? is it just a game of baseball, hockey or what?

Reverend Mr. Young: This must be the opportunity for people of various ages to relate to one another as persons meaningfully. This is what a game of baseball is all about. It is not just the competition to see who is the best guy.

Senator Pearson: Recreation to older people is reading and not physical exercise, which is something else entirely different. In providing for recreation you have to think of your districts and where you are.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: In connection with this particular item our concern, referring to page 9, section C of the report is that while we recognize that recreation is different for persons at different ages, we really are concerned about boys and girls living in these communities who need the opportunity to play and meet with each other and to have this interaction.

Senator Pearson: You only involve so few of them at a game of baseball. You provide a great area for the baseball, but do not give very much choice for the great mass of those youngsters in that area.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: We would be concerned about providing recreation in the broadest sense of the word and this is what we have in mind.

Senator Croll, Mr. Zeidman has just arrived. He is the other member of our delegation, the superintendent of Scott Mission.

The Chairman: I knew Mr. Zeidman's father. Is there anything further, Senator Pearson?

Senator Pearson: Yes, with regard to page 2 of the brief, under Summary of Recommendations No. 3:

Commendation for the Government's attack on inflation...

Do you think that the attack at the present time on inflation has produced any results or is it producing any results?

Reverend Mr. Young: Mr. Chairman and honourable senators, we were talking about this last evening as a group and we felt that perhaps since this report was written some time ago we are beginning to see a few of the results and they are not as desirable as we would like them to be. I am referring to the fact that unemployment is increasing probably as a result of some of the measures which have been taken to curb inflation and it is unfortunate.

The Chairman: A fair summation would be to say that as a result of the policies we have more inflation and more unemployment. Goodness knows where we are going. At the moment we have worst of both worlds.

Senator McGrand: I was taken with the expression "A War on Poverty may be a War on the Poor". I believed you mentioned that expression. If the poor are looked down upon and if they may be looked down upon in the future it seems to me that the best way to spread this principle of brotherly love and charity at the different levels of influence is in your church. All congregations are made up of a certain amount of well-to-do and a certain amount of poor. I cannot think of an agency better qualified to do this levelling out at the level of the congregation than the churches. If they have not done it they have not been doing their job. If it is not done in the future it will be, because the churches are not doing their job.

With regard to this expression "The War on Poverty may become a War on the Poor" I would like to hear you talk a little more about that. That is my first question.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: This is not an original idea of mine. It is really taking up the idea of Alvin Schorr. This is what he was saying and it has partly to do with the attitude on the part of people that if you can just

motivate the poor then you will eliminate the problem of poverty. As I said, many church people and many people who are close friends of mine, are inclined to say—maybe not at a public meeting but during a personal conversation—"If people are poor, it is their own fault, because they are lazy and shiftless". If the war on poverty turns into that kind of an attack on the poor it is going to be most unfortunate.

I think we have to recognize that while they may be in a sense responsible there is also the sense in which society must accept its responsibility for their plight.

Senator McGrand: I do not think there is enough work being done to inform the public and to understand who the poor are and why they are poor. Many of these people are emotionally sick. They are just the same as the people who get into crime and drugs, because they are emotionally sick people. You have that type of poor in your congregation and then you have another type of people in the comfortable pews who are also emotionally sick in a certain way. In order to do your job it seems to me that you have two approaches: the person who is emotionally sick and handicapped is better helped by the sociologist, but the man who is poor in spirit is best helped by the theologian. Would you just give me your appraisal on that.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: I defer this question to Mr. Zeidman.

Reverend Alexander Zeidman, Superintendent of Scott Mission, Toronto, Ontario: First of all, my apologies for being late. When we drafted this brief one of the things that occurred first was that we found we were speaking to ourselves almost more than we were addressing this committee. All along the line, as we came up with ideas we found that we were addressing ourselves and through ourselves, the general assembly and the church at large, the very same comments which you are making, that it is the work of the church to identify with the poor. Coincident with this brief we have been making recommendations through the Board of Evangelism and Social Action to the general assembly.

Rev. Mr. Young: May I respond to that? Your concern about departmentalizing or pigeonholding things—it would be important, I feel, that the sociologist must have a theology and the theologians must have a social

conscience. We see our role as working closely together on that program.

Senator McGrand: There are two approaches to the problem.

The Chairman: That one answers it.

Senator McGrand: I have a further question. There are some of the poor on welfare who complain that welfare officials have a tendency to push the board around, by inspecting their homes. Perhaps without notifying them that they are going to make a visit. That has been brought up several times. It has been my experience that welfare officers are trained in sociology and that they are recruited from those who are interested in sociology and in welfare work. If welfare officers are to see that this money is being properly spent on food and clothing, they must visit the homes of these welfare people, occasionally. Have you found in your work that these welfare officials do overstep their role, when they visit and inspect, and perhaps criticize, the recipients of welfare. This is a big question which has to be dealt with.

Rev. Mr. Young: The answer is definitely yes, in my experience.

The Chairman: The answer is yes, to what?

Rev. Mr. Young: That the welfare officers do, in my experience, overstep their bounds. But I want to expand on this a little further, because I believe that those people, just as you say, come into this with a good deal of compassion and they are very idealistic, but something happens, I think the system is the problem. Welfare in Canada is administered from three levels—the federal department makes certain rules, the provincial department makes certain rules, and the municipal department implements then all the rules, and this is where it comes down to the personal crunch between the officer, the inspector and the poor person who is receiving assistance.

Somone earlier asked the question, if the guaranteed annual income is not possible, what else do you propose? Somehow, the system has to be changed so that it works more smoothly, so that there is a better relationship between the three levels, and perhaps so that there is less responsibility at the local municipal level for implementation of things, where personalities can enter into it and where the local officer or inspector can just get fed up to the teeth with what is

happening every day, until he becomes automatic. This is the dehumanizing effect of the system as it presently works, so that the person on welfare, as a result of the long and bitter experience, begins to ask the question, "Am I a person, or am I a pawn, I do not know who I am, does it really matter who I am. So we have the phenomenon of drugs, alcohol and other chemicals, they are the manifestation of the search for identity and the attempt to hide from the problems as they really are."

Senator McGrand: You have mentioned two things. You say that there is confusion between the levels of Government, in administration, and that has led to a lot of, we will use the word, harassment of the poor. But is it the conduct of the individual officer who goes in to make an inspection of a home, to see how they are making out. The Children's Aid Societies put children into foster homes, they pay people something to take them. Surely they have a right to visit those homes to see that those children are being properly cared for. I do not think it is necessary to notify the foster homes that they are coming to make an inspection. If the people have nothing to hide, they should not make any objection to an inspection.

This is what I want to know, whether this comment, that welfare officers do harass the welfare recipients—I am not referring to the confusion that comes from the administration being at three levels of Government. That is not harassment, that is incompetence. I am talking about harassment.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I think that what we have to realize is that this is an area in which we must not generalize. I was at a meeting, I was part of a panel and one of the other members of the panel was a person in charge of welfare in this particular municipality. I made a statement to the effect that one person in this welfare office had treated a woman with contempt and there is no doubt about it that this woman had been treated in that way. The panel member was somewhat dismayed to hear that that had happened within the area of his responsibility; and in no time I had a telephone call from him and a letter, and he wanted to know who that person was. So we must be very careful and we must be fair to those in the welfare departments and not indict them all.

There are some persons who are like that. I would say, as far as the ministry of the church is concerned, you might say a man

comes into the ministry because he loves people. We have discovered there are some men who come into the ministry of the church not because they love people but because they hate people. It could be that some of the social welfare workers are the same.

The Chairman: Senator Carter has to leave for another committee and he wishes to ask some questions.

Senator Carter: I wonder if I could just put my questions, and the answers can be on the record. I do not think I can wait for the answers, because they are waiting for us in another committee.

The Chairman: Very well, we will come back to this.

Senator Carter: They are short questions. I will just put the questions and I will not wait for the answers. Is that agreeable? The answers will be on the record.

The Chairman: Yes.

Senator Carter: First, if you had to cut Government expenditure by a billion dollars, what would be your priorities?

Secondly, if you had two billion dollars in money to spend, an extra amount, to eradicate poverty, what would be your priorities?

We are talking to churchmen, Presbyterians, and I said about "raising hell" just now. I understand they are the best "hellraisers" in the country.

The Chairman: That is their reputation.

Senator Carter: I would like to get their opinion on the scriptural concept of "earning your living by the sweat of your brow". Is that a concept of people with today's conditions?

The Chairman: Earning your bread by the sweat of your brow. What you are talking about is the work ethic.

Senator Carter: Yes.

The Chairman: Is the work ethic still compatible in the present day and age?

Senator Carter: Yes. It has a scriptural foundation. I have two more questions.

The Chairman: Very well. We will follow them up.

Senator Carter: One of the witnesses described the attitude of one of his congrega-

tion, or of the typical attitude of a congregation, saying "why should I give my hard-earned money to him", and so on and so forth. Is not that an admission of failure of the church, because the church's teaching as I understand it, that of the Christian teaching, is that you do not own what you have, it is not yours, you are just a steward of what you have received, and when you give something you are not actually giving it to a person but you are giving it to the one you got it from. If the attitude that pervades in the congregation is typical of what you have described, is not that a failure of the church to drive home the Christian ethic?

The last question I will ask comes back to the point raised by Senator Fergusson which you, Mr. Chairman, followed up, having to do with varying the allowance depending on where a person lives. Is that not going back to the concept of minimum existence, which you actually refute in another part of your brief? If you do have people living in poverty in cities, paying high rents, would it not be better to give them whatever is adequate for them to live on? And if that is a little better for the people who are living in rural areas would that not be an incentive for people to get out of the ghettos and move to where they can get a better life?

I realize that that question will require a fairly lengthy answer, Mr. Chairman, but I really must leave to attend another committee.

The Chairman: That is all right, Senator Carter. The answers will go on record.

So there are two or three questions for you to answer, then, gentlemen.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: As I recall, Mr. Chairman, the first question had to do with cutting Government expenditures.

The Chairman: If you had to cut Government expenditures by a billion dollars, what would be your priorities? The second question is, if you had to spend \$2 billion, what would be your priorities? You can see what Senator Carter was getting at.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Perhaps the Chairman of our board, Mr. Campbell, might like to start.

The Chairman: We realize that answering such questions requires a little time for consideration.

Rev. Mr. Young: In fact, Mr. Chairman, it is really beyond our area of competence.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Perhaps I could answer Mr. Chairman. We recognize that the real wealth of a nation is its people, and the answer would be that we must look at the problem in terms of the total well-being of the people of Canada. We cannot be concerned with just a small segment of the country or a small group but with how we can best use the money in question for the well-being of most of the people of Canada.

Rev. Mr. Campbell: With respect to the first question, Mr. Chairman, we are not aware of where the Government is spending in excess and where such spending could be cut. Obviously, we don't have access to departmental records, and it would be necessary to examine carefully such records in order to have the necessary information on which to base the making of priorities.

The Chairman: Let me make it easier for you. We have four million people in Canada who are below the poverty line, assuming that we take the Economic Council's poverty line, with which everybody is acquainted. Half of those four million people are working poor, such as the man described by Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche) who receives \$60 a week and has a large family to feed and just cannot make it. That is a working poor man. He is prepared to work but cannot get enough in the trade and he has no particular skill and so on.

The other half of the four million below the poverty line are those who are blind, crippled, maimed and so on, together with female heads of families and welfare poor.

Have you got the picture? There are two million on one side and two million on the other side. Now, let us say you have the money; for example, half a million dollars or a million dollars. What are your priorities? And, of course, I am talking only of the poverty stricken.

Rev. Mr. Young: I would say first of all, Mr. Chairman, the people who come in the category of the poor who are ill.

The Chairman: Who are out of the labour market?

Rev. Mr. Young: Yes, out of the labour market altogether. They would have to be the first priority because they just cannot do anything to help themselves.

The Chairman: Let us refine it a little bit. In that priority—the disadvantaged who are no longer in the labour market—we have the aged, the crippled, the blind and the maimed. What are your priorities there? We are getting short of money.

Rev. Mr. Young: The aged are getting some assistance now.

The Chairman: You know what the aged are getting; and the others are all getting some assistance as well now. All that assistance is inadequate, we will admit, but we have only so much money and we have to spread it around. Where do we go? What priorities could we set up, if we had to?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: I would say that one area, in addition to having money, would be to ensure that they had housing.

The Chairman: No, no. Don't misunderstand me. Look! I should like you people to understand our thinking. I believe the thinking of the committee, which is what we have to get across to people, is that if we go in for a guaranteed income period, then we are not going to tell somebody the kind of house he is going to live in or whatever he is going to do with the money he receives. Either he is a free man or he is not. If we decide to give a person \$1,500 or \$1,800, then he is on his own, except for the social services that he may need from the provincial government. So that we are not going to reach into the housing part of it. You don't expect the Government to reach out and say here is so much money, but because you don't know how to manage housing the Government is going to manage housing for you. If the Government did that, it would have done nothing for the man. It would have left him as poor as before except to put a few dollars in his pocket. We would be doing exactly what you are telling us not to do.

Rev. Gowland: Right.

The Chairman: Then keep that in mind.

Rev. Gowland: I failed to understand your question.

The Chairman: Now we have so much money to spread among these people, the disadvantaged, the poor, the old people, the blind, the crippled and others. If we have to choose priorities between these people, what is your idea of the priorities, or is there any priority among them?

Senator Inman: Mr. Chairman, if I might speak for a moment, if I had the choice I would say the chronically ill need nursing care and need to be looked after. Those who cannot look after themselves need to be looked after and still they might have years left to them. That would be my choice.

The Chairman: That is a contribution. We may have to get ourselves in a position where we look at the bill in front of us and say, "these are the priorities". I don't know what the committee will decide. I won't argue that point.

Let us speak for a moment on the work ethic, about which you people have been rather outspoken. You have sold to us for hundreds and hundreds of years the idea of the work ethic. Now, how do you go about unselling the idea? You have to, you know, because you started out by admitting that we have not got jobs for everybody, even if we wanted to. What are we going to do about the work ethic which is so embedded in the minds of all people? What are we going to do about it at this time?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Senator Croll, I don't think there is too much of a conflict here. We have thought of work in terms of labour for which there is remuneration. There may not be that kind of activity or exercise, and there may come a time when that is not as available as it is at the present moment. However, there are other things that people can do. They can serve their fellow men, and they can serve their fellow men without remuneration. There are so many social services that can be rendered by people who are retired, and by rendering them they are kept busy and are able to lead a useful kind of life. They feel they are able to fulfill themselves by serving God and man. So, I think that work has a certain therapeutic value for us—most of us, I think, who work enjoy our work,—and if there is not work for pay then there are many other things that we are able to do. I do not think there is too much inconsistency.

The Chairman: But you have overlooked one thing. We are older people around here. We are looking at work as though it affected those who are 65 to 70 years of age. That is not our problem. We are prepared to pay that man. We do not care whether he works or not. We are now getting into the area of those who are 50 years of age. Is the Canadian

public prepared to pay that man to do the kind of things you have defined as work? That is the question.

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: It is true that it is very facile to say that there is work to be done in terms of serving your fellow man, but if a man is poor, and if he is spending all his time trying to keep his family together, then he has not the time to worry about anything respecting his fellowmen. So, we have to raise our sights beyond the subsistence level of living. For one thing there is an educational job to be done. To say "education" is again very facile, but some things are being done that are very interesting, and we must try to find ways of involving more people. There is urban training such as the sending of people down into the inter city; taking all their security away from them and letting them go in there without a name, without a job, without an education, and without money, and just challenging them to live for so many days or weeks in that environment. This is a kind of sensitivity training which, if we could spread it a little wider, would be useful, I think, in helping our middle class parishoners to understand the plight of the poor.

The Chairman: But you are off the question. We have had, like an albatross around our necks, the work ethic, and we are as aware of it as anybody in the country. But, there is much evidence before us that the work ethic is not as tenable as it used to be, and you have said so too. We have to sell that to the Canadian people, because they are going to have to pay the people who are not working. This is not easy for them to swallow. How do you do it? How do we go about doing that sort of thing, if it is necessary to be done. First of all, is it necessary to be done? What have you to say to that?

Rev. Mr. Young: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that in one way it may not be necessary to do it. Let us face the facts. There are not enough jobs. There will never be enough work for everybody to have a job. We have to live with this fact. Perhaps my statement was a little too facile when I said that we should simply tell them that there is not enough work to go around. However, there is another answer, and that is to examine the basis of the work ethic that we have held for generations. Is it based simply on the text that Senator Carter quoted, "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread..." This was man's attempt to evaluate his situation in the light

of his experience with God, and he was doing so as a guilty person. He relates that things were not all they should be. Something had happened to the ideal situation as it had been originally, and this miserable thing of having to work and hoe weeds in his garden was all part of his faith. For generations we have gone along with this, putting the emphasis too much upon the thinking: Man is a sinner, and, therefore, he has to work. Perhaps we should now look at man as fulfilling his role before God and in other ways than simply by the sweat of his brow in relationship to his fellow man with, and his feeling of concern for, his fellow man. Perhaps he is working better in this role than in the role of a producer in society.

The Chairman: What you are saying, in effect, if I understand you correctly, Mr. Young, is that in the light of that he has to be provided for by the community? In doing that work he has to be provided for by the community?

Rev. Mr. Young: Yes, that is right.

The Chairman: Were you going to say something, Mr. Gemmell?

Rev. Mr. Gemmell: I think the original question could have added to it the fact that there is a two-pronged focus to the bible. It says, on the one hand, "In the sweat of thy face", but, on the other hand, it lays out specifically in the Old Testament how you care for your neighbour who is poor, who has no food, who has no house, and who is a stranger in your midst. It does not say that these are going to eat by the sweat of their brows. It says that this guy who is able to sweat is going to help this other guy stay alive.

The Chairman: What has happened is that Mr. Young and I have mixed the two testaments together, and have hopefully made something out of them.

Senator Fournier: You have made a new one.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, I think you have been expounding purely theoretical ideas. You are not working on anything real at all.

The Chairman: Very well, I think we were theoretical, but we had to follow through with the question that was asked about the work ethic. Are there any other questions

that you noted down, that you wish to answer, Mr. Gowland?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: No, Mr. Chairman, I think that covers all of it.

Senator Fournier: My question will be about the minimum income, and I want to come back to my friend whom I mentioned some time ago who turned down a job paying \$60 a week.

Poverty is general all over the world, and it revolves around the matter of employment. In India they are fighting poverty by requiring everybody to go to work. Women work for 14 cents a day, and men work for 27 cents a day. I do not advocate that we do that here, but the principle behind it is that of keeping every member of that vast population busy. To do a job that I could do in one day they would use 50 people and let them take a week to do it. It is to keep people busy, and that is the attitude all over the country. In Israel they are putting people into community groups. The results have been tremendous. The scheme has been very successful. Poverty has been eliminated, and there is no such thing as staying home and getting a handout.

It seems to me that here in Canada we overlook this point. I believe that technology has taken work away from a certain class. We do not look at that and we have been starting the policy back twenty years ago of handing out money, money, money. We have arrived at a population which, to my mind, makes me a little bit nervous. I am going to speak a little more largely because I am not in front of a group of people on welfare, but before clergymen who know the situation.

People are becoming a little bit nervous about what we have developed across the country. The attitude of the people is that the more you give them the more they want. The vice that is getting into these systems is how one can cheat and get anything they want from the Government. It seems to be an attitude that as long as it comes from the Government there is no arguing as to how you get it, it is your own, because it belongs to the Government. This is what I am coming to in my question. There is a lot of talk about minimum income and paying everyone below the national counsel poverty line which was around \$4,000. Are we going to have a minimum and pay anyone who is below that line or are we going to ask to pay the receivers of this income to provide on their own what they can by working.

I will give you an example. There is a man who earns \$60.00 a week. He turns a job down and goes and collects \$80.00 a week. Should the minimum income insist that this fellow goes back on the \$60.00 job and we pay the balance so that he will have enough to support his family or are we going to give him a free handout, a blank cheque of \$3,000 or \$4,000 as a certain level regardless of what he can earn on his own? What would be your opinion on that? Do I make myself clear on this point?

Reverend Mr. Gowland: I think that it would be far better if you let the man work for \$60.00 a week and augment his income by \$20.00 so that he could have a decent standard of living than to give him the whole amount without working. I think it would be good for the man.

The Chairman: In fairness, Senator Fournier, it must be said that no one in the committee has ever suggested that it be handed out without the requirement to work. If you take a look at President Nixon's present scheme, the work requirement is there along with the outlay.

Senator Fournier: I do not address my question to the committee, but the witness.

The Chairman: He agrees with us too.

Senator Fournier: I wanted the opinion of the witness. I do have another question.

The Chairman: We have time and this is your opportunity. You may not have the Presbyterian Church group before you again. Take advantage while they are here.

Senator Fournier: Sometimes we are critical of the welfare situation across the nation. There is something in the system which naturally will have to be corrected. I am going to give you two examples: there are two men, one, whose name is John, lives on one side of the street and the other, whose name is George, lives on the other side. Both of these men have the same education and the same size families. One of these men was a faithful worker throughout his life. He did not drink more than necessary and he saved all of his money and was able to provide a few dollars to educate his children. This is a model Canadian citizen who went all the way at a great cost. He made great sacrifice and reached the age of 65. The other fellow was a jolly old man. He drank as much as he could

and went to all kinds of parties. He really enjoyed life but did not care much for his family. He was able to get everything he could and the best he could. They both arrive at the age of 65. The one man has got a zero record. He has nothing, not even a penny and no house. He is a public charge. The other fellow has a small home, two or three thousand dollars and had a miserable life. The lazy fellow goes to the welfare and receives a card which gives him free medical attention. He gets his teeth fixed and he will be buried as a public charge and may ride in a cadillac, possibly the first and the last. The door is wide open and there is no problem for him.

The man who worked all of his life does not receive anything at all. The welfare will check on his bank account and say he cannot receive anything because he has \$3,000 in the bank. They will tell him to use that up and then they will help him. His widow has a small home but the welfare will tell her she cannot get anything because her husband left her this small home and that she will have to use up the money to raise her family and then they will help her.

I think this a most ridiculous and shameful situation which we Canadians have to live through. I know that you are not responsible for this. I am not all responsible for it, but as a member of the Senate I have to admit that I am part of the machinery which put this into effect and I feel very guilty about it. I hope that I live long enough so as to cure this terrible situation and try to bring some incentive into this group so that they will save a few dollars and not be punished at the age of 65. The first man who worked should have the same privilege as the one who did not so that he could use the little surplus which he worked hard to earn. He deserves it as a little privilege that the other fellow does not. After all, I think there is merit on everything we do and it can either be good or bad.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: My reply to this is that I do not think the man who spent all of this money got all that enjoyment out of life. I am inclined to feel that the other man got enjoyment by being able to have his own home and the feeling of independence. I would think that the man who squandered his money sacrificed more than the other. This is on the surface, but I suppose it is one of the injustices.

I suppose this is the reason that this special committee has been appointed. We cannot look at the needs of people from the point of

view of whether they are worthy of help. I think we have to look at it from the point of view of the need of a person, such as the man who has not got any money and stands in need of help. He stands more in need of help than this other man. This may seem unfair but we have to deal with it in that way.

Senator Fournier: I do not object to you, but the point is we are putting a very severe punishment on the good man. He is being punished for saving money. The result is that he arrives at the age of 65, and has a little home with a few thousand dollars. He cannot have all the privileges as the one who is having a good time. Believe me, when you speak of fun in life it all depends on what is fun.

Reverend Mr. Gowland: Presbyterian fun.

Senator Pearson: I was talking to a chap Sunday who was a widower, and had two married daughters both of whom have left home. He still had his own home. He also had the old age pension which he lives on quite comfortably. He said that he could get by on that but the extra money helped to pay his taxes. The rest of the money he lived on quite easily. He was sitting in the hotel having a Sunday dinner and this small extra in life was his enjoyment.

The Chairman: Going to the restaurant to eat.

Senator Pearson: He eats at home, but on Sundays he goes down to the hotel and takes his meal.

The Chairman: Senator Fournier, just for the record, do not forget that that good man that you are talking about who worked hard, his widow will not be left helpless if we decide on a guaranteed income. At that age she is entitled to have a minimum income which somehow makes up for the taxes he had to pay to maintain this other fellow.

Senator Fournier: That is for the future.

The Chairman: You are quite right, for the future I hope.

Senator McGrand: I am still not satisfied to let this question drop about the harassment of the recipients, the welfare people, because this has been brought up so often. I think we should have some sort of an answer on it. When I asked about this it was mentioned that welfare people are recruited from the ranks of those who had studied in the social

sciences. It was mentioned that welfare people were recruited from the ranks of those who had special skill in social science, you replied that churchmen were usually recruited from people who loved their neighbour and so on. That is what seemed to put us off the trail and I want to get back on it, because this is important. The woman who was on welfare and then went to work and lost her welfare because she went to work, surely that is not harassment on the part of the welfare officer, it is due to the incompetence of the system. What I want to get back at is this question of the welfare officer who thinks that he is a policeman, that he is handling drunken drivers or people who are speeding on the roads. I mean, that is the policeman approach. I doubt very much if most of the welfare officers have that attitude when they deal with these people. I have had a lot of personal experience over the years, dealing with this sort of thing.

Senator Fergusson also has had experience as an administrator of the old age pension fund in New Brunswick for a long time and I think whether it really does exist and whether you are in a position to say whether it does or not. I am speaking of the personal bullying type, the sort of bully who goes into a person's house and begins to order them around. Does that actually happen, or does it happen very often?

Rev. Mr. Zeidman: I believe it does happen on rare occasions.

Senator McGrand: On rare occasions.

Rev. Mr. Ziedman: But as so often happens, it is the rare occasions which are blown up and they are the occasions that get the headlines. In my work, I come in contact with a good number of welfare officers who are bound by this system, and I find they come to me because of the independent nature of my work, that I am not bound by a system, so I am able to give help immediately, before the home visit takes place. This officer would be very sympathetic to a particular family, but because of the rules and policy and so on, help cannot be given immediately. The sympathy is there, the concern is there, but they are bound by the system.

Senator McGrand: Bound by the system, that is what is wrong, it is the system that is wrong.

The Chairman: What happens is that the man cannot fight with the system, so he fights with the person whom he deals with, and he blames him. I think, doctor, you should make one distinction, and I think Rev. Mr. Young should make it, too. Are we talking about the trained social worker, or are you talking about the clerk charged with responsibility. For instance, in Hamilton, how many trained social workers have you in the department?

Rev. Mr. Young: I am not able to answer that question.

The Chairman: I can tell you this. I can give you the names of three large cities in Ontario, larger than 100,000 population, where they have not one social worker on the staff. We are talking about a social worker. A clerk is a different person.

Senator McGrand: I am talking about the social worker, the person who goes into a home. On the other hand, you have this person who comes into an office, where there is someone sitting behind a desk, just dealing with an entry in a book, and they do not know the story.

The Chairman: But, doctor, we are again talking about this—if you work for the Children's Aid Society or some of these groups, the social worker goes into the home. In matters of welfare, the social worker does not go into the home, somebody else goes into the home. What they are objecting to is particularly, in the case of the deserted wife, when at 11 o'clock at night somebody rushes in there to see if there is some man under the bed. That has happened hundreds of times. Or there is the case of some telephone call, as in this instance, the welfare department writes a letter saying "You are off relief, cut off, we understand you are working". That kind of harassment does grow out of proportion, it is taking place all the time. And that is what they are objecting to.

Senator McGrand: I want to know how common is it? I know it does happen but whether it is rare or whether it is quite common, that is the point. Because if it is too common, that is an evil.

Rev. Mr. Young: I have responded to this question before, with a "yes", that it does happen, and more often than I think it should.

Senator Inman: Then, again, sometimes I have known that the recipient is at fault—and they hate it.

Rev. Mr. Young: This is exactly what I was going to say. These people come into the job probably with high ideals, serving their fellow man, but they find that the system makes certain rules "Don't you dare give assistance to people who do not deserve it, you make jolly sure they deserve it before you give out our money". On the other hand you have people who are the recipients, who do all they can to trick the system, and get away with it, and boast about it if they do. And the person who is caught between these two things, something happens to him, he gets dehumanized, too.

I think we could share with the committee a couple of incidents which are very much on my conscience as a member of society, where the system has caused very great hardship.

There is the case of the mother of five children, deserted by her husband, who applies for welfare, and they say "Yes, but you must first charge your husband with non-support". So she goes to family court and she charges her husband with non-support. He gets word that he is charged. He comes into family court and makes one payment, and that takes him off the hook. She gets that one payment from family court, and when it is done and then when she has no money and she goes back to the welfare they tell her that she will have to charge her husband with non-support and then she says "Forget about it", and she works from 11 o'clock until 7 o'clock in the morning, supporting her five children, the oldest looking after the younger ones, and she says "I will not bother trying to get any welfare or trying to get any support".

There is another incident. This is a case of a Philippine nurse, unmarried, about to become an unmarried mother. She is told she should go to see the welfare people. There is one interview, it is some time before she gets a chance to talk to anyone at the office. The inspector would come to the home and interview her. This took place, and she was terrified, because being an immigrant she did not know whether even her visa was being questioned, and so on. Then she is told to come back on Wednesday at 10 o'clock for a final arrangement. She went on Wednesday at 10 o'clock, it now being three weeks from the delivery room, and she sat there from 10 o'clock until 2.30 p.m., crying, scared, upset.

The system is just inadequate to deal with those needs.

Senator McGrand: I agree with you on that, that the system is wrong.

Rev. Mr. Young: This is where the dehumanizing takes place—both on the part of the recipient and, on the other hand, the agency or the officer or the inspector.

The Chairman: We have had before us the story of the wife who, as a condition of receiving welfare, must charge her husband. We have not had the one of this poor girl who sat around all week, but we know it is so. And there has definitely been a complaint against welfare people unnecessarily going into the home. We have that complaint in Prince Edward Island.

Senator McGrand: You have it everywhere.

The Chairman: Yes, we have it everywhere. It is not just made up. Someone said that some member of the church was surprised that one of his people did not act well. That can happen, too. But so far as the welfare experience is concerned, we knew it exists and we just have to face up to it and try to make some correction if we can.

Now, have any of you gentlemen anything to add that you think would be helpful to the committee? Have you any suggestions you would care to make?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Not beyond this, Mr. Chairman, that we have no delusions as to the scope of the problem. It is a big problem and the solution to it is not going to be easy. I am convinced of that. I think our whole Board of Evangelism for Social Action feels as I do in that respect. This is a situation we must come to grips with. If we have the will to do it, Canada can meet and eliminate the problem of poverty. We have to have that confidence.

The Chairman: There is no escaping the fact that if a recommendation is made to have a guaranteed income and that recommendation is acted upon, that will be a break with yesterday and something new for the future; but it will cost money. There will be taxes at all levels. What is your opinion with respect to how the Canadian people will accept that in view of what you have said about your congregation, Mr. Gowland, which is typical of all congregations?

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Mr. Chairman, I can give you a case in point. Our board has study committees. One of our study committees brought a recommendation to our annual meeting a year ago, suggesting that as members of the Presbyterian Church in Canada we should be prepared to accept higher taxes in order to make this possible. I was surprised as you will be surprised to hear that that recommendation was deleted from our report to the Assembly. So this is part of the attitude, and it is part of the problem: "Oh, yes, we want this so long as it does not cost us anything." But this is why we feel education is so important for the people in the church and in the nation. We have to make it clear that the problem is not all with the poor; it is with society as well and it is going to cost us something if we are going to achieve the proper solution.

Senator Pearson: You have to sell the whole program to the public, and that is a big job. It is not going to be simple. Perhaps we could sell the White Paper at the same time.

The Chairman: If there are no more questions, let me say, gentlemen, that your contribution this morning is, if I may put it this way, worthy of "hell raisers" against injustice.

The members of the committee are very thankful for this conversation we have had and for the opportunity to "pick your brains" and discuss matters with you. It is most helpful to us. I know you appreciate the fact that you were asked some pertinent and important questions. You did very well in answering them. On behalf of the committee I give you my heartfelt thanks.

Rev. Mr. Gowland: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Rev. Mr. Campbell: Mr. Chairman, we should like to thank the committee for inviting us here, as our secretary has said. We trust that on any future occasion you desire we may be called upon for any ideas we may have. We will be only too pleased to come again.

The Chairman: Thank you very much. The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "H"

A Brief

To the Special Committee of the Senate on
Poverty

from the Board of Evangelism and Social
Action

The Presbyterian Church in Canada
50 Wynford Drive, Don Mills, Ontario
Phone—416-429-0110.

I. Introduction.

I. 1. The Board of Evangelism and Social Action of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is responsible for promoting the two concerns of evangelism and social action among the members of our denomination across Canada. One of the tasks committed to the Board is the study of issues of public concern, to consider what the Bible and Christian theology have to say to these matters, and to recommend to the membership of our church the stand that should be taken, the witness that should be made and the action that should be carried out. The Board can only "recommend"; it cannot bind the conscience of the church's membership. It can give the benefit of its thinking to our people; it is not "the voice of the church".

I. 2. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada is our highest "court". Among its numerous functions is that of speaking on behalf of the church. Thus its statements are more authoritative than those of a Board and can fairly be regarded as reflecting the views of the Presbyterian Church in Canada.

I. 3. This brief contains statements and resolutions both from the Board of Evangelism and Social Action and from the General Assembly, and we shall endeavour at all times to indicate which is which. In most cases the General Assembly statements originated from recommendations by the Board.

II. Witnesses

The persons who will appear to support this brief are:—Rev. Arthur J. Gowland, M.A., Secretary of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action, 50 Wynford Drive, Don Mills, Ontario. Mr. Gowland is a full-time national staff person. His involvement in the question of poverty has included attendance at the World Conference on Church and Society in Geneva (1966), the Canadian Conference on

Christian Conscience and Poverty (1968). He is a founding member of the National Committee on the Church and Industrial Society and the Coalition for Development.

Rev. Alexander K. Campbell, B.A., is chairman of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action and pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Thorold, Ontario.

Rev. Thomas Gemmell, B.A., B.D., is pastor of St. Luke's Presbyterian Church, Oshawa, Ontario, and a member of the Board's Committee on Economic and Social Justice which had chief responsibility for the preparation of the Brief. He recently represented the Board at the founding meeting of the Canadian Coalition for Development.

Rev. W. L. Young, B.A., B.D., pastor of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church, Hamilton, Ontario, is involved with his congregation in several creative programmes in housing and the war on poverty in Hamilton. He is the past chairman of this Board.

Rev. Alexander Zeidman, B.A., B.D., M.Th., is Superintendent of Scott Mission, 502 Spadina Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, who by the nature of his work is deeply involved with the poor.

III. Summary of Recommendations

III. 1. An improved welfare system to provide necessary levels of support while avoiding the stigma and dehumanizing effects of present welfare shemes.

III. 2. An educational programme aimed at public attitudes toward the poor.

III. 3. Commendation for the government's attack on inflation, and support of a capital gains tax.

IV. The Concern of the Presbyterian Church in Canada

IV. 1. In a country of increasing affluence, there are vivid contrasts between the lot of those who have and those who have not. As Christians, we recognize that we are called by God, to serve all men in the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ our Lord. Our concern goes beyond the spiritual. We recognize that we must be concerned with the quality of life of all men. We realize that there are minimum real requirements to live a qualitatively good life. Every living person needs adequate food, shelter, clothing, health, education and recreation.

IV. 2. The church's interest in the problem of poverty stems both from a Biblical imperative and by our historical involvement in the concerns of the poor. We believe that wrong attitudes towards him can deepen a poor man's poverty and engender in him wrong attitudes toward himself and with a consequent impoverishment of spirit. This psychology of poverty is combatted not only by the injection of material resources, but by the education of the community.

IV. 3. It may interest the honourable Senators to know that, as a result of our studies in the preparation of this brief, as well as in the continuing deliberations of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action of the Presbyterian Church in Canada, we have made several recommendations directed to our membership regarding the problem of poverty and these are quoted in the appendix. Our highest court, the General Assembly, has recommended that the financial, physical and personnel resources of the Church be used in programmes of assisting the poor and the underprivileged. The Board of Evangelism and Social Action will recommend to the forthcoming General Assembly that local congregations, particularly those in depressed areas, consider participation in government programmes, or initiate programmes to combat poverty and make their premises available. We shall recommend that landlords, employers, union leaders be cognizant of their duties as Christians, and the rights of their fellow citizens. We shall urge our membership to endeavour to understand and have empathy with the poor and assist them to solve their problems where possible.

IV. 4. Our Board believes that an approach to the problem of poverty must be made from two directions:—*income* and *education*. We favour a structure of income support as outlined in the appendix. We do not believe that the fear of starvation is the only reason why men work. While, undoubtedly, the provision of a guaranteed income will provide the loss of incentive to some, we feel that for the majority of Canadian citizens it will remove the threat of the Damoclean sword of unemployment and of seasonal or cyclic unemployment which threatens so many of our wage-earners. Indeed, the provision of a guaranteed annual income would provide for many the opportunity to demonstrate that their employment is a true vocation, or to undertake their vocation in an area which, otherwise, might not be economically feasible.

We do not believe that "anyone who really wants to can find a job". Lack of training, education or opportunity and regional economic problems make this a myth. We recognize too that in spite of the best efforts of many of the people involved, the present system of supplement or welfare very frequently carries with it a certain stigma which engenders a feeling of humiliation or lack of self respect in the person requiring such assistance. Provision of a guaranteed annual income, or negative income tax, concurrent with the education of citizens as to their right to share in this equitable distribution of resources, would do much to restore the dignity of all of our citizens. Some of us in our work still come across old age pensioners who have refused to apply for their pension in the mistaken belief that they would be giving up some of their freedom and independence to do so. The Senators will be well acquainted with the many myths, mistaken attitudes and misconceptions concerning the poor. This too is a fit subject for the education of all Canadians so that there might be an understanding of our needs and particularly the needs of those of our fellow citizens who, for one reason or another, are looked upon as being poor. We recognize that in this period of rising inflation there is a necessity for restraint in all sectors of the economy. We have noticed how the poor, and particularly those on fixed incomes, suffer in such a time.

IV. 5. Several recommendations on a structure of income support were adopted by the Board of Evangelism and Social Action at its recent annual meeting, and they appear in the appendix. The authors of this brief would make two additional recommendations:—

1. That a programme of education be mounted to avoid a condescending and sneering attitude towards the poor, e.g. radio and TV programming, special releases by the National Film Board, the Queen's Printer, etc. that the situation as to the varying qualities of life existing in Canada be publicized so that the concern of all might be aroused.

2. That the government of Canada be commended for its policy of restraining the process of inflation because of the obvious benefit for the poor on fixed incomes. Further to this end, we support the idea of a capital gains tax as a measure of controlling inflation.

Respectfully submitted
for the Board of Evangelism and
Social Action.

APPENDIX 1

Recommendation adopted by the Annual Meeting of the Board of Evangelism and Social Action, March 10-13, 1970 Re: A Guaranteed Annual Income:

1. "That the Ministers of the Crown responsible for welfare be commended for seeking improvement in the Canadian welfare system, and that they be urged to base any changes on principles which include the following:—

(a) "The method, whether by means of the Guaranteed Annual Income, or some other, have for its objective giving people necessary support without the dehumanizing effect and the stigma associated with 'welfare' as at present understood;

(b) "The level of support should be adequate, perhaps necessitating an increase in the minimum wage, and it should include opportunity for self-improvement so that people might be encouraged to increase the degree of their self-reliance and humanity through training, and part or full-time work without penalty;

(c) "The scheme should be integrated with health departments in ways which would help the emotionally disturbed and mentally incompetent and those otherwise unemployable because of life peculiarities."

APPENDIX 2

Excerpts from a statement on poverty presented to the 1967 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in Canada by the Board of Evangelism and Social Action:

"Canada is acclaimed everywhere as one of the affluent nations of the world yet research by governmental and voluntary agencies reveals that in the very midst of our affluence there is widespread poverty ranging from privation to outright destitution. On the basis of the Census definition of 'family', in 1961 23 per cent of Canadian families had an income of less than \$3,000.00 with many of this group receiving less than \$2,000.00. However, in spite of this widespread need, the public is not generally aware of the plight of the poor.

"Poverty is much more than being short of money. The Scriptures depict poverty as a state of deprivation that results in people being bowed down and afflicted. It is an insidious thing that not only causes suffering but also robs people of the opportunity for

personal fulfilment and of making effective use of their lives in the service of God and Man. In other words, poverty is an unmitigated evil. Robert Burns speaks thus of poverty: 'thou half-sister of vice, thou cousin-germaine of hell, when shall I find force of exorcism equal to the amplitude of thy demerits?'

"The poor are robbed of freedom by being forced to live in sub-standard housing. This in turn is an additional threat to the marriage relationship, and is a veritable breeding ground for juvenile delinquency.

"In a day when education is essential if young people are to be able to compete in the labour market, poverty deprives them of both the possibility and incentive to take advantage of educational opportunities.

"Higher income groups receive better health care than low income groups, although the low income groups have greater health problems and their illnesses tend to be more severe.

"Poverty results in less participation in community affairs. Poor people not only have very little say in the decisions which affect their lives, but also the community is robbed of the contribution that this group of people should be able to make.

"One of the most serious effects of poverty is the attitude of the 'well-to-do' to the poor people of the community. There are those who blame the poor people for their condition. They believe that anyone can succeed if he wants to, so they tend to think of the poor as lazy, shiftless and undeserving. In fact, by way of justifying their attitude to the poor, they give the impression that God is the God of the 'well-to-do'. This attitude leads to a feeling of inferiority on the part of the poor and also an alienation from the society which rejects them.

"While in no way seeking to minimize the need for individual initiative and the necessity of doing all within one's power to help oneself, and while recognizing that the poverty of some people is their own fault, the Scriptures speak of a God who loves poor people as well as others, and who is genuinely concerned about their plight. Though poverty may be the result of the sin of the poor, the scriptures are more inclined to attribute it to the sin of society. They suggest that their plight is due to the greed of the rich (Amos 8:6) to the low wages paid by employers (James 5: 1-4), and the lack of genuine concern on the part of all of us for the total

welfare of the people of our communities and the world (St. Matthew 25: 31-46).

"God's love and concern for the needy should be a constant reminder and challenge to His Church to join him in His concern and action on behalf of the poor in Canada and the world. This concern will of necessity express itself in demanding adequate financial assistance for the poor, but it will also mean identifying ourselves with them, getting alongside them, working with them to the end that they may assume their rightful place in society, and come to know God and the fullness of the blessing of the Gospel of Christ."

Recommendation adopted by the 1967 General Assembly, Re: Poverty

"That the General Assembly alert Sessions and Congregations to the insidious effects of poverty in Canada today, and urge them to do all within their power at the congregational, community, provincial and national levels to eradicate this evil that is blighting the lives of so many individuals and families; is robbing them of the opportunity and possibility of fulfilment; and of making effective use of their lives and gifts in the service of God and Man."

APPENDIX 3

Recommendations adopted by the 1968 General Assembly, Re: Poverty

1. "That the Assembly commend to all kirk sessions and congregations for study, the material of the Montreal Conference on Poverty.

2. "That the General Assembly urge sessions and congregations to assist in an unabating struggle to end poverty:—

(a) "By being the catalysts that bring together other groups, agencies and concerned people to discuss means and ways of improving the lot of the poor, and enabling them to enter into their rightful heritage as citizens of Canada.

(b) "By getting to know and identifying with "disadvantaged" persons and families in their communities, and supporting them in their desire to have a voice in determining their own destinies.

"That the Board of Evangelism and Social Action and the Administrative Council be requested and authorized to study the findings of the Montreal Conference on Church and Society so far as these call for re-examination of our National Priorities and Policies.

APPENDIX 4

Recommendations adopted by the 1969 General Assembly, Re: Poverty

1. "That the General Assembly call the courts and congregations of our church to take more seriously the social implications of the Gospel, and alert them to the fact that poverty is not only a great destroyer of human rights, but also one of the greatest problems and causes of tension in Canada and the world today.

2. "That sessions and congregations be urged to undertake a study and to co-operate in ecumenical studies of the needs of their own communities with a view to providing a forum in the community for the free discussion of the issues of poverty.

3. "That Presbyteries and congregations encourage the erection of multi-functional buildings and emphasize the need for buildings to serve the mission of the Church and the needs of the community.

4. "That congregations, emphasizing the primacy of worship, be encouraged to make their buildings available to serve other community needs, where not doing so.

5. "That in Presbyteries where two or more congregations have amalgamated and church buildings and properties have been sold, the General Assembly urge Presbyteries to encourage congregations to use some of the money and/or the land that is made available for the care and housing of Senior citizens.

6. "That the General Assembly commend the government of Canada for their avowed aim of making 1 per cent of the gross national product available for economic assistance to poor and underdeveloped countries, and urge them to increase our contribution in this field to 1 per cent as soon as possible."

APPENDIX 5

Recommendations adopted by the 1968 General Assembly Re: Housing

1. "That the General Assembly express to the Government of Canada and the Provincial Governments of Canada its concern about the housing situation in Canada and state its conviction that—

(a) "The future needs for housing in Canada can no longer be fully supplied

by private industry and that there is a need for public housing and co-operative housing in addition to what is supplied by the private sector;

(b) "That there is great need for a co-ordination of (not to say interference in) the many segments in the economy which are involved in housing.

APPENDIX "B"

GUARANTEED INCOME
or
GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT?

A Critical Examination of
Income Maintenance and
Manpower Policies

April, 1970

United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area
1625 West 8th Ave.,
Vancouver 9, B.C.

Special Senate Committee

This report was adopted by the Board of Directors of United Community Services of the Greater Vancouver Area on March 24, 1970.

Mrs. Virginia (A.D.) Beirnes
(Chairman)

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Mrs. H.R. Malkin

Mrs. Betsy (W.V.) McDonald

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Mr. J.R.E. Nedland
Mr. K.E. Meredith
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Mr. C.P. Neale
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Mrs. M.C. Schmid
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Mr. J.M.G. Scott
Mr. John Sexton
Mr. David Sigler
Mr. Derek Standfield
Mr. R.F.B. Taylor
Mr. Harald Weinreich
Mr. A.B. Weir
Mr. M.L. White
Mr. J.D. Wilson

The preparation of the report by research staff was under the direction of the Social Policy and Research Committee.

Committee Members:

Mr. Derek Standfield (Chairman)
Rev. R.A. Burrows
Dr. F.S. Hobbs
Mr. W.T. Lane
Mrs. Betsy (W.V.) McDonald
Mr. E.P. Murphy
Mrs. L.H. Salt
Mr. P.R.U. Stratton
Mr. K.R. Weaver
Mr. Harald Weinreich

Staff:

Mr. L.I. Bell (Research Consultant)
Mrs. Rosemary Hamilton (Acting Director)
Mr. B.R. Levens (Research Associate)

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Special Senate Committee

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONSI. GUARANTEED INCOME - THE ANSWER TO POVERTY?

"Guaranteed Income" nowadays is brandished as the magic wand which will erase poverty in our time.

A. Why This Intense Interest?

1. The popular view is that it is "to transform the welfare system which is frozen in failure and frustration."
(President Richard Nixon)
2. A more basic reason for the support of the guaranteed income concept by all political parties is our changing technology and changing labour needs. Private industry no longer needs the pool of low-skilled labour which once provided an important cushion for the ups and downs of the labour market.

B. Is A Guaranteed Income Plan the Answer to Poverty?

1. An analysis of proposed schemes shows that they all consider four goals:
 - a) to provide an adequate minimum level of benefit to all people;
 - b) to aim benefits directly to those below the poverty level;
 - c) to include a "work incentive";
 - d) to maintain costs at a tolerable level to the taxpayer.
2. Major problems arise in any of the proposed plans:
 - a) it is impossible to meet all four goals. For instance, if the guaranteed income is set at an adequate level, there is no "work incentive".
 - b) Guaranteed income programs are directed at the "employable": but it is incredibly difficult, if not impossible, to categorize persons as "employable" or "unemployable". Also, a duplicate administration of income maintenance for "unemployables" would be necessary.
 - c) In practice, any guaranteed income program would have as many rules and regulations and be as complex to administer as a simplified welfare system.

TO EXTOL A GUARANTEED INCOME PLAN AS A SIMPLE SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEM OF POVERTY IS THEREFORE BOTH UNWARRANTED AND UNWISE. No one denies the need for major reform in present social policies. But before pressing for a simple panacea, present income maintenance programs - which in fact guarantee income to special groups - must first be considered.

II. A LOOK AT PRESENT INCOME MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS

A review of six major programs points to basic reforms which would eliminate waste and inequities. Some examples of present anomalies:

- a) In British Columbia, as of April 1, 1970, a widow aged 65 can receive \$150 monthly - but up to that age her monthly income is \$95, including the rental supplement.
- b) A veteran may be forced to accept an income lower than that payable to a non-veteran.
- c) A person may have to undergo three "means tests", administered by different personnel, all requiring documentation and personal interviews, before receiving maximum benefit.
- d) The steadily employed worker bears the burden of benefits paid by Unemployment Insurance - including payments to seasonal workers who may have much higher annual incomes.
- e) Benefits and methods to determine needs range wildly between programs - even though they are all publicly funded.

Principles can be set out that would resolve these anomalies, and direct resources to a concerted attack on poverty:

1. ESTABLISH A COMPARABLE LEVEL OF BENEFITS FOR ALL INCOME MAINTENANCE SYSTEMS.
2. SET BENEFITS AT A LEVEL WHICH PERMITS A REASONABLY NORMAL AND HEALTHY EXISTENCE, WITH DUE REGARD TO REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN COST OF LIVING AND INDIVIDUAL REQUIREMENTS.
3. ELIMINATE LEAKAGE OF BENEFITS TO THE HIGHER INCOME GROUPS BY TAXING BACK.
4. REFORM COMPULSORY INSURANCE SCHEMES TO ENSURE THEY ARE NOT A FORM OF INEQUITABLE TAXATION - ESPECIALLY THE CANADA PENSION PLAN AND UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE, WHERE THE FINANCIAL BURDEN FALLS MOST HEAVILY ON LOWER INCOME GROUPS.
5. SEPARATE THE FUNCTIONS OF INCOME MAINTENANCE FROM PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES.
6. SIMPLIFY ELIGIBILITY PROCEDURES AND MODERNIZE METHODS OF DETECTING FRAUD.
7. DISCARD THE CONCEPT OF UNEMPLOYABILITY AS PRACTICALLY AND MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE.

The elimination of poverty will be more rapidly attained if jurisdictional conflicts between different levels of government, particularly with respect to financing arrangements, can be resolved.

III. WORK INCENTIVE - OR WORK OPPORTUNITIES?

The suggested reform of income maintenance programs begs one question. If benefits for the unemployed are set at adequate levels, what of the 'work incentive'? Will the result be to create a nation of loafers? And with increasing automation, should we stress the need for work - or train for leisure?

- A. Several factors suggest that "man cannot live by bread alone", that opportunity for constructive work should be our primary goal.
 1. People want and need to work. They develop their identity, their meaning in life, through working in an occupation. Contrary to popular belief, mounting evidence shows that when job opportunities with adequate incomes are available, even the "hard-core unemployed" choose to work rather than loaf.
 2. The loss to our economy of our unused human resources is estimated by the Canadian Economic Council to be two to four billion dollars yearly.
 3. Automation is not synonymous with work obsolescence. Many sectors of the economy, particularly the service industries, require additional manpower.

B. How Can Work Opportunities be Increased?

1. DRASTIC REORIENTATION OF CANADA MANPOWER POLICIES. Present focus is on meeting the needs of employers - needs which are more and more met by private employment agencies. Manpower should concentrate on training and placing the pool of unemployed and underemployed. Training grants should be aimed at providing equal access to opportunity for all, regardless of income. The present "trickle-down" theory of training those now in the labour force is only effective in a closed society. Long-range projection of manpower requirements for the future, and training programs to match human resources to them, are imperative.
2. A VIGOROUS POLICY OF JOB DEVELOPMENT. The Regional Development Incentive Act is a measure using tax concessions and other incentives to increase the aggregate demand for labour in certain slow-growth areas. Such measures should be expanded, but further refinement is necessary. Policies should be designed around people, not places; i.e. concessions to those industries which can best provide jobs for the supply of potential employees.

IV. SOME CONCLUDING OBSERVATIONS

It is abundantly clear that the under-utilization of human resources in Canada at the present time results in a tremendous loss to the Canadian economy and its citizens.

The extent of poverty and the lack of employment opportunities are related to society's inability to simultaneously meet four basic economic goals: full employment, a high rate of economic growth, reasonable price stability, and an equitable distribution of rising incomes.

A satisfactory high rate of employment is brought about primarily through fiscal and monetary policies; changes in the tempo of economic activity are controlled through changes in government expenditure, taxation and interest rates. In the last few years, we have enjoyed a relatively low rate of unemployment, and inflation has replaced unemployment as the chief ill to which our economy is prone. In our attempts to control inflation, we have reverted to the traditional technique of reducing aggregate demand by creating unemployment. Other techniques should be examined.

One of the factors that contributes to inflation as an economy approaches full employment is the fact that the supply of labour does not provide the proper mixture of skills and experience to meet demand. This in return results in "bottlenecks", where particular skills are in short supply; employers then bid up the price for labour. Wage increases in any one sector tend to be telegraphed through the whole labour force, and an inflationary spiral is created.

Anticipating the demand for labour, and training the unemployed appropriately, can therefore reduce the pressure upon prices of increased economic activity. In addition, this strategy would reduce the tremendous loss to the Canadian economy and its citizens now caused by under-utilization of our human resources.

So complex are the factors involved in gauging the trade-off between unemployment and inflation that to predict the exact effect of any economic or fiscal policy is hazardous at best. This is why it is imperative to reform our present programs of income maintenance, and job placement and job development. For to enact fiscal policies which push a man out of a job and into poverty can only be considered a monstrous social injustice.

CHAPTER IGUARANTEED INCOME - THE ANSWER TO POVERTY?Introduction

During the past few years, politicians of all parties have promoted plans for a "guaranteed income" to solve the glaring problem of poverty in Canada. What are the reasons behind this sudden and intense interest?

The most common reason given is the failure of the present welfare system which is accused of "fostering dependency, perpetuating poverty, and strangling in its own red tape". Evidence cited includes rising welfare rolls. One out of eight residents of New York City now receives public assistance. In British Columbia, the number of individuals and families receiving social assistance has nearly doubled in the past eight years (from 19,503 in 1960 to 38,561 in 1968). In addition, evidence is mounting that families tend to remain "on relief" through three and four generations.

Undoubtedly, public welfare workers have oversold their ability to rehabilitate the poor, to help them back into the economic mainstream. The plea "only give us more staff and we will do the job" appears not proved out in practice. A major experimental project conducted by United Community Services in Greater Vancouver 1965-1969, showed no significant decrease in economic dependence in a group of "hard core" families as a result of intensive counselling services. (1)

A more basic reason for the present "in" status of guaranteed income is the dawning recognition of changing labour needs in North America. Until recently, a "frontier" ethic pervaded all segments of our society, a conviction that anyone who wanted to work could find a job, and that public funds should only support the widow, the orphan and the handicapped. This attitude is still held by many people. Its effect on policies will be discussed in a later chapter.

Looking back in history, we can now feel sympathy for the hapless able-bodied poor of the 17th century, caught in a technological revolution which threw them, unprepared, from farmer's field to urban slagheap. We have little sympathy, however, for today's technological outcast; we label him "deadbeat" or "freeloader" and devise ingenious means of humiliation to deter him from fattening on the public purse.

The fact that support for a guaranteed income cuts across the full spectrum of ideologies regarding the work ethic reflects a growing awareness of changing labour needs in our society.

"For decades, relief programs had the function of maintaining a pool of low-skilled labour at subsistence levels low enough to make low-paying jobs in private industry attractive. This surplus of cheap labour provided an important cushion for the ups and downs of the labour market. Recently public assistance has fulfilled the same function for public and other non-profit institutions, also providing a buffer against the inroads of organized labour in these fields

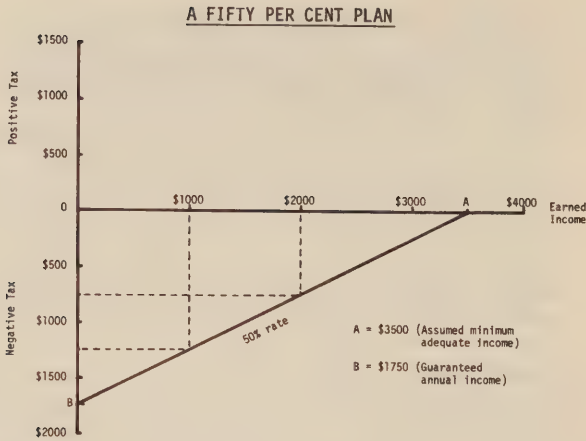
But recent technological changes are making cheap, mass labour a thing of the past. Thus, public assistance is losing one of its central functions. As it becomes dysfunctional to goad the poor into competing for jobs in the regular economy, the notion of an automatic benefit system unrelated to work - the guaranteed minimum income - emerges." (2)

A Look at Guaranteed Income Plans

Popularly, guaranteed minimum income plans and negative income tax schemes are considered to be dramatic departures from present practice. Although the schemes vary in detail, they involve consideration of exactly the same variables:

1. The minimum income that every individual or family shall receive, related to family size.
2. The point at which the regular income tax shall apply.
3. The relationship between earned or independent income and the income paid from public funds (hereafter called an 'income transfer').
4. The income tax rate required to finance the scheme.

The essential ingredients of the current plans are illustrated in the graph and table below. In this example, the minimum adequate income (3) for a family of four has been assumed to be \$3,500 (A). The guaranteed annual income is established at \$1,750 (B). The negative tax rate between the guaranteed income and the minimum adequate income is 50 per cent. The plan, in other words, guarantees an income of \$1,750 but reduces this amount by 50 per cent of each dollar earned up to a total income of \$3,500. For example, under such a scheme, a family earning \$1,000 per year would keep all their earned income and in addition would receive a negative tax payment of \$1,250 for a total income of \$2,250. Similarly, if earnings are \$2,000, the negative tax payment would be \$750.



The amount of guaranteed income payable with different rates of earnings, under the same fifty per cent plan, is shown in the following table.

INCOME TRANSFER WITH DIFFERENT RATES OF EARNED INCOME -
FIFTY PER CENT PLAN.

<u>Earned</u> <u>Income</u> \$	<u>Guaranteed</u> <u>Annual In-</u> <u>come</u> \$	<u>Income</u> <u>Transfer</u> \$	<u>Total</u> <u>Income</u> \$
0	1750	1750	1750
500	1750	1500	2000
1000	1750	1250	2250
1500	1750	1000	2500
2000	1750	750	2750
2500	1750	500	3000
3000	1750	250	3250
3500	1750	0	3500
4000			

positive taxation begins

Obviously, an infinite number of schemes can be developed by changing the magnitude of the basic variables. Each scheme involves consideration of four major criteria:

1. The provision of an adequate minimum level of benefit to all people.
2. The reduction or elimination of the "leakage" or benefits to people above the poverty line, i.e. income transfer should not benefit those in higher income groups.
3. The provision of adequate incentives to encourage people to work.
4. The maintenance of overall cost to the taxpayer at a tolerable level.

For example, some proposals for guaranteed annual income would guarantee the family of four referred to above an income of \$3,500 annually. In this case no leakage occurs, and it is conceivable that the burden on the general taxpayer would not be too great, but there is no work incentive. For each dollar earned, the income transfer would be reduced by an identical amount up to the income guarantee - as in the present much vilified welfare system.

By testing proposals against these four criteria, it will be clear that there is no ideal solution. What is involved is a series of "trade-offs", and decision on a compromise position.

Problems!

Given that a compromise scheme is designed, what basic problems would still exist?

The problem of defining what constitutes an adequate income is certainly not eliminated. While size of the family is considered in most programs, the age-sex structure is not. This can change the adequacy level by a significant amount; for example, in the case of a four-person household, food costs based on the provincial Low Cost Food Plan can vary from \$99 to \$165 per month. There are also unique requirements, such as special diets.

How are regional discrepancies to be handled? Again using food costs, these can vary as much as thirty per cent, and housing costs differ dramatically within British Columbia. Can the assessment of unique individual requirements and of regional differences in cost be totally eliminated and rates based upon an assumed average need?

A continuous problem is that of adjusting the adequacy level over time. Since poverty is defined relative to the norm, should changes over time be related to the cost of living or to changes in median income? If a cost of living adjustment is used, such a program will fail to redistribute even a portion of our growing affluence in "real" terms.

A major problem arises if, in order to provide work incentive, the guaranteed income rate is set below the poverty level. A separate system of maintenance is then necessary for those who cannot work. And when it comes to deciding who is employable and who unemployable, Pandora's box opens with a bang. Is a deaf person unemployable? He might well be categorized as such; yet an aggressive placement officer with the Western Institute for the Deaf in 1968 placed 126 deaf persons in employment. Is a deserted mother with three children employable? Society would not expect her to work; yet given a job and social utilities such as day care, she may be a happier and more productive member of the community.

On the other hand, a senior Vancouver public welfare administrator states that "an able-bodied man 40 years of age, with a grade XII education but with no specialized skills, can look forward to chronic unemployment"; can this man be considered employable? To classify individuals as 'employable' or 'unemployable' according to categories is incredibly difficult if not impossible.

For those who are deemed employable in any proposed guaranteed income plan, another problem arises - the fact that the incentive to work decreases as the size of the family increases. In 1966, a family of four living on the average wage of a full-time employee in a service industry, would have been better off on social allowance. Earnings are determined in the market place without regard to the need of the family. Therefore, as the family size increases, there are fewer and fewer employment opportunities which will provide an income above the poverty level. It follows that as the size of the family increases, the work incentive becomes less relevant.

A negative tax scheme to provide guaranteed income must face other complex problems. Eligibility under any plan must consider the net assets of the individual family. Any scheme based upon income declared for tax purposes which ignores net assets could result in income transfers to persons for whom the program was not designed. Some procedure must be provided to control such abuses. Yet the creation of these rules and regulations destroys the simplicity of a negative income tax scheme - and simplicity has been stressed as one of the most attractive features of the proposed plans.

Consideration of eligibility procedures raises another serious practical problem. Generally, the benefit schedule of any of the current proposals has been stated in terms of annual income. Quite obviously this is not a suitable time frame within which to retrospectively transfer income required for subsistence. What is required is a monthly benefit payment based upon current income. If, for example, a family earns \$600 per month for the first six months of the year, has no assets and no income in the seventh month, some provision will have to be made for their continued existence.

When the points raised above have been taken into consideration, a guaranteed income program in practice would be as complex to administer as the present welfare system. Proof of this is contained in a review of the rules and regulations developed by the New Jersey experiment in guaranteed income. (Appendix A)

No one seriously questions the need for reform in our present welfare system. But to extol a guaranteed income plan as a simple solution is both unwarranted and unwise. The problem is complex, and "welfare" represents only twenty five per cent of the income transfers which must be taken into account. A critical look at all major income maintenance systems is called for.

CHAPTER IIINCOME MAINTENANCE PROGRAMS

An indication of the legislative complexity of existing income maintenance is shown by the list of assistance programs prepared by the Senate Committee on Poverty. (Appendix B) This contains fifty federal-provincial programs - it does not include programs solely provincially financed such as, for example, Workmen's Compensation. This chapter will concern itself with a brief examination of income payments, the benefits, and the eligibility criteria of six of the major programs. The payments to individuals of these are presented in Table I.

TABLE I

SELECTED INCOME MAINTENANCE PAYMENTS IN B.C.
(Millions of dollars)

<u>Category</u>	<u>1951/52</u>	<u>1956/57</u>	<u>1960/61</u>	<u>1965/66</u>
Family and Youth Allowances	23.1	31.0	41.4	52.9
Old Age Security	8.5	46.9	75.5	115.3
Workmen's Compensation	10.8	15.3	16.4	23.5
Unemployment Insurance	13.2	23.8	57.3	30.6
Veterans' Affairs	23.7	26.3	35.5	44.9
Social Welfare	21.1	19.6	40.4	51.9

Note: Veterans' Affairs total includes war pensions, veterans' allowances and assistance. Social Welfare total includes Blind and Disabled Persons' Allowances and Old Age Assistance and Medical Services.

Selected Income Maintenance Programs1. Family and Youth Allowances

Family and Youth Allowances are universal grants, payable in respect of each child resident in Canada. Benefits are \$6.00 to the age of 10, \$8.00 to age 16, and \$10.00 youth allowance to age 18 if attending school.

In fact, these allowances are "guaranteed income" to all families with dependent children. Under any system other than specific allowances for dependent children, large families are at a disadvantage, since the private market does not take family size into account in determining the level of wages. The fact that a family of five must exist on virtually the same earnings as a single person is a major element of poverty.

How do family allowances measure up against the four criteria of guaranteed income plans discussed in Chapter I? Firstly, they do not provide a disincentive to work. However, whilst at present the overall cost to the taxpayer may be considered at a tolerable level, the amounts paid to families are too low to effect an adequate minimum level of benefit; and, of course, as is common with universal programs, there is a high leakage to families above the poverty line.

What the results in dollars would be of redistributing the allowances so that families below the poverty level received a greater share of the monies, can only be hinted at in this paper.⁽¹⁾ If, for the sake of argument, in British Columbia the family and youth allowances received by families above a level of, say, \$6,000 annual income were reallocated to families below a level of \$3,000 per annum, the child allowance would increase from a present crude monthly average of \$6.91 per child to one of \$15.97 per child for the lower income group, at no extra cost to the taxpayer. This calculation is of course a gross oversimplification. However, the rationale of taxing back benefits from those not in need and increasing payments to the poor is perfectly valid and demands serious attention. (See Appendix C)

2. Old Age Security

Like Family Allowances, Old Age Security is universal - there is no means test. It provides a guaranteed income to a specific section of the population in the same way that family allowances do; the major disadvantage of the Old Age Security program (again as measured against the criteria set out for guaranteed income), are that i) the benefits (now \$79.58) are below an adequate minimum; and ii) the leakage of benefits to people above the poverty line is high. (An estimate of the magnitude of the leakage is provided by the fact that some 50.2 per cent of old age pensioners in British Columbia were not in receipt of the Guaranteed Income Supplement in 1968) (2)

The federal Guaranteed Income Supplement - an additional amount up to \$31.83 per month - remedies to a large extent the

deficiencies outlined above. It is sent on completion of a mailed application showing that annual income in addition to Old Age Security does not exceed \$768.00. Although this constitutes a 'means test', it is extremely simple - no verification of applicants' statements, no case histories, no home visits for periodic review, no translation of assets to income. However, with the exception of a small group of non-earners, the Guaranteed Income Supplement program will be eliminated by 1976 and replaced by the contributory Canada Pension Plan. Provincially, a Supplementary Social Allowance (of up to \$38.59), which basically provides for regional cost differences, requires a home visit to establish eligibility. This includes verification of bank accounts and rent receipts.

3. Unemployment Insurance

This income maintenance program, paid to certain numbers of the unemployed, is based on contributions by employer and employee, but is subsidized by the federal government as required. Benefits range from \$13.00 per week for a single person who previously earned up to \$30.00, to \$53.00 for a married man with one or more dependents, previously earning \$100 or over. One week's benefit is paid for each two weeks of employment, up to a maximum of a year.

Since unemployment insurance payments are based on contributions, they are - in times of normal economic activity - self supporting, and hence overall cost to the taxpayer is at a minimum. The length of benefit is related to length of employment, and the unemployed person is required to register with Manpower and accept employment offered him; there is, therefore, in theory at least, no disincentive to work. In the absence of a high demand for labour and of an aggressive job placement program, it is of course easily possible to "fiddle the system". Two sorts of abuse can be identified: Firstly, there are those which constitute fraud; for example, the failure of some claimants to disclose earnings during weeks of partial unemployment. Secondly, there are those who may be said to 'misuse' the system. For example, these include the married women or retired persons drawing benefits but who in fact are not seeking employment; and the seasonal workers who draw benefits during 'off-season' irrespective of annual income. In addition, there is the very narrow view taken by claimants and the administration as to the types of employment that constitute 'suitable employment' in any individual case. Whether an out of work farm-hand in urban society is eligible for unemployment benefit is, at best, questionable. (3)

While a computerized system has been devised to bring to light those most likely to commit fraud, by identifying categories of risk, no such check on the other types of abuse exists.

Although there is no means test, there are eligibility requirements, based on employment record. Leakage of benefits to higher income groups is curtailed since there is a salary ceiling of \$7,800 (1 1/2 times the composite average industrial weekly wage in Canada) above which unemployment insurance does not operate. Consideration of this leads to a major criticism of this program: namely, a plan supposedly based upon insurance (actuarial) principles but with a contributory ceiling, means in effect, that it is the steadily employed worker who bears the burden of the benefits received by the group of high risk unemployment, and this same worker who 'carries' those who abuse and misuse the system. Higher income groups do not contribute.

In addition to this system of financing, which in effect is an extra tax paid by the steady workers, the unemployment benefits themselves are often inadequate; some are obviously well below the poverty level.

4. Workmen's Compensation

This income maintenance program is also financed by contributions, but from the employer only. As well as providing temporary maintenance and rehabilitation for industrial accidents, pensions are paid where disability is permanent. These depend on the extent of injury and the amount of wages; 75 per cent of earnings is the maximum payable and the wage ceiling is set at \$550; payments can therefore be as high as \$412.50. There is a schedule of rates for each type of injury.

Eligibility for permanent pension is established by i) a statement from the claimant's doctor; ii) examination and assessment by Workmen's Compensation Board doctors; and iii) a travelling Medical Board which tours the province three or four times a year.

Permanent disability pensions under the Canada Pension Plan are coming into pay in 1970. Here, the disability must be severe and prolonged; payment is only for complete disability and will be \$106.43 monthly plus \$26.53 for each child. The plan covers all wage earners aged 18 to 70 years, except casual labour and farm workers.

Eligibility procedure is complex and rigorous; district office interviews, field visits, medical reports and, finally, review by a medical board in Ottawa. There is no coordination with the Workmen's

Compensation Board medical eligibility procedures where the disability is the result of industrial accident. Full pensions from both sources can be received by the same individual.

5. Veterans Pensions and Allowances

Yet a third pension plan has a rigorous eligibility test - that for service-related disability. Eligibility for Veterans Pension is based on degree of disability; each of numerous conditions has a table of payments (only the Pension Commission in Ottawa has this table).

Applications are prepared by a Pension Advocate, based on a "firm" diagnosis by the individual's doctor. The application with supporting evidence is submitted first to a Medical Board, and then to the Pension Commission in Ottawa. Appeals are heard by a Travelling Board of three Commissioners, based in Ottawa, who come to British Columbia roughly five times a year. Approximately 100 appeals are at present awaiting attention.

Whilst the actual number receiving benefits under more than one of the above programs may be negligible, it is nevertheless possible for a person to be eligible for all three at one time. To obtain maximum benefits, he must go through three separate elaborate screening processes. Aside from the drain on the energies of a disabled man, the duplication of administration costs is a sorry fact in a country striving to control inflation.

None of the three disability pensions referred to above takes into consideration the income or the assets of the applicant: medical eligibility is the major criterion. Other income maintenance programs, however, require an investigation into the economic circumstances of the individual - an investigation known as a 'means test' or a 'needs test'. A 'means test' focusses on the income and assets of the applicant, and the difference between such income and the benefit to which he is entitled is paid. In theory, a 'needs test' focusses on the actual need of the applicant; but since it also requires investigation of finances, and since, in practice, no maintenance program pays benefits on the basis of actual need (except in a unique and individual case situation), there is no real difference between them.

A major difference in the methods of investigation, however, does exist between different programs. As noted above, the Guaranteed Income Supplement has a means test which is a simple declaration submitted by mail. Two other major programs, on the other hand, War Veterans Allowances and Social Assistance, require detailed investigation of the finances of each applicant, including verification of documents.

War Veterans Allowances are payable to veterans over the age of 65, or to "veterans of any age who because of disabilities are permanently unemployable or are incapable and unlikely to become capable of self-maintenance because of physical or mental disability combined with economic handicap."

Applicants first prove service eligibility under a complex set of regulations - for example, First World War members of the Imperial Russian forces are eligible but only up to the date of the revolution. Veterans' welfare officers then visit to see documents on marriage, divorce, bank accounts, ownership of property. A single applicant may have \$1250 cash in the bank, and a married applicant \$2500. The ceiling income is respectively \$145 and \$245 per month, the basic allowance payable \$105 and \$175.

If these allowances are inadequate, application can be made to the Veterans' Assistance Fund. A 'needs test' is applied, with welfare officers of the Veterans Department checking rent, light, heat, telephone, medical and special diet costs. The individual may be entitled to a further \$40 per month single or \$70 if married, depending on his budget. A table sets out fixed amounts for food, clothing, personal care and household utilities; these tables vary in different regions. They also vary with the number and age of children in the family. Medical care of children is not provided.

Comparison of this program with the following brings out some interesting anomalies.

6. Social Assistance and Rehabilitation

Public welfare is the income maintenance program of last resort. When all other resources have been tapped, it provides for cash allowances to those people who do not have the income necessary to maintain a reasonably normal and healthy existence.

Basic allowances for food, shelter and sundries range from \$75 for a single person to \$284 for a mother with 8 children. Extra rent allowances raise these rates to \$90 and \$404. In addition there are recreation, clothing and school supplies allowances of \$15 annually for each child, extra extra-rental grants, monthly dietary allowance of \$10, moving expenses, housekeeper and day care payments, and general overages to cover situations which create hardship. Medical coverage is complete for unemployable persons, but not for those classed as employable, whether or not they can obtain employment.

A veteran with a wife and three children or more could receive much greater benefits from public welfare in the form of the "extras" listed above. He could not obtain them if he qualified for veterans' allowance, however, because their rate of \$245 per month is higher than the basic \$224 social allowance rate for this size family. Yet the extra rental benefit alone would bring the public welfare payments to \$254 per month, and the extra benefits listed above could provide much higher payments.

THE VETERAN WOULD IN FACT BE FORCED TO ACCEPT AN INCOME SUBSTANTIALLY LOWER THAN THAT PAYABLE TO A NON-VETERAN.

If the Veteran's Allowance of \$245 is lower than the basic social assistance rate, supplementary social allowances could be granted. THE INDIVIDUAL, HOWEVER, WOULD HAVE TO UNDERGO THREE MEANS TESTS, ADMINISTERED BY DIFFERENT PERSONNEL, ALL REQUIRING DOCUMENTATION AS WELL AS PERSONAL INTERVIEWS.

The foregoing brief review reveals critical flaws in the major income maintenance programs - all of which are providing a 'guaranteed income' to special groups of the population:

1. They provide an inadequate income for people to lead a normal, healthy existence.
2. They tend to lock people into dependency as any earnings above a small exemption reduce the allowances by the total amount earned.
3. Some include a means test which is both complex and demeaning.
4. Some involve an unnecessarily complex administration
5. Programs not based on the means test transfer monies to people with above average incomes.
6. Different benefits are available for basically the same category of need depending upon historical events or chance occurrences.

Basic Principles for Income Maintenance Programs

The previous analysis of guaranteed income proposals suggests that there are major inequities and anomalies in present income maintenance programs, but that no simple panacea exists. What then should be the priorities for action? To spell out a detailed pro-

gram of reform is obviously not possible here. Precise alternatives will require the use of simulated models and sophisticated operational research. Moreover, political realities will strongly influence the decisions taken. Not the least of these realities is the complex pattern of financing and the jurisdictional disputes that exist between different levels of government. To evolve effective social policies is infinitely difficult under such conditions of blurred and overlapping spheres of federal and provincial responsibility.

Despite these limitations, directions can be established if the clear intent of income maintenance programs is to reduce poverty. In the long term, consolidation of programs will best ensure that all Canadians receive an adequate minimum income, whether they are able to work full time, part time, or not at all. Integrated funding of all programs would maximize efficiency and economy.

Political realities suggest that such integration will not happen soon. The first step, therefore, must be towards major reforms in our present income maintenance programs.

The following basic principles are set forth to point the direction in which our major programs can move and to act as a yardstick against which new legislation can be measured.

1. ESTABLISH A COMPARABLE LEVEL OF BENEFITS FOR ALL INCOME MAINTENANCE SYSTEMS. It is obviously inequitable that a widow of 65 years of age can receive \$150 monthly, but at 60 or 64 be expected to exist on \$95 monthly. In 1961 nearly 38% of single women in Canada aged 60 to 65 had annual incomes of less than \$1500.
2. SET BENEFITS AT A LEVEL WHICH PERMITS A REASONABLY NORMAL AND HEALTHY EXISTENCE. Due regard must be given to regional differences in cost of living and individual requirements. Benefits should automatically change with changes in median income.
3. ELIMINATE LEAKAGE OF BENEFITS TO THE HIGHER INCOME GROUPS BY TAXING BACK. This is particularly important in universal grant programs such as Old Age Security and Family Allowances. In the latter case, as illustrated earlier, this step could nearly double the Family Allowances to those below the poverty level. Leakage of benefits where taxing back is not possible or desirable can be eliminated by use of a simple 'declaration of need'. Unemployment Insurance and Social Assistance might jointly adopt such a form.
4. REFORM COMPULSORY INSURANCE SCHEMES SO THAT THEY ARE NOT A FORM OF INEQUITABLE TAXATION. The Canada Pension Plan and

Unemployment Insurance, where the financial burden falls most heavily on lower income groups, are examples.

5. SEPARATE THE FUNCTIONS OF INCOME MAINTENANCE FROM PROVISION OF SOCIAL SERVICES. At present, only Social Assistance combines these functions. The rationale for functional separation is briefly summarized in Appendix D.
6. REDUCE OVERLAPPING ADMINISTRATIVE UNITS AND SIMPLIFY PROCEDURES TO DETECT FRAUD.
 - a) A common medical screening procedure where required, e.g. War Veterans Pensions, Workmen's Compensation, Canada Pension Plan.
 - b) A common 'Declaration of Need' form - without personal interview and verification - for the use of applicants for Social Assistance, War Veterans' Allowances and Unemployment Insurance if suggested 'means test' is adopted.
 - c) Sophisticated techniques, such as now used by the Unemployment Insurance for detecting fraud, expanded to all programs.
7. DISCARD THE CONCEPT OF UNEMPLOYABILITY AS PRACTICALLY AND MORALLY INDEFENSIBLE. A central registry should be established for those seeking but unable to find employment by their own efforts, or those requiring income maintenance. If no employment is available, benefits would be paid through the same office on completion of a simple declaration of need.

Work Incentive - or Work Opportunity?

The suggested reform of income maintenance programs begs one question. If benefits for the unemployed are set at adequate levels, what then of the work incentive? Will the result be to create a nation of loafers? It is imperative at this time to ask some questions regarding work incentive.

First, should we really be stressing the need for work rather than training for leisure in a future automated society? Several factors lead to a strong 'YES':

- a) The Economic Council of Canada has pointed out that to maintain one couple for a lifetime costs the country directly \$134,000 - as well as an inestimable cost in unused human resources. Their estimate of the total cost to the Canadian economy of

unemployment and underemployment is 2 - 4 billion dollars annually.

- b) Automation is not synonymous with work obsolescence. Many sectors of the economy, particularly in the service industries, require additional manpower.
- c) People want and need to work. People develop their identity, their meaning in life, through working in an occupation. The Economic Council in its recent annual report concluded that voluntary unemployment is not a significant factor in our society; 68 per cent of urban poverty families are headed by someone in the labour force. There are persons and families in British Columbia maintaining an independent existence, who would economically be better off on welfare. In 1966, a couple with two children, where the head of the household was fully employed and receiving the average wage in the service industry in British Columbia, would receive a higher total net income on social welfare.

Further evidence is provided by a recent study of the social welfare caseload in Calgary, which concluded that "to emphasize its existence repeatedly (lack of initiative), is to convey the erroneous impression that such uncommon practices are in fact common". Hence one has to conclude that, when job opportunities which provide an "adequate income" are made available to the poor, they can and will become active participants in the labour force.

Secondly, even if it were true that work incentive is needed, is the strategy of setting income maintenance payments below the poverty level the only way to make sure that people will work rather than loaf?

Another alternative exists. PRIORITY SHOULD BE GIVEN TO THE CONCEPT OF GUARANTEED EMPLOYMENT, NOT GUARANTEED INCOME. Maintenance programs must be tied to aggressive programs of job development and job placement. Work opportunity, not work incentive, should be our major concern.

How the poor fare under present employment programs will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IIICANADA MANPOWER AND OTHER EMPLOYMENT PROGRAMS

In 1966, the National Employment Service became part of a newly created Department of Manpower and Immigration. Wide publicity was given to the Department's new stance which would actively help the individual find his niche in the world of employment.

"Its new approach to Manpower problems is designed to help you. A C.M.C. Counsellor will talk to you about your experience, interests and aptitudes. He will help you decide the best course to follow for placement in a suitable job Remember, the many services available are designed to help you find a good and rewarding job."

(Quote from 1967 brochure)

Policies and Practices of Canada Manpower

In theory, the programs of Canada Manpower offer an opportunity for those in the poverty group to re-enter the economic stream. Mobility grants help move workers to locations where employment is available. Counselling and assessment are a primary function of Manpower offices - although in Greater Vancouver referral for intensive vocational counselling is made to a private agency supported by United Community Services.

Basic training skill development courses are available, but not academic upgrading, which is a provincial responsibility. Since it is extremely difficult to draw a line between these kinds of upgrading, this is a prime example of the blurred jurisdictional areas referred to in the previous chapter. A tremendous variety of occupational training courses are scheduled, ranging from a week to a year in length. The Department of Manpower buys 'seats' in educational institutions or private colleges, and can pay a living allowance during training, ranging from \$40 to \$103 per week, to persons who have been in the labour force for a period of three years. No means test is involved.

Statistics reveal that the B.C. Pacific Region receives far less than its "fair share" of these occupational grants, as shown in the following table:

TABLE II

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING
OF ADULTS PROGRAM EXPENDITURES AND INDICATORS OF ECONOMIC NEED

	OTA Expenditures per Labour Force Member, 1968-69	Unemployment Rates 1968	Poverty Incidence *
	\$	%	%
Atlantic	41.07	7.3	47.7
Quebec	29.59	6.5	30.8
Ontario	21.52	3.5	23.0
Prairies ,	19.62	3.0	31.2
Pacific	11.36	5.9	26.9
Canada	24.04	4.8	29.1

*Family heads and unattached individuals

Source: Brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, submitted by the Department of Manpower & Immigration, Government of Canada, June 1969, Appendix "K" in Proceedings of the Special Senate Committee on Poverty, Tuesday, June 10, 1969.

The text of the Department of Manpower's brief to the Special Senate Committee on Poverty states that:

"The total expenditures under the Occupational Training of Adults Program in 1968-69 are estimated to have been \$190 million. They were distributed among the geographic regions of Canada on the basis of the size of the labour force in each region as well as their economic need as indicated by their unemployment and poverty rates."

Yet an analysis of the figures in Table II above shows that on these criteria, the B.C. Pacific Region is being grossly short-changed; Ontario, with a much lower unemployment rate and lower incidence of poverty, receives almost exactly double the amount spent per labour force member in British Columbia. No reason for this situation could be obtained. Since both federal and provincial departments are involved in the occupational training courses, it is impossible to pinpoint responsibility.

Have these programs resulted in assisting the poor to gain employment? It was not possible to obtain an answer to this question for the Pacific Region. (1) Statistics available as to numbers placed in training or employment supply no information as to the effect of these programs in reducing poverty. In fact, the federal Adult Occupational Training Act discriminates against the poor; a woman whose husband earns \$12,000 and is herself employed can qualify for a training allowance, while the mother who has raised her children on Social Assistance cannot obtain such an allowance. A special referral system introduced by the Regional Manpower office is designed to give special help to those in the poverty group; as it was initiated less than two years ago, no objective evaluation is yet available.

How does the consumer feel about the efficacy of Manpower services? During the past months, United Community Services has interviewed numbers of those receiving social assistance in regard to "hang-ups" in the welfare system; their comments about Manpower have been devastatingly critical. These criticisms are not without support; indeed, one social service administrator bitterly stated: "It is as if they had the brand of Cain on their forehead when Manpower finds out they are on welfare." The Director of the John Howard Society states: "Our referrals are quickly categorized by Manpower as 'untrainable', and therefore not adaptable to their procedures."

In the basic conflict within the Manpower Department between their two "clients", the employer and the employee, the B.C. Regional Office has opted to serve the employer. This philosophy was clearly expressed by a Manpower representative on an open-line show on December 2, 1969; he repeatedly told callers: "We have no responsibility to you; our responsibility is to the labour market." Asked by the interviewer if Manpower didn't sometimes assign a counsellor to help a person find a job, the response was "We'd love to, but we don't have enough staff." (A summary of this radio program is included as Appendix E).

In fairness to Canada Manpower, it must be realized that the excitement surrounding its establishment led to unrealistic expectations by the public. The Department has neither the financial resources nor the legislative powers to perform the task expected of it, i.e. job placement of all those capable of employment.

Essentially, Manpower's interpretation of reality is correct. The creation of the Department was based on the assumption that economic growth will be stimulated by efficient matching of people to jobs. But their role in this area is being emasculated by the phenomenal growth of private employment agencies. Large corporations and professional associations as well are now active in the job placement field. The needs of employers can be met more and more by these

burgeoning resources. It is evident that Manpower will become the "employment agency of last resort", if it is not approaching this now. Only twenty per cent of job vacancies are registered with the Department. A recent attempt by Manpower to "upgrade their product" by advertisement to attract registrants with a high degree of employability reportedly met with little success.

The Department itself is concerned with its present predicament. A recent self-study in Victoria was made because of the high proportion of time spent in counselling and assessment with no resultant referral to jobs. The study showed that 58 per cent of approximately 4000 registrants were considered unreferrable or of limited referrability. Nor were most of those of limited referrability the so-called "dregs of society"; well over 80 per cent were average or above in grooming and intelligence, and were reported to have a 'good' attitude. There was no one factor which by itself made an individual unreferrable. Work history and education were the least correlated, while there was a high correlation between registrants' attitudes and "acceptance of realistic limitations" - highly subjective judgments. Had more employers registered with Manpower, the status of many registrants would undoubtedly have changed to "referrable". Essentially, this is the same issue noted earlier, that it is impossible to label individuals as 'employable' or 'unemployable' without reference to the job opportunities available to them.

Perhaps the most alarming statistic in this study is that, of 27 per cent of registrants in the age group to and including nineteen years who "want and could use upgrading", only 5 per cent were given Manpower training courses. Present Manpower regulations militate against this age group. Only those who have been out of school at least one year are eligible for enrolment in training courses, and three years must elapse before they can qualify for maintenance while training. Clearly, this policy is related to the jurisdictional conflict referred to earlier - education being a provincial responsibility and 'training' a function of the federal Department of Manpower.

The absurdity of these regulations is illustrated by the case of a Vancouver woman given an academic upgrading course by the social welfare department to help her on the road to independence; she found herself disqualified for Manpower training allowances for the next three years.

Of all applicants for Occupational Training courses, only one in ten is accepted. It is obvious that, since the primary object is to satisfy the employer, training is almost unavailable to those whose skills are least and whose income is most likely to be well below the poverty level.

How are applicants for Occupational Training courses chosen - how are appropriate people selected for training in an attempt to more perfectly match supply and demand for labour? There are two different forms which such a program can take. First of all, training can be offered to any one in the labour force who can be expected to ultimately master occupational skills that are in scarce supply. This is sometimes referred to as the "trickling down" process, i.e. by retraining people who are already in the labour force for higher skilled jobs, entry level positions are then available to the unemployed or under-employed. Manpower's present policy appears to follow this form.

This theory has some validity in the context of a closed society. However, in British Columbia, as our level of economic activity increases, so increases the flow of immigrants from other provinces as well as other countries. Hence, in the last 10 years, in order to reduce unemployment by 10,000, employment had to be increased by 22,000 or roughly 2 : 1 ratio. (2)

The net effect of present policy is therefore to create a permanent subculture of the unskilled and chronically unemployed, with all the social ills arising from a permanent condition of poverty. No society can remain socially healthy where such a subculture exists and grows.

On this basis, there is justification for an alternative method of selection for training: singling out people who are not in the labour force or who are underemployed, and designing a specific program for them. The overriding principle of selection would be to provide equal access to opportunity for those who now face a closed door. Training grants to persons financially able to pay for upgrading courses must be regarded as a misuse of public funds.

Obviously, to completely attain this goal of "equal access" is impossible - yet it is a worthy goal to strive for. The boy of seventeen - who knows what pressures led him to drop out of school? - should be eligible for training not because he left school one year or three years ago, but on the basis of whether or not other training is within his means. Nor should eligibility be based on the subjective judgment of a counsellor in a matter so vital to the applicant's well-being. If doubt exists as to ability or motivation, screening could take the form of a short pre-employment course. The principle must be established that no one should lack opportunity for training because of lack of money, or because of a negative evaluation by a counsellor.

Special Training and Employment Programs

Canada Manpower has recently made modest attempts to develop programs for those needing extra help in obtaining training or employment. Reference has been made to a special referral system by social agencies to the Rehabilitation Division of Manpower; it is regrettable that no statistics are available of numbers placed. A recent innovation offers women a "pre-employment course" designed to increase self-confidence, social skills and knowledge of the community. Numbers are limited to fifteen per course, with an instructor highly skilled in human relations. The third course is underway at present, and a similar course for twenty men was inaugurated in January 1970.

Several other initiatives have been developed under auspices other than Canada Manpower.

The Provincial Alliance of Businessmen was established by the provincial government in 1969, under the direction of a cabinet minister, to find employment for those on the social welfare rolls. Offices have been opened in Vancouver, Victoria, Kelowna, Kamloops and Prince George. Applicants register on a simple form and may be referred to a businessman for possible employment. Unfortunately, it has not been possible to obtain any detailed results of this program which has been in operation less than a year. Coordination with similar efforts of Canada Manpower appears to be lacking. However, since this program has been given a budget of \$500,000 for 1970 with the idea of involving the total community in its efforts, it has the potential of developing innovative programs for numbers of unemployed.

The Opportunities Incentive Program in Vancouver was set up in 1969 on the initiative of a group of women on public welfare, with the assistance of a community development worker. Under this program, women (and more recently, men) who wish to re-enter the labour market are paid an allowance of \$50.00 monthly for six months by the Welfare Department for working thirty hours or more monthly in a community service (with the schools, libraries, social welfare department, etc.). The objective is to encourage those who have been dependent on public welfare to take the first step towards independence; the program has met with enthusiastic response by those receiving social assistance, and the present enrolment of 96 is almost doubling monthly. Unfortunately, the prospect of employment at the end of the training period is slight, and is a matter of urgent concern to those in the program. The Opportunities Committee, recognizing this need, has set up a 'job registry', operated by a social welfare recipient. In the past two months, fifteen applicants have been placed in jobs.

Another 'employment preparation' project is being developed in the Vancouver area, sponsored by the Vancouver City Social Service Department and the Department of Social Welfare. It is a pilot project designed to train twenty men, by a thirteen week program of class instruction and on-the-job training, to work in the Parks Department. The limitation, as in the Opportunities Program, is the lack of assurance of employment at a living wage following the employment preparation project - only the hope "that the candidates who successfully complete the course may be referred to the City Personnel Office for possible job placement with the understanding (to comply with union regulations) that no employee on the existing lists of the Parks Board will be unemployed while welfare recipients are engaged on the project."

How practical are these various programs? What are their chances of success? A strong feeling persists in our society that anyone who wants to can "make it" on their own, that those requiring help are deadbeats and ne'er-do-wells, happily freeloading on their fellow citizens. This is part of the "frontier" ethic referred to earlier; but the hostility which ordinary citizens often reveal in discussion of those on 'welfare' suggests that other factors are involved. Man throughout the ages has increased his feeling of power by "putting down" other men and groups of men, often of a different race. Now that blatant racial prejudice is no longer socially approved, the same deep-seated need to feel superior to some other groups has led to an irrational hostility towards "welfare bums".

If in fact a large sector of the unemployed are "lazy ne'er-do-wells", any scheme to assist them into employment is doomed to failure. But mounting evidence reveals that the vast majority of those on welfare would prefer to work. This is the opinion of U.S. business-leaders who have been active in finding jobs for the unemployed. (3) The Economic Council of Canada, on the basis of evidence available to it, concluded that voluntary unemployment is not a significant factor in our society. The relation between numbers of persons unemployed and numbers dependent on social assistance dramatically illustrates how welfare rolls increase with a downturn in the economy. (4)

Further evidence is provided by a review of programs which have been successful in placing the "hard-core unemployed."

1. The Boeing aircraft plant in Seattle is employing 350 hard-core unemployed yearly. Over 86 per cent of those who enrolled in this federally-supported program were still employed after one year - A HIGHER RETENTION RATE THAN FOR THOSE HIRED FROM THE GENERAL LABOUR MARKET. Over half of those enrolled were women with children who had been receiving social assistance; others were men with as little as Grade III education. The factors responsible for this high success rate are:

- a) Full pay (\$2.87 an hour) commencing from the first hour of enrolment.
 - b) The possibility of upward mobility. These are not "dead-end" jobs - in fact such jobs are expressly excluded in the terms of the federal contract.
 - c) The training consists of both remedial teaching and skills training but both are job-related. Some trainees have improved their reading by three grade levels in the twelve week course.
 - d) Concrete and persistent supportive services are available to facilitate the transition period. Buses round up the employees and take them to and from work. Making a second trip in the morning, they rouse and deliver those who were not ready the first time round. The results have been close to 100 per cent attendance. Licensed day care homes are essential to the system. A major break-through came when Boeing secured a list of the available day care homes and commenced arranging placement directly rather than through the established agency.
 - e) A counsellor, trained specially for this job, is assigned each employee from the first day, to assist with problems as they arise, including management relations. Some counsellors drop in to the trainees' neighbourhood at night to establish a more personal contact and get feedback on problems which the employees may be reluctant to discuss while on the job. Many of the counsellors are highly dedicated; there is open communication between employer and employee.⁽⁵⁾
2. The Alberta Department of Social Development in the summer of 1969 initiated an Employment Opportunities Program for persons receiving welfare benefits. In this program, a group of persons receiving welfare was randomly split into experimental and control groups, the former receiving intensive help in obtaining employment, including supporting services. Although it is too early to assess the retention rate, the initial results are striking: 47.1 per cent of the experimental group were placed in jobs, and 13.7 per cent entered training programs, compared to 9.7 percent and 1.3 per cent respectively in the control group.

The most striking fact in this experiment is that the elements which proved of importance were the same as in the Boeing program: definite financial benefits to those enrolling in the program, high employer interest, dedicated counsellors and access to day care and transportation services.

Analysis of these programs, particularly the Boeing experiment, is of vital importance because it stands out like a beacon amongst a host of costly failures and semi-failures.

While programs such as those operating at Boeing Aircraft are expensive when compared with our present programs, they must be considered in the context of i) their effectiveness; and ii) the staggering cost, noted earlier, of a chronically dependent family through its lifetime. In addition, the evidence that children of such families tend to adopt similar life styles, suggests that the problem and the costs do not end with the primary family. Hence, such programs must be considered as a rewarding investment in human resources.

Implications for Canada Manpower

What are the implications of the above review for the Department of Canada Manpower? A DRASTIC RE-ORIENTATION IS REQUIRED: THE UNEMPLOYED AND UNDEREMPLOYED MUST BECOME THE FOCUS OF THEIR CONCERN. Manpower's central concerns must change from an emphasis on filling slots in the economy to the maximum utilization of human resources. Manpower resources are human resources; their primary client is the employee, not the employer.

Does this change in orientation transform the Department into a welfare agency, a fear which has been expressed by their senior officials? Exactly the opposite is true. At present the strong emphasis on counselling is more related to the role of welfare agencies than would be a practical program of job training and placement. This is not to belie the need of many for counselling services (especially in providing resources such as day care, housing, etc.), in addition to training or placement. The primary role of Manpower must be to supply training and placement opportunities for those requiring employment.

To adopt this role, several specifics are mandatory:

1. A thorough analysis of the pool of unused human resources. The complete registration of those requiring income maintenance, suggested in the previous chapter, would supply the material for such analysis.
2. Long-range projection of manpower requirements for the future. Although this is a function of Manpower at the present time, much more sophisticated techniques must be brought into play and the information made public in order to influence the vocational choice of the future labour force.
3. Design of training programs to match human resources with projected employment opportunities.

4. An aggressive program to sell the finished product. Manpower must here compete with private employment agencies - but it has the advantage of being a free service for the employer. In addition it could provide funds (with a change of present national policy) for on-the-job training programs which wed the applicant to the job during the training period.

All of these functions are at present being carried on to some degree by Canada Manpower. There is much room for improvement within the limitations of their legislative powers; but these limitations must be recognized, and both the public and politicians made aware of them. Basic to the dilemma of Canada Manpower is the fact that it does not have the capability of creating jobs. A vigorous and intensive campaign to find jobs for the chronic unemployed would do little more than shift poverty rather than reduce it - unless it is integrated with a vigorous policy of job development.

The Regional Development Incentives Act, passed in June 1969, is a move designed to increase the aggregate demand for labour. Many incentives are offered to industries to locate in "slow growth areas", i.e. those with a marked incidence of poverty. Incentives include 20 per cent of capital costs for modernizing a plant or expanding its production; 25 per cent of capital costs for a new plant; up to \$5,000 for each new job created.

Canada Manpower must be firmly "locked-in" to these federal and provincial plans for regional economic expansion, and commence now to train the unemployed for the jobs which will be created. But perhaps we need a further refinement of this concept. Why should it be limited by the fact of geographic location? It is possible that the total population in a "slow growth area" may be less than the number of unemployed in Vancouver. Moreover, a regional focus encourages industry, in order to obtain these concessions, to locate in areas which may not be the most economically feasible. THE PRINCIPLE OF ENCOURAGING INDUSTRIAL EXPANSION THROUGH TAX CONCESSIONS AND OTHER FISCAL MEASURES IS VALID; BUT THE POLICY SHOULD BE DESIGNED AROUND PEOPLE, NOT PLACES. The starting point of policy should be an analysis of the pool of unused human resources; and special tax concessions should be given to those industries which can provide employment opportunities to match the supply of potential employees. Government hiring policy must also focus on this group.

Some Concluding Observations

It is abundantly clear that the under-utilization of human resources in Canada at the present time results in a tremendous loss to the Canadian economy and its citizens - between two and four billion

dollars annually is the estimate of the Canadian Economic Council. At the same time, the people whose talents and energies are not being used suffer the many ills created by poverty. Several major economic factors must be taken into consideration in attempts to remedy the situation.

The extent of poverty and the lack of employment opportunities are related to society's inability to simultaneously meet four basic economic goals: full employment, a high rate of economic growth, reasonable price stability, and an equitable distribution of rising incomes.

A satisfactory high rate of employment is brought about primarily through fiscal and monetary policies; changes in the tempo of economic activity are controlled through changes in government expenditure, taxation and interest rates. As full employment is approached, governments must be concerned with the delicate trade-off between increased economic activity and price stability. In the preceding decade, because of a growing affluence, our preoccupation has shifted from the problems of economic growth to redistribution of abundance. In the last few years, we have enjoyed a relatively low rate of unemployment, and inflation has replaced unemployment as the chief ill to which our economy is prone. In our attempts to control inflation, we have reverted to the traditional techniques of reducing aggregate demand by creating unemployment. Is this the only technique possible?

One of the factors that contributes to inflation as an economy approaches full employment is the fact that the supply of labour does not provide the proper mixture of skills and experience to meet demand. This in return results in "bottlenecks", where particular skills are in short supply; employers then bid up the price for labour. Wage increases in any one sector tend to be telegraphed through the whole labour force, and an inflationary spiral is created.

Anticipating the demand for labour, and training the unemployed appropriately, can therefore reduce the pressure upon prices of increased economic activity. In addition, this strategy would reduce the tremendous loss to the Canadian economy and its citizens now caused by under-utilization of our human resources.

So complex are the factors involved in gauging the trade-off between unemployment and inflation that to predict the exact effect of any economy or fiscal policy is hazardous at best. This is why it is imperative to reform our present programs of income maintenance, and job placement and job development. For to enact fiscal policies which push a man out of a job and into poverty can only be considered a monstrous social injustice.

FOOTNOTESCHAPTER I

1. United Community Services of Greater Vancouver, The Area Development Project, Research Monographs III, Sept. 1969, "Family Functioning in Multi-Problem Families", pp. 60-82A.
2. Willard C. Richan, "The Two Kinds of Social Service in Public Welfare", Public Welfare, October 1969, p. 308.
3. This represents the most conservative estimate of poverty levels suggested by the Canadian Economic Council, i.e. individuals or families who spend 70% or more of their income for food, clothing and shelter. The levels are: single \$1500, two \$2500, three \$3000, four \$3500. These figures take no account of the higher cost of living in British Columbia and are hence below the adequacy level here. Yet despite this, 22% of the residents of this province have incomes below the poverty levels given above.

CHAPTER II

1. A discussion of alternative methods of reallocating benefits is given in Appendix C.
2. Department of National Health and Welfare, Quarterly Statistical Bulletin, June 1969.
3. For detailed analysis of these problems see Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Unemployment Insurance Act, November 1962.

CHAPTER III

1. The national office of Canada Manpower in its Brief to the Senate Committee on Poverty in June 1969, refers to:
"A poverty-line analysis of the income levels of O.T.A. trainees before training indicates that the program very significantly benefits the poor. The proportion of poor persons among O.T.A. clients is slightly more than twice as high as that for the population at large."
The B.C. Pacific Region Office has no record of this poverty-line analysis. In view of the table cited earlier, it is not possible to translate these percentages to the Pacific Region.
2. United Community Services of Greater Vancouver, Social Trends in British Columbia, December 1968, p. 31.
3. U.S. Department of Justice, Community Relations Service, Putting the Hard-Core Unemployed into Jobs, Part I: Conference Summary.

4. Social Trends in British Columbia, loc. cit.
5. For a detailed and up-to-date analysis of programs for placing the hard-core unemployed, including the Boeing program, see Leonard Nadler, "Helping the Hard-Core Adjust to the World of Work", Harvard Business Review, March-April 1970, pp. 117 - 126.

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14. Seattle Opportunities Industrialization Center, Pre-Vocational Technical Training "OIC" Demonstration Project, Progress Report, March 1, 1969 - April 30, 1969.
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19. U.S. Department of Labor, Job Redesign for Older Workers - Ten Case Studies, Bulletin No. 1523.

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SOME REGULATIONS SET UP BY THE NEW JERSEY EXPERIMENT
IN GUARANTEED INCOME

- 1) Income received by all members of the family unit must be included in the income calculation. (Head and his wife, any child or step child or descendant of any child or step child if such a person is living with the head or derives more than half his support from the head. In addition, any other person who both lives with and derives more than half his support from the head is included.)
- 2) Items added to the definition of current taxable income for the experiment represent a substantial modification of the definition of income used in the positive tax system. The New Jersey concept of income includes:
 - a) any pension or annuity
 - b) all prizes and awards
 - c) all life insurance proceeds over \$1,000
 - d) gifts, support payments and inheritances over \$100 from persons outside the family unit
 - e) all interest on governmental obligations
 - f) damages, insurance payments or workmen's compensation due to injury or sickness including wages or income continuation
 - g) all dividends
 - h) fellowships or scholarships, including value of room and board supplied without charge, to the extent that such stipend exceeds the cost of tuition, fees, and books
 - i) income from trusts and estates
 - j) gross rental value of owner-occupied housing or other quarters occupied rent free
 - k) capital gains counted in full as income, and losses to be deducted to the extent of gains received during the period of the experiment
 - l) payments received from
 - i unemployment compensation
 - ii strike or supplementary unemployment benefits
 - iii Social Security benefits
 - iv veterans disability benefits
 - v training stipends

APPENDIX A

3. Specific Exclusions are the following benefits and others for which the size of the benefit is based on demonstrated need:

- a) Aid to the Permanently and Totally Disabled
- b) Old Age Assistance
- c) Aid to the Blind
- d) Aid to Families with Dependent Children
- e) General Assistance

4. Deductions are limited to the following:

- a) Businessmen and independent contractors may deduct costs of earning income except, if the net income so derives is below the New Jersey minimum wage, that wage rate will be imputed to them.
- b) Mortgage interest and real property taxes may be deducted in full in computing income from owner-occupied housing.
- c) Alimony or court-ordered support payments to persons outside the tax unit may be deducted.
- d) Finally, full credit (reimbursement) will be allowed for all federal income taxes paid or withheld, and reductions in benefits will be made to offset any tax refunds received. Thus the recipient's unit will be insulated from the regular tax system until its income reaches the level at which the unit will fare better under the positive tax system.

5. Income will be averaged over the preceding 3 four-week periods for determining the level of payment in the current four-week period - an automatic estimation device which could be superseded by a declaration showing cause for adjustment of the estimate. At the end of each year of participation, total benefits paid will be compared with the benefits properly claimable on the basis of actual income experience and any difference will be paid to or recovered from the unit (normally by adjustment of current and future benefits).

This scheme requires four-weekly income reports by the family unit and allows for the possibility of under- or over-payment to accumulate for an "April 15th" type of final reckoning. Not only does this system enable the benefit to respond relatively quickly to changes in income, it also causes the force of the effective marginal tax on earnings to be felt without much delay.

APPENDIX BSELECTED LIST OF FEDERAL-PROVINCIAL ASSISTANCE
PROGRAMS

	<u>Federal Government Department Responsible:</u>
A. Prairie Farm Assistance Program	Agriculture
B. Civilian War Pensions and Allowances Act	Can. Pen. Comm.
C. Pensions Act	Can. Pen. Comm.
D. Veterans' Assistance Fund	Vet. Affairs
E. Govt. Employees Compensation Act	Labour
F. Merchant Seaman Compensation Act	Labour
G. Industrial Pension and Annuities Plan	Labour
H. Adult Occupational Training Program	Manpower & Imm.
I. Financial Assistance for Vocational Trainees	
J. Social Assistance Plan	Ind. Nor. Affairs
K. Canada Assistance Plan	Ind. Nor. Affairs
L. Unemployment Assistance	Nat. H. & Welfare
M. Old Age Assistance	Nat. H. & Welfare
N. Blind Persons Allowance	Nat. H. & Welfare
O. Disabled Persons Allowance	Nat. H. & Welfare
P. Family Allowances	Nat. H. & Welfare
Q. Family Assistance	Nat. H. & Welfare
R. Youth Allowances	Nat. H. & Welfare
S. Canada Pension Plan	Nat. H. & Welfare
T. Old Age Security	Nat. Revenue
U. Guaranteed Income Supplement	Nat. H. & Welfare
V. Unemployment Insurance	Nat. H. & Welfare
W. War Veterans Allowance Act	U. Ins. Comm.
X. Student Aid Program	War V.A. Board
Y. Fed.-Provincial Public Housing Project	Manpower & Imm.
Z. Loans and Subsidies for Public Housing	C.M.H. Corp.
AA . Loans to Limited Dividend and non-profit Housing Co.	C.M.H. Corp.
BB . Loans for Existing Homes in Urban Renewal Areas	C.M.H. Corp.
CC . Urban Renewal	C.M.H. Corp.
DD . Public Health Research Grants	Nat. H. & Welfare
EE . Northern Indian Housing	Ind. Nor. Affairs
FF . Eskimo Rental Housing	Ind. Nor. Affairs
GG . Eskimo Resale Housing	Ind. Nor. Affairs
HH . Territorial Low Cost Housing	Ind. Nor. Affairs
II . Rural Development Staff & Training Services	
JJ . Domestic Volunteer Program C.Y.C.	Reg. Ec. Exp.
KK . Trust and Annuities - Indians	Co. of Young Cdns.
	Ind. Nor. Affairs

APPENDIX B

LL. Revolving Fund Load	Ind. Nor. Affairs
MM. Community Development Fund	Ind. Nor. Affairs
NN. Child and Maternal Health	Nat. H. & Welfare
OO. Capital Assistance Program - Schools and Equipment	Manpower & Imm.
PP. National Welfare Grants	Nat. H. & Welfare
QQ. Adult Education - NWT	Ind. Nor. Affairs
RR. Vocational Training Programs - Fishermen	Fisheries
SS. Employment and Relocation	Manpower & Imm.
TT. Manpower Mobility Program	Manpower & Imm.
UU. Canada Newstart Program	Manpower & Imm.
VV. Area Development Incentive Program - ADA	Dept. of Industry
WW. Older Workers Program	Manpower & Imm.
XX. ARDA	Reg. Ec. Exp.
YY. FRED	Reg. Ec. Exp.

APPENDIX CPOSSIBLE METHODS OF REDISTRIBUTING FAMILY
ALLOWANCES

(Note: The following figures are crude estimates and are presented for the purpose of example only)

There are two major ways of redistributing Family and Youth Allowances. The first is to take the total amount presently being spent on these allowances and to reallocate it without exceeding the total expenditure. The second is to increase the total expenditure by adding funds where needed or desired. While the former is probably more palatable to the tax paying public because it means no increase in present costs, the latter is not entirely unjustified since Family Allowances have not kept up with increases in the cost of living.

To illustrate this particular point, when Family Allowances were first issued in 1945, the rates were:

<u>Group</u>	<u>Age Group Covered</u>	<u>Rate</u>
A	0 - 4+ years (1)	\$5.00
B	5 - 9+ years (1)	\$6.00
C	10 - 12+ years (1)	\$7.00
D	13 - 15+ years	\$8.00

In 1957, Groups A and B, and C and D above were combined and the rate schedules for groups B and D were applied. Thus a rate of \$6.00 for children 0 - 9 years, and \$8.00 for 10 - 15 year olds was instituted.

The cost of living, as measured by the Consumer Price Index, increased 49% between 1949 and 1967. If Family and Youth Allowances had kept up with that rate of change, in 1967 they would have been as follows:

<u>Age Group</u>	<u>Rate/Month 1967</u>	<u>Rate/Month</u> (If consistent with C.P.I.)
0 - 9+ years	\$6.00	\$8.94
10 - 15+ years	\$8.00	\$11.92
16 - 17+ years	\$10.00	\$10.73 (2)

In order to redistribute Family and Youth Allowances, it is first necessary to establish income groups and to determine how many children receive allowances within each group. Dominion Bureau Statistics figures (3) were used to determine the number of

APPENDIX C

children, aged 0 - 18 years (only children going to school for ages 15 - 18 years), who were in specified income groups.

These figures were converted into percentages for each income group and applied to the number of children receiving Family and Youth Allowances and to the total expenditure in 1967. (4)
From this information the following table was devised:

Family and Youth Allowances in B.C., 1967

<u>Income Group</u>	<u>% of Children</u>	<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>Amount Received</u>
A) under \$2,000	8	52,779	\$ 4,374,803
B) \$2,000 - \$2,999	8	52,779	\$ 4,374,803
C) \$3,000 - \$3,999	19	125,349	\$10,390,155
D) \$4,000 - \$4,999	26	171,531	\$14,218,107
E) \$5,000 - \$5,999	18	118,752	\$ 9,843,306'
F) \$6,000 - \$6,999	10	69,973	\$ 5,468,503
G) \$7,000 - \$9,999	8	52,779	\$ 4,374,803
H) \$10,000 +	3	19,792	\$ 1,640,551
TOTALS	100%	659,734	\$54,685,031

By assuming that all families have two children⁽⁵⁾, a poverty line⁽⁶⁾ can be drawn under Income Group C (\$3,000 - \$3,999). This represents approximately one-third of all children receiving Family and Youth Allowances. By removing the amount paid to income groups F, G & H and by applying that money to income levels A, B & C, the effects in Family Allowances that would occur are as shown in the diagram overleaf. Note that the dotted lines represent the recipient income groups when Family and Youth Allowances are redistributed from one or more higher income groups.

Examples: In Plan 1 Family Allowances paid to income group H are taxed back at 100% and distributed to group A resulting in a new gross average monthly allowance of \$9.50 per child. In Plan 8 the allowances to those families with annual incomes over \$6,000 (groups F, G & H) are taxed back at 100% and redistributed to those families with annual incomes below \$3,000 (Groups A & B). This results in a gross average monthly allowance of nearly \$16.00 per child for the lower income groups. Those families with incomes between \$3,000 and \$6,000 would receive allowances on a diminishing scale as their income rose to the \$6,000 level. (Note: in the above examples the present tax on allowances to the higher income groups has not been taken into consideration.

REDISTRIBUTION SCHEME

PLAN		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
LOW	A	\$9.50			16.40			25.04		
	B		8.20	7.50		11.65			15.97	
	C						9.08			11.05
	D									
Income Group	E									
	F									
	G									
	H									
HIGH										

Note: Present monthly average for all income groups is \$6.91 per child.

A second way of redistributing Family and Youth Allowances is to apply a weighting scheme to each income bracket in such a way that those in most need will receive a greater Family and Youth Allowance than those with less need. For example, if the average monthly Family Allowance per child was "x", one might wish to give Income Group A "2x", Income Group B "1.5x" and Income Group C "1.25x". In order to do this without increasing total expenditure, one would have to reduce the funds that other income groups, such as F, G, and H, received. If it is seen as desirable not to eliminate any income group from receiving a Family and Youth Allowance, then it is essential that weights be assigned so that benefit is given where needed but that allowances are not reduced in the upper income groups to the extent that the administrative cost exceeds the Family Allowance to be received.

APPENDIX C

The second major method of increasing Family and Youth Allowances is to increase the total expenditure. This would not seem to be as acceptable as the redistribution plan, simply because it would probably mean an increase in overall taxes for everyone, including those who were to be assisted by increased Family Allowances. An example of doubling and tripling the allowances is shown below.

Effect of Doubling and Tripling Family Allowances

<u>Income Groups</u>	<u>Net Amount</u>	<u>Increase in Cost</u>	<u>Average/child/ month</u>
<u>Effect of Doubling Allowances:</u>			
A	\$ 8,749,609	\$ 4,374,803	\$13.81
A & B	17,499,212	8,749,806	13.81
A, B & C	38,279,522	19,139,761	13.81
<u>Effect of Tripling Allowances:</u>			
A	13,124,412	8,749,609	20.72
A & B	26,248,818	17,499,212	20.72
A, B & C	57,419,283	38,279,522	20.72

FOOTNOTES TO APPENDIX C

1. Children would move into the next category one month after their 5th, 10th and 13th birthdays respectively.
2. This is the Youth Allowance, first issued in 1965 to children 16 - 17 years, provided they are engaged in full-time educational training, barring only physical or mental handicaps which would prohibit this.
3. Census of Canada, 1961, vol. 2.1 - 10, table 88.
4. Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Canada Year Book 1968, pp. 331-2.
5. D.B.S. breakdown of children into various age groups could not be correlated to the number of children per family. Furthermore, the figures at our disposal did not correspond to children's age when they received an increase in Family Allowance. With these limited data it was not possible to calculate the precise percentage of children receiving \$6, \$8, or \$10 per month.
6. National Economic Council figures establish poverty line for family of four persons at \$3,500. See United Community Services for Greater Vancouver, Social Trends in British Columbia, p. 26, and references therein.

APPENDIX DSEPARATION OF INCOME MAINTENANCE FROM SOCIAL
SERVICES

There is widespread conviction that separation of financial aid from social service is a crucial part of improving the welfare system. This step is recommended by the Technical Assistance Program of the American Public Welfare Association. They also recommend the related concept of a simple declaration of need to replace the present case investigation.

The rationale for this change is clear. To have financial aid offered on the bases of a "case assessment" is to infer strongly that there is something wrong with the applicant or he would not require money.

Certainly both functions must be integrated within the same Department, but it is becoming clear that they should be performed by different workers.

"The principle that the same public assistance case-worker should do everything related to his client's need died hard. On the surface it makes supreme sense for one person to integrate all help to the recipient. But several things have become clear in recent years. The first is that, given the pressures and expectations of public assistance programs, the more punitive functions tend to drive out the more humane, in a kind of Gresham's Law of welfare. Both official demands and unofficial pressures have made the policing and investigating activities the central ones. In the early 1960s, we saw training and workload reduction as the solution to this problem. But experience has demonstrated that the trained worker with 60 families tends to act like the untrained worker with 160 if nothing else changes." (1)

In separating these functions, it is important that the "financial aid" worker not only have a high level of knowledge of the resources of the department, but also training in interviewing techniques. This is not a clerical position - the impression the applicant gains of the agency during this interview determines whether or not he will make use of the services provided by the department. But at the same time the financial aid worker should not be a professional case-worker whose orientation is towards personal counselling. With such training he will have difficulty restricting himself to establishing financial eligibility.

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1. Willard C. Richan, "The Two Kinds of Social Service in Public Welfare", Public Welfare, October 1969, pp. 309-10.

OPEN-LINE RADIO PROGRAM - DECEMBER 2, 1969,RE CANADA MANPOWER

The following comments are based on detailed notes recorded by a member of the research staff and verified by a volunteer of the Social Policy & Research Committee who also audited the full program.

The opinions expressed by those who called in cannot be considered as representative of the general public, but they illustrate types of expectation and reactions of those using the services of Canada Manpower.

General Statements of Manpower Representatives: (guests on program)

- Retraining is not a right; "you must be assessed as to what you can do for the economy of the country".
- The Manpower counsellor has a responsibility to the labour market; he has no responsibility to you. (the person seeking employment)
- We are an economically-based program, not a welfare program.
- Less than one out of ten applicants for retraining is accepted.
- If you don't get good service (from Manpower), it is quite probably because you aren't certain about what you want to do ... "you don't have definite goals".
- Manpower has some aptitude tests but no vocational counselling in depth. You should go to the B.C. Vocational Counselling Agency.

Phone In

- 1) Telephone operator - couldn't find job, wanted to get into other employment - "I was bounced from one person to another, there were about 35 counsellors sitting around. After four weeks the counsellor phoned and said they had no work for telephone operators. I told them that at the beginning."

Response: We know only about the jobs that employers ask us to fill. Manpower is a place for people to go if they don't want to find jobs themselves.

- 2) Woman of 40, recently widowed, two children - "After my first visit to Manpower I felt like jumping off the tallest bridge." Used to be in a responsible position which required long hours - wanted to have a job with regular hours because of children, e.g. receptionist.
Told by counsellor that there was "no chance at all" because she had not completed her Grade XII.
- 3) Man, age 38, whose job was coming to an end. Grade 11 education,

APPENDIX E

3) cont'd

had welding certificate, not able to practise this trade for health reasons. Kept popping into Manpower. Found out (independently) about retraining. (Friend was retraining as a janitor) Told by counsellor that at his age this was not possible.

Response: Counsellor has a responsibility to the labour market, he has no responsibility to you.

Man: Then how about making me into a saleable product for the market?

Response: Perhaps it's that you don't really know what you want to do Suggest you go to B.C. Vocational Counselling Service. (private agency)

(Man now happily employed as a guard at Oakalla, found it on his own).

4) Woman, two sons 18 and 19.

a) One son took a pre-apprentice course in painting, paid for by Manpower. Was one of four out of twenty to complete the course. Went to Manpower, told no jobs available. Later found out he had to have approval from union; went back and told counsellor who confirmed that this was so. Still has no job.

Response: You are supposed to know what to do; you should have looked into it.

b) Second son went to Manpower - was referred to two job possibilities in one day; obviously had to turn one down. The other (photographer's assistant) lasted two months. Went back to Manpower. They wouldn't send him out to another job, because his records showed he had turned one down. (the one noted above)

5) Man, unemployed 3 months

When you go to Manpower their attitude is hostility and snobbishness. You have to go from officer to officer, from clerk to clerk; I am listed in three different places.

Response: If you need a job in a hurry, Canada Manpower is not the place to go.

6) Man, foreign accent, age 36. Wanted training as a carpenter. Had two years university and a specialized trade; had been to forty places on his own. Told he was over-educated for carpentry, too old for it, and there were already 300 carpenters unemployed.

"They gave me absolutely nothing - not even hope".

Interviewer's question: Could Manpower not assign him a counsellor to help him find a job?

Response: We could if we had the staff.

APPENDIX E

- 7) Woman, age 50, former office worker coming back into labour market wanted upgrading to learn to use new business equipment. Told by counsellor, no chance of retraining, too old.
Response: Age is a factor that moves with the demands of the market. Right now it's a buyers' market. (Later: many older people are simply not capable of academic upgrading).
- 8) Man: Trouble with Manpower is that it is a brainchild of Tom Kent; he brought in intelligentsia. Counsellors are more concerned with getting things down on paper than getting out and finding jobs for people.
Response: Every bureaucracy is overwhelmed with paper work.
- 9) Young Man, B.A.: Asked if he could not get Manpower help in getting a year of Teachers Training.
Response: Under B.N.A. Act, academic training is sole responsibility of the provinces - referred caller to Student Loans.
10. Woman, 50, formerly worked in rehabilitation. Wanted job or re-training, would go anywhere in province.
 Manpower no help, told her there were no openings on the provincial lists.
- 11) Discussion of Manpower role in working with a major forestry industry that was curtailing operation. Placed 90% of employees without interim period of unemployment.
Interviewer: You mean there was almost no dislocation of people?
Response: Yes, and no dislocation of the Canadian economy.
- 12) Partially blind person, classified by Manpower as "disadvantaged" and hates the name - "I have a B.A., I have some dignity and some worth." Went to Manpower, told by counsellor he should find out what he wanted to do; took aptitude tests at a private agency, was advised to go into social work or theology. Went back to Manpower; 6 weeks later had heard nothing.
Response: Counsellor may be checking employment opportunities. Previously trained a blind person in social work after agencies showed interest, but he could not find a job. Referred caller to B.C. Vocational Division for Rehabilitation.
 Caller resisted suggestion - "They set it up as a help, but it's really a handicap - should let us try the regular system and see if we can hack it."
- 13) Woman taking Grade X equivalent through Manpower as a first step towards becoming an X-ray technician. Cannot get assurance of seat in Grade XII equivalent program, even though she has "B" average grades and recommendation from her teachers. Counsellor won't give her a decision till she finishes present course - if she misses a seat says she can go back on welfare again. "They are discouraging, not encouraging." Women in same course from out of town have been guaranteed seats.

APPENDIX E

13) cont'd

Response: Manpower policy is definitely not to decide on next course till first one is completed.

14) Young Man - 90% of the problem with Manpower is their arrogant attitude - They forget they are servants, not masters. He got nowhere until he wrote to the Prime Minister, and the Minister of Labour wrote to the Regional Office. Now is getting "top notch service".

15) Man, age 49 - questioned what qualifications counsellors have to have. Was told by his counsellor, young man of about 24, that there were no jobs listed that he could qualify for - "go and look on your own".

16) Man, 58, very pleased with his experience with Manpower. Interviewed by young counsellor - "she was almost like a psychiatrist". Three months later she phoned to say he would have to take a drop in pay (he had been earning \$148 a week). "I should have told her I was willing to." No job yet, but he is confident she is doing her best to find one.

17) Woman phoned to say her son, age 22, has been out of a job since January. Has Grade XII, worked for a collection agency for several months but found it extremely distasteful. After last interview at Manpower felt completely worthless, wanted to jump off bridge. Acknowledged part of problem was in his own personality - he does not sell himself and cannot lie about his qualifications.

18) Salesman, cannot get help from Manpower to finish his grade XII, which he needs to get into a more productive job which is available to him.

Response: BNA Act does not permit federal government to provide academic courses.

Salesman: Then how is it that Manpower is paying for training insurance men in a course at UBC? How is the country going to get any return out of that? Why should they be able to get it and not me?

Response: He qualifies as a small business and we can pay for upgrading his skills to make him more efficient in employee relations, etc. ... "It's the law, we don't make the law. Our mandate is not to the individual, it's to the economy."



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA
PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE
ON
POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 34

THURSDAY, APRIL 23, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada: Mr. D. L. Michael, General Counsel; Professor H. Ward Hill, Chairman, Department of Religion, Kingsway College; Mr. Walter James Low, Social Worker.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief submitted by The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle,	Hastings,
Carter,	Inman,
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>),	Lefrançois,
Cook,	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>),
Croll,	McGrand,
Eudes,	Pearson,
Everett,	Quart,
Fergusson,	Roebuck,
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> ,	Sparrow.
<i>Deputy Chairman</i>),	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural, regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject during the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—

Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senator's serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

THURSDAY, April 23, 1970

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10.00 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators Croll (*Chairman*), Carter, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand and Pearson.—(9)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST CHURCH IN CANADA:

Mr. D. L. Michael, General Counsel;

Professor H. Ward Hill, Chairman, Department of Religion, Kingsway College;

Mr. Walter James Low, Social Worker.

(Biographical notes concerning the above witnesses immediately follow these Minutes.)

The brief prepared and presented by the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 12.20 p.m. the Committee adjourned until Tuesday, April 28, 1970, at 9.30 a.m.

Attest:

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

Michael, Darren L.: Mr. Michael was born of missionary parents in Simla, India, (Aug. 15, 1923). He received elementary education in India, and his high school and undergraduate education in the United States, with a Bachelor of Theology degree in 1946, from Atlantic Union College, (South Lancaster, Massachusetts). He also holds a Master of Arts degree from Andrews University.

Mr. Michael served as the minister of various parishes for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada, at St. Catharines, Niagara Falls, Welland, Kingston and Windsor. In 1952, he was appointed to the post of Executive Secretary for Public Affairs for the Church's National Executive Committee.

In 1961, Mr. Michael enrolled at Osgood Hall Law School, graduating in 1964, with an L.L.B. degree and was called to the Bar of Ontario in 1966. Since then, he has been practicing law as a member of the Toronto firm of Ricketts, Farley & Lowndes. He is also the General Counsel for the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada and continues to fill visiting pulpit supply assignments for the denomination on week-ends.

Mr. Michael is married to Marilyn Ruth West of Baltimore, Maryland. They have five children and one foster son, and make their home in Oshawa, Ontario.

H. Ward Hill: Chairman, Department of Religion, Kingsway College. Graduate student in sociology, York University. Twenty years of ministerial service, as pastor, hospital chaplain and teacher (seventeen of which have been in Canada).

Walter James Low: Born in Guyana, South America, to parents who were third generation residents of that country. Received my high school education and training in pharmacy there. Later attended a Seventh-Day Adventist College in Berrien Springs, Michigan, and afterwards taught at the high school level for approximately twelve years in Guyana and Trinidad. Immigrated with my wife and daughter to Canada in 1962 and taught here for two years before taking a Masters Degree in Social Work at the University of Toronto. Employed since 1966 as a social worker.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Thursday, April 23, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 10 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (*Chairman*) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, I call the meeting to order. This morning we have a brief presented by the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada. Sitting on my immediate right is D. L. Michael, who has been a minister of various parishes of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church. In 1961 he wrote his exams in Osgoode Hall and is now a lawyer as well.

On Mr. Michael's right is Professor Ward Hill, Chairman of the Department of Religion, Kingsway College. Professor Hill is a graduate of York University.

Walter James Low, who is sitting beside Professor Hill, has his masters degree from the University of Toronto and is with the Ontario Department of Welfare.

Mr. Michael, will you now start the discussion, please. Each of you can take a few minutes for opening remarks, after which we will open the meeting to questions.

Mr. D. L. Michael (*Pastor, Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada*): Thank you Mr. Chairman and members of the committee. The Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada does not profess to have any particular competence or expertise to put at your disposal, but such experience as we have had in this area and whatever observations or comments or views we have we certainly would want to make available to your committee, especially in connection with your very worthy undertaking.

It is true that probably of all types of organizations in the private sector the church very likely comes as close in its contact with the disadvantaged as any other organization in the private sector might. While there may be a tendency to say that the poor we shall always have with us, I do not think the attitude or view of the church is that they need always be poor or that they need always remain poor. We may always have the prob-

lem with us; it may not be capable of complete eradication without risk of recurrence, but, certainly, the view of the church is that this is a problem which must elicit its concern and its efforts at alleviation and, hopefully, elimination at least in so far as individuals are concerned.

The Seventh-Day Adventists are a minority Protestant denomination numbering around the world in the vicinity of two million members, but carrying on a very extensive program of medical and educational activities not confined alone to their members. This has given us an insight into this problem which, while it may not be as deep and penetrating in any one community as others in that community may be, nevertheless has given a certain overview and a certain perspective that we feel may lend some significance and some background to the observations and comments which may be made here today.

The two gentlemen on my right were primarily responsible for the substance of the brief. The section on general observations was prepared by Professor Hill, and the submission dealing with specific suggestions or items for the alleviation of poverty, its elimination or reduction, was prepared by Mr. Low, who is a member of the Ontario Department of Social and Family Services, Vocational Rehabilitation Branch, and is a graduate of the University of Toronto with a Master's Degree in Sociology.

I think I will ask Mr. Hill to deal with the general observations, the part he was responsible for, and perhaps summarize them. He may wish to suggest points which have been omitted at the time the brief was in preparation, and if he does, I am sure he will feel free to do so. Following that Mr. Low will make some comments on the specific submissions contained herein and perhaps some others that should be included.

Professor H. Ward Hill, York University, Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada: Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, perhaps you have at times noted that the Church is inclined to express a certain degree of apprehension at government intervention

into certain areas where personal freedom of decision is held to be paramount, and where citizens have been deprived of access to the style of life which we believe incorporates the minimum standards of goods and services. It is our feeling that government has not only a very legitimate right, but actually a mandate to intervene even in what we may call private affairs in this sector. We feel, and it is our very firm conviction, that the state is in the singular position, the unique position I might say, to make provision for the welfare of its citizens, because only the state has the institutional machinery that can co-ordinate all the individual and group energies in an attack on poverty. Granting the fact that the government has, as we feel, a very vital interest in this area, there may be those who would somehow sense that the result could be a type of government paternalism, and we believe that this might be prevented or this concept might be altered. As Erich Fromm has suggested, it can be overcome by a simultaneous drastic increase in democratic procedure in all spheres of social activities. In other words, we feel that there should be the maximum use of all of those autonomous self-help projects, but directed by government.

Now we also feel that there must be a maintenance of income at a level which will allow for adequate housing, for health care, clothing, food and all other basic needs. But we can see the element of truth in the fear that government hand-outs can foster dependency and lack of initiative on the part of some who remain indigent even in the face of work opportunities, but we feel that this must not cause us to lose sight of the fact that many of the poor are ambitious to have jobs, but they are unable to find appropriate work or to support their families due to inadequate wages.

Perhaps a major role of the Church, as we understand it, and this we have not enlarged on in the brief, is that it has a very definite responsibility to the non-poor, because in some way the conscience of the non-poor must be so awakened that they would be willing to incorporate the poor into the larger society. In other words, we believe that the Church should direct its energies towards helping the non-poor in this very crucial area, because in some way there has to be a redistribution of means and in some way those who have the means must be prepared to accept this fact. We feel that any attack on poverty must indeed involve a very large spectrum of interventions in every facet of

life. We feel that another vital role of the Church is this matter of social inclusion in that the poor must not be left to feel excluded from the mainstream of the community. It must not be such that they feel a sense of isolation. So, the Church by doing all that it can to include the poor, must direct attention to the fact that they must be included in the larger mainstream of society and must prepare those in the mainstream to accept this fact.

As I said, we feel this is a major role of the Church. We believe that there is at this time a very vast reservoir of public sentiment calling for the improvement of community life, and it is our very firm conviction that government would do well to channel this sentiment into specific areas worthy of support. It is in this area that my colleague will present some specific suggestions.

Mr. Walter James Low, Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada: Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, we have presented in this brief a few ideas that we believe would be helpful in alleviating poverty. We want to stress particularly that this is a question of alleviating rather than curing poverty, because poverty is such a complex thing with so many facets that we despair of ever finding a complete solution for it. The choices made, perhaps, have no particular priority, but we believe that the items suggested here are such that they will help in the fight to alleviate this problem of poverty. There are 13 suggestions made, of which I would like to mention just a few. One is the question of special education for the poor. It is well recognized that the majority of the poor, if not all of them, are people who have very little education—who may not in fact have completed elementary education. In our view, these people make up the bulk of the poor. Therefore it seems to us that in order to fight poverty, one of the major things that should be done—perhaps the first thing that should be done—is to try to raise the standard of education among these people so they can have at least a chance to compete with the rest of society.

Now, the question of establishing such education facilities is not on merely of setting up buildings and facilities. It seems to us that it involves something more than the normal school situation as we know it. It appears that we have to find some way of reaching these people and motivating them to want education. This seems to us to be the first thing. If

we look at the drop-out rate in school, the highest rate is among the poorer section, and this ties up with the lack of motivation. I do not think it necessarily indicates a lack of ability, but simply a lack of motivation. This may be due to many things, including, perhaps, the need of money for enough food so that they can be comfortable while in school, the need of clothing, the need of an approach by teachers to understand the particular circumstances of these people. So, it is not merely a case of putting up facilities and supplying bodies to fill these buildings. Therefore, we think that education is something that should be stressed very much in the fight against poverty.

One other item I would like to mention is this question of special workshops. I am working in the field of social work and, in particular, in the field of rehabilitation, and this brings me into contact with many people who are handicapped in one nature or another, whether it be physical or mental. It has been my experience that there are many people—and I can only speak for Ontario—who, because of some disability, are unable to go back into the normal work force, or those who have not been in the normal work force are unable to get into it. Therefore, it seems to me that we need workshops where people can work, perhaps not at a competitive rate of employment but at a lower rate, but at the same time can be able to earn enough to maintain their standard of living, which we all expect our fellow beings to have.

These workshops could be helpful, not only to people who are handicapped but to many people who for some reason or another cannot fit into the competitive labour market. Many people, for psychological reasons—they have a psychological handicap, perhaps—just seem to be unable to fit in, and because of this there are many people on public welfare.

Using an old figure here, back in 1963 it was estimated that there were over 57,365 employable persons who were in receipt of some form of welfare assistance. That is a tremendous number of people who are employable. Many of these people, for some reason or another, cannot compete in the labour market and they need some form of subsidized industry where they can be gainfully and usefully employed, such as is operated in Holland and many other parts of Europe, where the handicapped have a chance to feel useful and be productive in the economy as a whole.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, I turn to pages 7 and 8. At the bottom of page 7 you talk about self-help projects as a method of aiding the disadvantaged. Would you suggest, if there were such a thing as a guaranteed annual income, that it should be given to the working poor first, so as to increase the production and therefore increase the wealth of the community, rather than work the guaranteed annual income in with those who are already on welfare?

Professor Hill: I believe we share the feeling held in many quarters that there should indeed be some type of incentive as far as the guaranteed annual wage is concerned. This poses the tremendous problem as to how to do this.

We see the method of subsidizing a job opportunity as something that perhaps is closely related to the guaranteed wage, but not precisely that. I am inclined to think that we would feel that, wherever there can be an association between personal initiative work and the payment of funds by the government, this is advantageous. This we would try to do wherever possible.

Senator Pearson: You would prefer this money, that you use as part of the incentive, to come from government rather than from volunteer funds? Do you think it would be possible to create a fund outside of Government altogether?

Professor Hill: We perhaps would be a little skeptical as to whether this might be accomplished, if it could be done.

Senator Pearson: We had quite a discussion the other day on the change of attitude of the public. If that change of attitude was strong enough, do you think you could work on a voluntary basis there? This might take time.

Professor Hill: Yes. I think this is the area of education that is very vital here, but I think the sentiment at the present time questions the outright handout from Government in this regard. As to whether this would be better facilitated by a voluntary fund, as against an outright government subsidy, this might be questionable. I am not so sure that the basic objection is removed when the source of the fund is voluntary rather than government. It seems to me that the basic objection is that there is payment given without a return in work. This seems to me, at least personally, to be the basic objection.

Perhaps a system whereby you could have a combination of government funds, supplemented, to whatever extent it can be, by private funds—excellent. But I am not so sure that by simply saying it is a private fund this will allay any objection to the idea of guaranteed wage. I am not quite sure that is true.

Senator Pearson: The reason I am talking about the voluntary fund is that you talk about the change of attitude in the rich—that is, the non-poor—you do not say the “rich.” It is a straight question of taxation; you do not build up the change of attitude at all. All it is further taxation, and the Government gives the cheque. This is all right for the poor and the working poor, to receive this cheque and have no strings attached to it, and that is a very nice way of doing it, but you are not getting a change in the attitude of the non-poor.

Professor Hill: It would seem to me the real problem here is that the people who will be taxed must accept the fact that their funds will be diverted into this channel. I do not think we get at that basic problem by making the provision from voluntary means. We must sooner or later meet the fact that there has to be a dip into the tax fund; and whether or not a preliminary measure of first utilizing private funds as a means of reaching this goal is a route is a questionable proposition, because it seems to me that basically that is not going to solve the real problem. A person must come to the point where he is willing to part with his income. That is the area that he has to be educated on. He does not concern himself so much if the poor receive private funds, he needs no education for that; but he needs education in the area in which he must himself part with his own tax money to accomplish this goal.

Senator Pearson: There is one further question I want to ask, on the matter of housing. On page 16 you talk about adequate housing. What type of adequate housing do you consider is necessary for the poor and working poor?

Mr. Low: I am thinking in terms of minimum medical standards, health department standards. If you are considering the type of housing units, whether single housing units, row housing or apartment housing, that is very difficult.

Senator Pearson: You are just thinking from the sanitary point of view?

Mr. Low: Yes, from the sanitary point of view.

Senator Pearson: You are not thinking about individual housing, row housing or high-rise, or anything of that kind; you just consider adequate housing from a sanitary point of view?

Mr. Low: It is known from previous studies of urban renewals, et cetera, that the idea of building these high-rise apartments and herding people together in them has not really changed or altered the people in any way. Here again I think education has to come in first. I think that people should first be educated, and then put into houses which they can make use of. When you put them into nice new shiny homes without first teaching them how to respect and make use of those homes it is just a question of time before you get another slum area all over again.

Senator McGrand: May I ask a supplementary question? How do you proceed to educate these people in an understanding of their problems, before you move them into a nice shiny home?

Mr. Low: This is perhaps why we emphasize in the submission the question of family agencies. You can call them family service agencies, or whatever you like, but these people have to be reached through some social agency which can educate them or re-educate them in the keeping of homes and the training of children, et cetera.

Senator McGrand: But you have only touched the fringe. Would you get down to the core? Go ahead and describe in detail, or a little better than you have done so far, how it can be done.

Mr. Low: I think this would involve the movement of a whole army of workers into the communities of these poor, and involving them somehow or other, and getting them to become interested in better management of the home generally, the care of children, et cetera.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Michael, I wonder if I might explore the very worth-while work that your church is doing as indicated on page 5. First of all, you are representing the National Executive Committee of the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in Canada?

Mr. Michael: Yes, senator.

Senator Hastings: That is the governing body of the Seventy-day Adventist Church in Canada?

Mr. Michael: That is right.

Senator Hastings: Is each congregation autonomous?

Mr. Michael: The system of church government in the Seventh-day Adventist Church is, if you will allow me to use an ecclesiastical term, a presbyterial form of government. Churches in a given region form a conference of churches, and then in Canada these conferences—such as the Newfoundland, the Maritimes, the Ontario and Quebec, the Manitoba, Saskatchewan, Alberta, and British Columbia conferences—form the Seventh-day Adventist church in Canada. So, we have borrowed from the Presbyterians and Methodists in terms of church government in structure.

Senator Hastings: On page 5 you state that the church has established 1,258 service centres. How many of these are in Canada, and what are they? What is a service centre?

Mr. Michael: Well, we have tried to encourage local congregations in communities to establish facilities and services that would meet some of the needs of the disadvantaged people. In large metropolitan areas where there are large congregations they have buildings or space which they have rented in the down-town area that is adjacent to the low income residents with a view to providing not just food and clothing but also—of the more sophisticated centres I am thinking of the newest one in Calgary where there is a continuing program of health education, narcotic education, cooking and nutrition classes, home making, and the type of service which we feel fills the gaps between the recognized and accepted services that a municipality or other organizations render to people who are in need in a small community. This may be merely a room or two rooms in the basement of the church which are open on certain specified afternoons or evenings, where people who need food or clothing or other assistance can go and indicate what their need is, and if it is possible to meet it then we try to meet it.

Senator Hastings: Are these staffed by professionals or by members of the congregation?

Mr. Michael: No, by members of the congregation.

Senator Hastings: And all of these 1,258 service centres are in Canada?

Mr. Michael: I believe the figures we have used here are all Canadian statistics and figures. We have not incorporated our North American statistics.

Senator Hastings: Then you say that you have 300 medical centres. Are those all in Canada?

Mr. Michael: We have two hospitals, and there are a number of either clinics or medical centres. According to page 6, we have 300 of these, but they would not be confined exclusively to Canada. From my own experience in the church there are clinics that some doctors will operate. A group of doctors will get together and operate a clinic for people in the disadvantaged areas. I think the figure of 300 would be too many for Canada alone. The same applies with respect to the 700 nurses who were graduated last year.

Senator Hastings: You say that you operate two hospitals in Canada.

Mr. Michael: Yes.

Senator Hastings: Where are they?

Mr. Michael: One is outside Victoria in British Columbia, and the other is in North York...

The Chairman: What are they called?

Mr. Michael: The Rest Haven Hospital in Sidney, British Columbia, and the North York Branson Hospital in Metropolitan Toronto, with a bed capacity in excess of 500 and a school of nursing attached to it.

The Chairman: That is in the Branson Hospital?

Mr. Michael: Yes.

The Chairman: How many beds are there in the one at Sidney?

Mr. Michael: The one in Sidney has 600 beds, and authorization has been given by the British Columbia Government for the erection of a new 150-bed hospital in the same community, and we have been asked to operate that one.

Senator Hastings: You state that 100 doctors complete their medical training each year at Loma Linda University. First of all, where did those doctors go?

Mr. Michael: A few of them come to Canada and a good many stay in various parts of the United States, but over the years I would say that an average of 10 to 15 per cent have gone to serve and staff church hospitals and sanatoria overseas in underdeveloped countries.

Senator Hastings: From ten to 15 per cent undertake to serve overseas?

Mr. Michael: Yes. Some who stay initially after graduation may, after they have become established and met their obligations, then volunteer for service, but of the initial group of graduates about 10 or 15 per cent go immediately into some sort of service overseas.

Senator Hastings: Then, we have these 50 medical welfare mission boats. Do they operate in Canada?

Mr. Michael: Not the fifty. We have one in British Columbia on the west coast. The others would be primarily in South America—in Central and South America.

Senator Hastings: Going on to the educational aspect, of the 4,972 schools operated by your church how many are in Canada?

Mr. Michael: The schools in Canada are elementary, secondary, and there are two post-secondary schools that offer tuition beyond grade 13. I would say that the total in Canada would be over fifty. It varies from year to year, but it would be in the range of 50 to 60.

Senator Hastings: Are your hospitals self-supporting, or are they subsidized by the church?

Mr. Michael: Well, the two hospitals in Canada, of course, come under the hospital insurance plans—under the B.C.H.I.S. in British Columbia, and under the O.H.S.C. in Ontario. Most of the hospitals in the United States are self-supporting. Of course, their system of health care is not as advanced as ours, as some would say, and in some of the areas overseas the hospitals are heavily subsidized by the church—at least, that is true in respect of those in the underdeveloped countries.

Senator Hastings: Those are outside Canada?

Mr. Michael: Yes.

Senator Hastings: And does the same apply to the schools? Are they self-supporting?

Mr. Michael: No, I would not say that any of them are...

Senator Hastings: Are they subsidized by the church?

Mr. Michael: Yes.

Senator Hastings: What percentage of your total church revenue goes to the poor?

Mr. Michael: If you include in the term poor those in underdeveloped countries, I would say that very close to 20 or 25 per cent of revenues from all sources finds its way either overseas or here at home in terms of services supplied that definitely assist the disadvantaged people. We operate summer camps in Canada for young people. True, the church's young people get the benefit of these, but in the last ten years we have increasingly made efforts to open attendance at the camps to anyone of any race or creed. This has been so particularly for those in areas where they do not have access to that kind of facility. Schools, similarly, are not confined to children of church members. They are available to anyone who wishes to attend them. For many years the church in its system of education above the elementary level has tried to stress a program of work and study. Until I enrolled at Osgoode Hall all my education had been obtained in church-operated schools. From high school level up I worked and contributed towards my education. We try to operate light industries, which have a twofold purpose. They are not only for vocational training, but to teach students that even though they receive a diploma, the work which enabled them to obtain it was honourable and worth while. We try that way to inculcate a respect for manual labour as well as the intellectual development. This has enabled many young people who would not otherwise have been able to afford university education or anything beyond the secondary level, or even secondary education in those areas where it is not publicly provided, to gain an education, because they have been able to work their way through school.

Senator Hastings: The reason I am exploring this area with you is that in discussing this problem with the poor I have found a rejection, indeed a hostility towards the Christian church in its work with the poor. The attitude is that the Christian church has become part of the affluent society instead of

being with the poor. They reject you as they reject senators, because we are part of the establishment as it is. There is this underlying, or quite real and acute feeling of the poor that you have joined the money changers.

Mr. Michael: We feel this and are very conscious of it. In looking at our history in terms of denominational existence, we are not that old. We are over 100 years old, but as we become more institutionalized, with nice, big beautiful hospitals, schools, printing and publishing houses, beautiful church edifices and bigger administration offices, there is this great feeling that the church is becoming big business and perhaps is not as close to its original mission and purpose as it might have been in its early history. We are keenly aware and sensitive about this. There are members who help to keep our church officials quite aware of this. There are others who think we will render a better service with better facilities. We are going through that period of self examination and questioning, whether bigger hospitals, schools and churches with beautiful pipe organs actually meet the needs of people any better than if we just met in a very primitive, humble hall with a piano, not in tune at that.

Senator Hastings: I wonder whether Christ would regard 25 per cent of the income as adequate for the poor?

Mr. Michael: When I said 25 per cent, and I am guessing here, I am not counting, for instance, that portion of church funds that goes to pay the salaries of its own staff or of certain institutions such as our schools, colleges and universities. I would eliminate those. I am thinking of the money spent for youth camps and summer camps, clinics, dispensaries, welfare centres and community aid centres, more directly towards helping people in need and not, shall we say, the established institutions or structures of the church. I will not concede that the latter do nothing for people. However, their continued relevance may be open to question. I certainly agree with that.

Senator Carter: May we return to the line of questioning opened by Senator Pearson with respect to attitudes. Poverty is a national and stupendous problem. It cannot be solved or even alleviated without public support. To get that public support, as you point out in your brief, we must have a change of attitude in the public. You referred particu-

larly to a change or quickening of the conscience of what you termed the non-poor, but it is almost the same as changing the attitudes towards the poor. What impact is the church having in this? I presume you can speak for your own denomination, but I would like your ideas of the church generally. Is the church really having any impact on people's attitudes or on their consciences?

Mr. Michael: This is always hard to assess, senator. We can only take some illustrations or examples and see where people who otherwise were not concerned are now quite concerned. I sat in a board meeting where a doctor from Calgary who had a very flourishing, lucrative practice, along with some of his colleagues in the medical profession, have taken time to establish a centre in Calgary. They put their own money into it at this stage, having not received any money from the administrative levels of the church yet. This is one of the problems we face, to respond to these situations promptly and creatively. These are not men who are doing it because they need to for the sake of their income. They are doing it for the sake of the people in the area. In this centre there is a continuing program of year-round education, health education, courses on nutrition, diet and healthful living.

Senator Carter: How many people are involved in that one project?

Mr. Michael: From the reports given to us I would say there are probably 25 or 30 people in that particular congregation who are volunteering time and money.

Senator Carter: That is out of one congregation?

Mr. Michael: Yes. There are instances of people becoming concerned at a situation in the community. They have volunteered to do something and are doing it. This gives us some encouragement to believe that if people can be motivated and led to feel that they are doing something that is needed they will do it. The secret is to get them involved. It is physically doing it, not just pulling out the cheque book and writing a cheque for it. This way they give time and effort and something of themselves, apart from their bank account. We are finding that in surrounding congregations it is quite infectious. They want to get in on the act, they want to do something like this that will be helpful and useful, and we

are very heartened at how people respond in this respect.

I am not saying there is a great tidal wave of this sort of response; it is very isolated at this stage, but it does give us hope that if people can be approached, have the need pointed out and shown they can do something about it in practical terms, a lot of people still have enough of something in them that they respond.

Senator Carter: Do you agree that this sort of thing has to be speeded up?

Mr. Michael: Yes, I would not argue with that.

Senator Carter: What are you doing about speeding it up? What do you think should be done or can be done, not only in your own denomination but in others?

Mr. Michael: In this area I think probably sharing with others who are not getting involved the experience of those who have ventured and tried and done something certainly helps the telling. If you want one illustration of a practical means, many of these people, when it comes to their contribution of means—and we recognize that it takes more than money, it takes personal involvement, Churchill's blood, sweat and tears, and he never said anything about money in that famous speech, or about taxes, although I am sure it was implied that maybe some of the tears involved taxes; it was personal involvement and personal sacrifice—a lot of the people who are ready to help, particularly those in the affluent sector of church life, run into this problem, that 10 per cent is the limit they get any recognition of or assistance on from the government. Many of these people are giving much more than that and would appreciate a little help in that respect. This is something about which they have been disappointed in the White Paper on Taxation; that 10 per cent limit that has been there for decades; nobody feels any need to raise it, and yet we think this would help the private sector, and maybe reduce or remove some of the pressure for government always to step in and dispense the welfare programs.

Senator Carter: It would not help their motive, would it?

Mr. Michael: I think it might. Motives, you see, are mixed; they are not all altruistic. In attacking something like poverty, let us use every motive, that is at least legitimate if not

altogether morally the purest. Let us use every motive we can to get people involved in doing things.

Senator Carter: I was interested in your reply to Senator Hastings' question. If I could sum it up, what you were saying was that over the years there has been a gradual transfer of responsibility from the individual to the impersonal, from the personal to the impersonal, the children's responsibility for elderly parents being transferred more or less to the government. There was a time when the congregation accepted responsibility for the poor in their midst. That has now been considerably watered down. It is the same thing with the community. There was a time when there was family enterprise, when the enterprise itself accepted responsibility for their employees. Now the tendency is towards the impersonal corporation, which has no body to be kicked or soul to be damned.

Mr. Michael: Nor a heart.

Senator Carter: There is this general transition, and with it the transfer of responsibility. The social measures that we undertake to solve the social problems must of necessity accept responsibility, and by accepting responsibility you diminish the individual responsibility. I do not think that is a good thing. I do not believe it can be avoided, because if government accepts the responsibility somebody else gives it up. What is the church doing to offset the effect of that on individual character?

Mr. Michael: I think again the approach has many facets. In the training of young people in our schools there is a great deal of emphasis on self-reliance, on not looking for hand-outs, and not thinking, "Let the proverbial George or the government do it." It is increasingly difficult in a complex society, in a welfare state, to develop this element of self-reliance. I can appreciate your comment on the church having once been responsible for medical care, for assisting the needy, but what do you in our large metropolitan areas where not everybody belongs to the church, and the church may not represent everyone? How then could it extend its services, as it once did in the small agricultural economy, where it was the force in the community and everybody shared and participated in it, it was the vehicle for that ministry of assistance to those who needed it? These are the practical problems we face. We try to do it through our hospitals.

Senator Carter: It is the same spirit, though, is it not? Whatever denomination you belong to, you are still motivated by this same spirit.

Mr. Michael: Let me just give an example of how this affects us today. I am a member of a congregation in which we have tried to help those in need. If there is a disaster, if a family is burned out of their home, a young parent dies leaving children, there is quite a surge of sentiment in the congregation to help. Let me give an illustration of how the change has an effect. I know a young man who was working his way through school, his wife was ill and had to have heavy surgery. The need was made known and we were asked to help and assist. We found out that he did not carry any medical insurance; he was not going to be bothered with that; God would provide. Well, God turned out to be me, you see! I would have been much happier to have helped contribute to the premium for hospital insurance and medical care than to be confronted later on with a \$800 or \$900 or \$1,000 hospital bill and asked to kick in with \$25 or \$50. I would have been happy to kick in with \$2.50 towards the premium, and felt I was helping him to help himself.

Senator Carter: That is not quite what I had in mind. A few days ago we had before us people from the United Church, and among the witnesses was a labour expert, or a labour advisor, who referred, if I remember correctly, to the beginnings of the Labour Movement, and to the Tolpuddle Martyrs in the old country.

The Chairman: Mr. Secord.

Senator Carter: Yes. Is that not the kind of spirit we must get back to if we are to solve the problems with which we are faced today, including the problem of poverty. Is not that the missing factor? What is the church doing? The church does not seem to be doing anything to create that spirit these days. Those people had a genuine concern for each other and their community, which was born out of their Gospel teaching, their religion, their belief and their faith, which showed itself in this act of concern and brought them together in a union which grew into a tremendous world movement, but which has now lost sight of its early chart and compass.

Mr. Michael: This is a problem. We recognize this trend away from personal involvement with the needs of people. We are trying

to combat it by continually keeping our people aware of instances of need and calling for their help; not saying to them that those in need can get help downtown from the city welfare department, but rather that they are getting some help there but not enough, that we have been asked to help. We try to keep involved, but we face the problem that the larger you get the more difficult it is still to retain that personal touch.

Senator Carter: It is very easy for a rich man to raise one hundred dollars. He does not have to think about it any more until someone comes around for money next year.

Professor Hill: Mr. Chairman, if I may just offer a suggestion. If it is true that we can see that the churches have become a part of the establishment and a part of the affluent society then might we possibly see that this puts the church in an advantageous position to speak to those who are in a position to involve themselves. It is a fact that at the present moment this topic is occupying much of the energy that is put behind the pulpit.

I have just recently attended the Canadian Council of Churches in Montreal and I know that in our gathering there we spent a great deal of time on this very matter that this committee is concerned with. I think it is an encouraging fact that we do see so much emphasis placed on this. If, having the ears of those of this status, the church can take advantage of this situation and sensitize the conscience of these people by becoming involved, it is excellent.

I think the second part of your question deals with how do we somehow achieve individual responsibility even on the part of the poor. Certainly this must include the maximum involvement of the poor in their own situation. But due to the circumstances the Government has the advantageous position of being able to speak to all, whereas the church is necessarily limited by the extent of its constituency.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Mr. Chairman, I would like to go back to this attitude business, but first I wish to ask a question of the witness. I was very impressed with your report and your answer to my friend's question in regard to the work you are doing around the country and all over the world.

I would assume that anybody can go to see your hospital, regardless of their race or reli-

gion, maybe a black sheep in the Catholic church. If I was living in a community where you are involved in these things would you accept me and will you accept anybody?

Mr. Michael: Certainly, senator.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I was referring actually to a worker who wants to make a contribution, but who does not belong to your church.

Mr. Michael: For instance in our hospital in North York less than 50 per cent or barely 50 per cent happen to be members of the church. In other institutions we try, but perhaps should not, to give priority to those within the church. We feel that those who share the same philosophy might be able to work together better. As far as making the services available, they are available to all. In regard to accepting help and assistance, there are people in our congregations who are not formerly members but who are participating. There is a slight distinction made in voting of church officials, but this is not so even in communion, because we do not practice closed communion. This voting of church officials is a relic from a by-gone year of constitutional precision.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Nobody has an answer to this question of attitude which has been discussed a great deal with regard to the poor. We are all facing this existing situation which is bad. Before we can change the attitude of the people by making contributions either by direct taxation or other means don't you think we should first find out how we arrived at this attitude? There must be a reason why the average person is somewhat sensitive to giving more money to the poor. Apparently we do not exactly do it voluntarily in many cases.

You have to classify the poor into various categories. There are certain classes of poor which no one has any objection to and they are really poor for a reason and a cause and there may be many causes. In my personal opinion this attitude towards the poor has been built up because of the abuses of the welfare by the poor themselves and not so much by the needy poor—I draw a line between the needy poor and the non-needy poor. You actually must know the people you are talking about.

There have been abuses of the welfare which is public funds and there has been

misconduct. There is a case of laziness as well as the sad problem of alcoholism, cheating and falsification of facts. One of these will be picked out easier than the 199 cases which are needy. People do not build up their attitudes about the needy ones because these people receive their welfare payment and spend it for living and pass it on to their mothers and children. The ones who are abusing this welfare money are the ones who are spoiling the rest of the program and we have many of those. Let us not overlook the point that this is being done in many places. This is why we sometimes say that the welfare, as it stands today, has almost been a failure even when we are spending millions and millions of dollars. Never in the world or in Canada have the governments been so generous with public funds by trying to give money. There is the loss of conscience which we have built up in a certain group of people, but when it comes to dollars this conscience is completely gone. The attitude is that if it comes from the government, take it no matter how you get it.

What can we do to remedy this situation? We cannot pass all of this on to the church. I have heard a lot of people say that this is the work of the church and I agree with them but the church should possibly be our leaders. I know that in my church this is the mistake we have made and why we are in trouble. We have let our church leaders do all the work while we stood behind and never helped them, always saying that it was their job and let them do it. I think this mistake has been recognized now but it is too late. We are trying to reform and recognize ourselves and admit our guilt, only to find out that we were not on the job with our church leaders. This has brought about this issue. What do you think of this problem?

Mr. Michael: It is a real problem. I think the church has probably not done as much as it should have to teach its members that material prosperity is not the only issue of success. Perhaps the church has tended to pander to its more affluent members and probably has been afraid to stress the value or the validity of personal self sacrifice, which was one of the fundamental tenets of the founder of our religious heritage.

Perhaps labour and business have played a part, too, in putting the emphasis on affluence as a mark of success. That is, if we get more things, we are presumed to be more successful than the person who has fewer things.

To the extent that the church has become part of the Establishment, it may be it has accepted some of the ground rules of the Establishment, of the affluent society, that it is material things that mark your success in life.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You seem to have got away from my question, which was, first, what are we going to do to break the attitude of this group that I have mentioned who will do anything to get anything out of the welfare system. The point is that, assuming the same class of people, somebody will arrive at a minimum income or something like that, there is then a certain group which I have mentioned, where I do not think we are going to better the situation if we gave them \$3,000 this year, because they have not got the ability to manage their own business or their responsibilities. There is the head of the family, who has the responsibility of a wife and children, but he does not know how to exercise that responsibility. If we gave him \$3,000 this year, possibly he will live on in the same way. He might improve a little bit, he will possibly drink the rest, he may change his car or do something like that; and the next year he will want \$4,000 and it will go on like that.

On the other hand, there is this great majority that would make good use of it. We do not worry about them. We have no problem about that. The problem is with this...

Mr. Michael: Hard core.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Yes. You have the word for it.

Prof. Hill: I am sure that all of us have been greatly troubled by this very question. It would seem to me that any worthy plan at all would always have the possibility of abuse. We will never get away from this completely, but even so, we should not abdicate our responsibility. It would seem to me that the extent of the abuse is to some extent related to the distance between those managing and distributing the fund, and the recipient. If this gap can be narrowed by an involvement of the people who are on the receiving end, and if to some extent there is surveillance of the operation at the local level, perhaps that is one way to cut down on this abuse; but I do not think we can ever completely eliminate it.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I do not think you can do it in an

individual case, as it is practically impossible. It may be that you may be able to make a different attitude in a community and then eventually you may find that these people would come in with the right view.

Mr. Low: This problem of the very few who abuse privileges of any sort...

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Did you say the very few or the many few?

Mr. Low: The very few. I would say they might be 5 per cent, at the most. This points out that those people have a problem and their problem will come out perhaps in dishonesty—the psychiatrist calls it the sociopathic type of tendency, it is the tendency to go with the other fellow at the slightest opportunity. Therefore, the problem needs to be dealt with rather than restricted. If you give such a man \$5, he will still try to rob you. If you give him \$1,000 he will still try to do the same thing. The need is to deal with the problem, to re-educate them in that respect. We need treatment facilities, but what those facilities are I do not know. Surely for every problem there must be a treatment. If it is possible at all, if they are to be retrained, some treatment is needed rather than a punitive attitude.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): You mentioned training problems and a certain type of education for these people. It seems to me that in Canada now, at this very moment, we have a vast program of education, mostly for manual training of everyone, and anybody who wants to go to school today can get it and even can get paid. There are many points in that system which I do not agree with, but this is not the place to discuss that, we can discuss it in some other place. We are aware of some of their problems and are going to eliminate them, such as requiring that a man must have a Grade 12 education in order to become a barber. That does not stand up to common sense, as one does not need Grade 12 in order to become a barber—that is, unless one intends to specialize in a certain type of barbering line. If there is a man with a Grade 5 or Grade 6 education, who has good hands and is a clean man, he can be a darn good barber.

There are many faults in our system of education. You mentioned that, with all the facilities of education, you find that the lower class of people are leaving school, and you mentioned a possible problem at home. I

believe there are sometimes more problems at home, rather than in the school. It may be a question of poverty, that there is a need for money there and it may be that when the young man comes to 15 or 16 years of age he needs a job and needs money, and this becomes one of the problems. You mentioned a special type of training and I would be interested in that, in a few words.

Mr. Low: I was thinking of this question which was mentioned about drop-outs. There can be a poverty attitude also towards the normal system of education that we have today, that these children and their appearance show that these have not had enough education. Perhaps it is their appearance, and so forth. They have not the attitude to want to make use of the educational facilities we have today. That attitude is not built into them. It is something quite far away from them. These things are far apart from them. Many of these homes do not have even a newspaper, much less a book, to get the children into the habit of wanting to read, to learn. The biggest thing that many parents want to do is to get their children out of the home, they get to a certain age and they want to get them out so that they can bring in a few cents.

These facilities we are speaking of here will include many other things—such as a force of workers, a force of people who will be able to teach people gradually, right in their own homes, perhaps, the need and value of education, so that they can make use of the facilities we have.

The Chairman: Are you talking about education that is pertinent to living and life? Is there a failure in that kind of education?

Mr. Low: A failure of the people to make use of it.

The Chairman: Not the people. I am not talking about people. You are talking about education. I am asking you what your view is about the pertinence for living of the kind of education that these people receive?

Mr. Low: The point I am making, sir, is that the educational system that we have today is very pertinent to making a living—that is true, it is geared to making a living—but the people are not making use of it. They are just not ready to make use of this thing. The bulk of them make use of it. Perhaps this is one of the unfortunate things about education today, that it is so geared to making a

living that it has gone the other way. It is geared to making a living and not really doing what it should do.

The Chairman: What should it be geared to?

Mr. Low: Educating people all round, and not merely from a materialistic standpoint.

The Chairman: Should not the first education be towards making a living, and afterwards taking a broader concept.

Mr. Low: That is a very debatable point.

The Chairman: Yes, it is debatable.

Senator McGrand: On page 9 of the brief, the last paragraph states that considerable attention must be given to helping the non-poor to discover the benefits of allowing the poor to re-enter society. I think that is the key, because it is really the highest barrier that we have to cross. The major problem is to convince those who enjoy our so-called affluent society that the poor need a lot of and a variety of help. The problem is to convince the non-poor that they should assist the poor as a matter of duty.

Another question is how to assist the poor to achieve the success that comes to them by the exercise of their right.

Professor Hill: Mr. Chairman, it seems to me that involved in this question is the matter of the extent of militant activism that we might encourage on the part of the poor. If I may return to the first part of your question, how do I encourage the non-poor to admit the others to their society, all I have said so far is that there is the factor of motivating conscience, where we have the teaching of altruism from the pulpit and in every other way possible. That is one factor, but something else to be considered is that there may be a matter of necessity in that the organized and militant poor will take their share and, therefore, we must recognize this as an imminent possibility which may in itself serve as an avenue of motivation.

As to the second part of your question, how do we get the poor to take advantage of what is theirs as a right, frankly, I have some degree of hesitancy about encouraging too militant a stance, because associated with the most militant endeavour is merely a grudging response on the part of those against whom or toward whom it is directed, and while it is true that it may apparently gain a

temporary concession it may so embitter the ones against whom it is directed that they will use other means, coercive means, or they will respond in kind, and we will have a problem.

This is not to say that it is not appropriate on occasion to utilize collective bargaining of a sort, where people may get together and make their case known. That is fine. But I think an educational approach to the poor which will acquaint them with all available opportunities and encourage them to take advantage of them would be better.

Senator McGrand: That is not answering my question, though. The last part of my question was how do you convince the poor people to achieve the most success through their right? I am not talking about collective bargaining. I am not concerned now with the management-labour conflict. The question is how to convince the person who is receiving social assistance to make a success of his life through the utilization of what comes to him as his right in the payment of welfare. In other words, how does he lift himself up the most, morally as well as economically?

Mr. Low: This again involves the special education we were talking about, senator. We need to send workers into the communities. Call them what you will, community development groups or organizations, they would be specialists organized into small groups whose purpose would be to change the concepts and values of life among the poor so that they will want something better. In addition to that, provision will have to be made to give people the opportunity to lift themselves up.

In any job the unskilled man is the lowest paid and is the first to be fired and so on; so it is necessary to find sufficient motivation in industry, or elsewhere, to cause the unskilled person to want to learn and to work. Such motivation together with education will help to get him above his present circumstances, but he must be able to see a goal to which he can aspire. As it is today, many of these people can see no way of getting out of their particular circumstances so they give up.

Senator McGrand: In the problem of welfare we have two forms of failure; there is the personal failure and the failure of the system in which a person lives. Families who fail in this rat race in which we live need help. That means guidance, and perhaps guidance implies supervision. You suggested a few moments ago that we might need a whole

army of agencies. I should like to know what form these supervising agencies should take and what disciplines should be used by those who administer welfare, and what disciplines should be used in the attempt to teach poor people that they can have success in rebuilding themselves only by exercising certain restraints and developing certain good and necessary techniques in the spending of money.

How do you obtain that goal?

Mr. Low: Before answering your question, may I digress for a moment? It has been suggested that if automation proceeds at its present pace we will all be out of work in a matter of ten years because machines will have taken over our jobs. If that comes to pass, what would be the purpose of teaching people job skills? There would be no jobs for them.

Senator McGrand: I am not concerned with job skills but with the personal adaptation to environment and milieu.

Mr. Low: In other words, how to improve the quality of their living right within their present environment?

Senator McGrand: Yes. So far as my question is concerned, the matter of job skills is irrelevant because these people would be receiving money one way or another. The question is how to teach them to use what money they have to create for themselves a worthy citizenship.

Mr. Low: Well, so far as the kinds of disciplines involved are concerned, that is a rather controversial issue; all manner of specialist feel they should be involved. Psychiatrists, psychologists, sociologists, economists and so on; teachers, educators; home economists, homemakers, public health nurses: there is a vast array of forces capable of being called upon to help rebuild these people and help give them the new concepts of life they need and the desire for a new quality of life. I believe it requires all of that.

Senator McGrand: We have been talking about how to convince the non-poor that the poor really do need help. The peculiar thing is that most people are basically charitable when activated, but are not susceptible of sustained activation. For example, if news gets around that a child in a poor community needs to go to the Mayo Clinic for heart surgery, a fund is set up, and usually the fund is over subscribed. But the problem is

how to convince people to keep that sort of practice up in order to enable the poor to re-enter society. How do you convince people who will contribute generously to an emergency to adopt a policy of continuance participation?

Mr. Low: The child is an object of appeal to all people. Funds are readily raised for children. That is why there are so many hospitals for sick children and crippled children and so on. But when we want to raise money for adults we find that people are not so responsive to adults. An adult must fight and make his own way, and if he cannot do that he is a failure and it is his own fault. But we do not tend to blame the children in this way.

Senator McGrand: You and I know these phonies we see on the side of the street selling pencils because they say they are deaf and dumb. Everybody knows about this, and yet some of these people can become fairly wealthy from imposing on the charity of the passers-by. I am not saying this charity is restricted to children. It comes to anybody in personal dire need, but how can you build this into our system of government?

Professor Hill: Senator, may I suggest that I think all of us or at least many of us are not quite prepared to admit that the poor are worthy unless they are making some contribution to society. Implied in your question here is the thought that there may be a poor person who is capable of working, but all he is doing really is receiving funds from the rest of society. Now your question is this; can a person actually lift himself morally if he is merely the recipient rather than a contributor? It seems to me that there is the real question. What can you do with that person? Are we prepared to accept it as a worthy stance to do nothing at all? I do not think we are. One way is to somehow involve the person in making some contribution. It may not be along the lines of traditional work, but it may be along the line of rendering some service to his fellows. There has to be some type of outgoing or outreach service impulse acted out, it would seem to me, in order for that person to become what we would consider a worthy member of society.

Senator McGrand: That is what I meant when I said that it is the highest barrier we have to cross.

Senator Fergusson: I would like to thank the delegation for coming before us because

they have given us a lot of information about what they themselves are doing that I did not know about. Their study is very informative and I think some of their ideas are excellent. I had thought of speaking on many of the subjects that have already been discussed, but they have already been dealt with. But now I would like specifically to refer to page 6 of the brief where you say that you have 4,972 schools operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Then on page 18 you discuss day-care centres and say how important they are. Are any of these schools kindergartens or do they start at the regular age of six? Do you have any day-care centres?

Mr. Michael: Mr. Chairman and Senator Fergusson, I am not aware of any day-care centre that the Church operates as such. My knowledge of course is really limited basically to Canada and a little bit of what the Church is doing in the United States and less still about India where I was born of missionary parents. There are some kindergarten facilities that the Church operates in some areas, usually in larger centres where there is a greater demand for them, in connection with an elementary school. Here I would like to correct a statement I made to Senator Hastings in reply to his question dealing with the statistics on page 5. As I re-read that paragraph, I find I was incorrect in the answer I gave. I was incorrect when I said that referred to Canada. I do not want to give the impression—none of us would, and I would be taken to task by my colleagues if I did so—that we are doing a great deal and are proud of it. We are in fact a small communion and our efforts are very feeble in comparison to those being made by others. These statistics and this section of the report in our brief was prepared by the secretary in charge of our lay activities, and we would not want for one moment to blow this up or to inflate it. These statistics are based on a North American basis.

We recognize this need for educational facilities and day-care centres would be one area the Church could enter into by using existing facilities. Again, the problem would be one of staffing and in some provinces of meeting the requirements of licencing for such centres. This begins to make it difficult for the sort of do-it-yourself spontaneous undertaking to get underway because you have to meet certain requirements in the interests of the children committed to the

care of the centre. This makes it very difficult to initiate them in the atmosphere and spirit that Senator Carter very nostalgically evoked for us when he harked back to the question of the way the Church would often meet a need.

Senator Fergusson: Because the question of day-care centres comes so much to the fore at present, and because so many witnesses have stressed how important it is to reach the children at very early ages, I was thinking that in the interests of education it might start before the regular school.

Mr. Michael: I think this is an excellent suggestion, and one which would merit some study and consideration by the Church as being one way in which it can meet this need. Another reason why it has not been entered into is because in this community there has been a very strong feeling that children should not be deprived of parental care and attention by being parked in an institutional setting at too early an age. There are many members of this communion who even feel that sending a child to school at six is too early. My own parents while still living in India—and it was relatively easy to do so there because we were living in a Church environment in a Mission centre, and the school attendance laws and truancy provisions were not as rigid as they are now—did not send me to school until I was past my seventh birthday. There are some people, particularly my own children, who feel that I have suffered a certain degree of irreparable retardation as a result of that delayed start. But there is a strong feeling among the older members of the communion who feel that the child loses a lot if you pack him off to school at four or five as they are required to do in some countries. But I think that by putting them in the context of a day-care centre for working mothers, you might have an acceptable approach to the problem, and I think it is a very constructive one that we would like to carry back.

Senator Fergusson: I notice the suggestion on page 17 where you have pointed out that in many cases these children are deprived, particularly if they come from one-parent homes where there is no stimulation to learning. Then there is the suggestion that there might be a need to set up residential schools to remove these children from their environment. I may be wrong, but this is the first

time this suggestion has been made to this committee.

The Chairman: But how do you read that, Senator Fergusson? What does it mean to you?

Senator Fergusson: What it says. Children who come from these homes where the atmosphere is not such as to encourage them to try to better themselves, to get education, and put them in a residential school where they will have this encouragement. That is what I read into it, and maybe I am wrong. Is that right?

Mr. Low: I was thinking here in particular of the hard core poor from broken homes, alcoholic homes, criminal homes, where most of the children would not have a chance. If nothing can be done to change the parents, to re-educate the parents, then it may be better for the child if he is placed in a residential home. I know all the stigma attached to the residential home and these mass group homes in Orillia and other places.

Senator Fergusson: I am not criticizing this. I just took it up in reading it, and I was interested.

The Chairman: I do not remember but I think, Senator Hastings, you said it was mentioned once before.

Senator Hastings: Yes, in the brief from the Secretary of State it was mentioned.

The Chairman: It had escaped me. I will examine the Record.

Mr. Michael: We found in residential boarding schools this sort of suggestion that I think Mr. Low has in mind. For instance, in underdeveloped overseas countries we have opened residential schools—in India, with which I am familiar, and in the continent of Africa. We found these children coming from homes where there was no great interest in education and they saw no need for it. They said, "Our family has been in this village for centuries, and you can get along here and you can till some scrap of soil outside the village." But when those young people come to the school there is no great pressure, no great arm-twisting to indoctrinate them, either religiously or any other way, and they invariably lift themselves up from the social and economic strata their parents were in. They go on with further education or get into some sort of work they never thought possible

before. So if it has worked there, maybe it would work with this specific kind of problem Mr. Low has pointed out.

Senator Fergusson: There is another question I would like to ask. At the bottom of page 17 you state:

In short, what is needed is to introduce a whole new sense of values. This applies not only to the poor but to all segments of society. "Through unscrupulous advertising we have created a way of life that is lacking in moral and spiritual values."

Would you mind telling me where that quotation comes from I think it is very good.

Mr. Low: I am very sorry, but I do not have it.

Senator Fergusson: It is all right, I just thought I would like to use it some time.

The Chairman: I am sure it is not from an advertising agency!

Senator Fergusson: No, but it is quite true, that the kind of advertising we have is very hurtful, not only for poor people but for middle-class people, but is there any possible way that could be controlled.

Senator Pearson: Especially for women!

Senator Fergusson: Well, men buy just as foolishly.

Senator Inman: We had that question come up in the Consumer committee, and we could not seem to get anywhere with it.

I would also like to thank the delegation for such an excellent brief, with so much in it.

On page 15 you speak about the training programs, and I am going back to the employment question. At one of our recent hearings it was pointed out that in the United States many industries provide training on the job. Do you think this activity should be begun in Canadian industry. I think perhaps we call it an apprenticeship. I am a great believer in apprenticeship. Theory is fine, but, of course, in the old days people were apprenticed and got practical experience. I am thinking of Senator Fournier, when he was speaking about barbers. Would that take care of some of the unemployment.

Mr. Low: Mr. Chairman, in mentioning training on the job, I see this as a great need for those people who do not have the necessary academic background to make use of

training in the trade schools, etcetera. I see the need for co-operation of industry to accept more people in training on the job. This is not a very widely accepted field. You have a lot of resistance today to people taking training on the job. The Department of Labour has fostered it, to some extent, but it is very difficult to find employers who are willing to accept someone for training on the job. I see this as a means of actually training many people who do not necessarily have a school background.

The Chairman: Did you say this was being done in the States?

Senator Inman: Yes.

The Chairman: May I make this suggestion. As I understand it, that training is being undertaken, and those people who are going in there are being paid something less than the going wage until they qualify. Have we tried that?

Mr. Low: Yes, we do have this training on the job.

The Chairman: Yes, but in training on the job, paying them less than we would normally pay a man doing the job. Is that what we do?

Mr. Low: Yes, that is correct.

The Chairman: Until he qualifies?

Mr. Low: Yes.

The Chairman: And you say there is some resentment to that—by the employer or by whom?

Mr. Low: On the part of the employer, it is very difficult to find employers willing to accept people for training on the job.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): I do not quite agree with some of the statements that have been made by anybody at this moment, because there is a vast program of shop training across Canada. I can only speak for New Brunswick, and I know something about Ontario and Quebec, and it has been very successful, with thousands of people in training who have been well received by industries. However, I do admit that some industries have been reluctant. They will train you to serve that purpose, to work in that particular shop. As far as the pay is concerned, in most of these places—and let us assume that the man is going to get \$100—the employer will pay \$25 and the Gov-

ernment \$75. After six months of training the shop will raise him another \$25 and the balance is taken off the Government. Finally, at the end of his training he reaches full employment. That is the way it works, and it has been very satisfactory.

Senator Inman: I was thinking about the problem in my own province of Prince Edward Island, because I do know of cases where young chaps, perhaps school drop-outs, are taken on. They do not get a high wage, but at least they get some money, and I always consider that some is better than nothing. They get training, and it works out well there. Of course, this is not big industry, only light industry there.

You mentioned somewhere in your brief that the non-poor must be awakened. How do you go about it in your congregations, trying to awaken the non-poor?

The Chairman: Most congregations have trouble just to stay awake. That includes all.

Senator Inman: I know it applies to every church.

Senator Hastings: In your church, senator?

The Chairman: You bet.

Professor Hill: I suppose that if there is a laxity on the part of the congregation, somehow the responsibility seems to get shifted to the ministry, so I suppose that in this respect the leader of the congregation has a primary responsibility. I believe though that many of the laymen in modern congregations are themselves very much awake. There is a core or there is a certain number of people who are already sensitized and who might become the core of a yet larger group. I think the wise pastor today attempts to utilize those in his congregation who themselves become the agents of propagation to the rest, you see. It is an effort to involve everybody as much as possible, and then by concentrating upon some particular objective—it is not enough to simply make some very high sounding moral injunctions, and expect them to lodge in the mind and bear marvellous fruition. I think if the congregation can be led to certain specific aims...

Senator Inman: In other words, you take projects to them, and interest them in them?

Professor Hill: Yes, exactly.

Mr. Michael: If I might interject here, I think one problem the churches tend to find—

and I have found this in my own experience in parish work—is that there tends to be a resistance in the community to the congregation's getting involved in projects. There is a feeling that we have already got organizations to do this, and we are asked: "Why do you want to proliferate?" This can sometimes have a dampening effect on those who want to get involved. I do not say this as a criticism of the established agencies, both public and private, but they sometimes unwittingly give the impression that they are saying: "You do not need to get into this. We are doing this." There is a feeling that we are not wanted, and then a feeling that the problem is not as great as it was thought to be.

I have had this experience. We have asked welfare officials in a municipality whether there are areas or pockets of need where we might be able to do something that is beyond their budget to do, and sometimes we are told that they are taking care of everything adequately.

Senator Inman: By the way, I would like to congratulate your people in the little town in which I live—Montague, in Prince Edward Island. They do excellent work among the poor. I just felt that I should say that.

Mr. Michael: Thank you.

Senator Hastings: Mr. Michael, regarding the stirring of the conscience of the non-poor, I am going to suggest that there is only one group of people who will stir that conscience, and that is the organized poor. I was quite disappointed in Mr. Hill's rejection of militant activism of the poor. I am wondering if the church might not better utilize its efforts by working with the poor in pricking the conscience of the non-poor.

Professor Hill: Senator, perhaps I might be permitted a slight qualification. I did not intend to suggest that the poor being actively involved and making their case known as an organized group was questionable. What I do fear is that when the stance is one of a militant nature then it can often provoke violence, and I do have a serious question as to whether a pose that involves excessive violence is really fruitful of ultimate good.

Mr. Michael: To complement that observation, senator, I think I should point out—and I am sure you appreciate this—that the reason for this view being expressed by a church group is the church's historic apprehension of violence. The feeling is here that too often the threat of fear produces a reaction that is

equally undesirable. Certainly, if we achieve a change of attitude by reason of fear then I think the change of attitude will not be a lasting one. You see, we then trigger it out of pure self-interest—and maybe that is not so pure. I think Professor Hill's feeling was that while we would not be opposed to the poor being active—in fact, we would encourage it—in the assertion of their rights in respect of articulating their need and spelling out how they want to see that need met, my friend's use of the term "militant" was in the sense of the threat of violence. We feel that you do not achieve lasting good by violence. Now, our friends to the south would say, of course, that history would refute that; that in 1776 violence did achieve something for them. We say: "No, we back an evolutionary approach."

Senator Hastings: Was not the Founder of our faith a militant activist?

Mr. Michael: I think He certainly was active, but I have never conceived of Him as one who was ready to employ violence on the person.

Senator Hastings: Did He not drive the money changers from the church?

Mr. Michael: He drove them, but it is a question of whether He flogged them out or showed them the door, saying that that was not the place to do that sort of thing. We do not want to quibble over terms, or play with words. I think we are agreed that the poor must be more self-assertive, and I think the church can play a useful role in constructively suggesting channels for that sort of activist activity.

It is not popular in Canada to cite examples from outside our country, but I have a great deal of respect for Martin Luther King's philosophy of passive resistance and non-violence. Some of his followers and some of his colleagues do not seem to have the same enthusiasm. As a boy I often rode my bicycle in the shadow of the jail where Mahatma Gandhi spent a good deal of his time as a guest of His Majesty's Government. I know the force that that kind of assertiveness can have, and I think that it is not inconsistent with those principles that we espouse and share with one another.

Senator Inman: I have one more question. At the bottom of page 10 you say:

Suggestions put forward for governmental action relative to the problem of

poverty must be compatible with the basic principles of human justice.

Would you give us some examples of government action?

Professor Hill: Actually, what we had in mind is that it would seem that justice would require in a certain sense that the recipient of a benefit should make some return for it—there should be some exchange that is reasonable and just. So, we are saying that in whatever way government intervenes in this problem there should be an element of fairness—perhaps that would have been a more appropriate word—that must be seen and perceived on all sides.

Mr. Michael: Benefits should not be arbitrarily withdrawn, or without some opportunity for appeal. We may solve some problems, but by so doing we create worse problems.

Senator Inman: In other words, the recipients should not just get a notice that aid is taken from them.

Mr. Michael: They should not receive notice that it was taken from them three months ago, and that they should pay back what they have inadvertently received since that time.

Senator Pearson: On page 11 you say:

There now appears to be a vast reservoir of public sentiment calling for the improvement of community life.

In other words, attitudes are changing, in your opinion. You then go on to say:

Government will do well to channel this toward specific goals worthy of united support.

Then at the end of that paragraph you seem to be a little nervous as to how fast you can go, and you are a little scared, it seems, because you say:

Promises for the removal of poverty should therefore be restrained, lest failure to achieve the goals envisioned leads to further radicalization of the poor.

Why do you fear this?

Professor Hill: If promises tend to suggest more than we are in a position to deliver, the ultimate result is demoralization. We must make sure we will deliver whatever we promise, or else sooner or later the day of reck-

oning will come. I am not suggesting that we should not have bold and imaginative plans. Yes, this is a necessity. However, in stating what we are actually going to carry out, I am suggesting caution, lest one day we have to face a disappointed people.

Senator Pearson: In other words, you feel that you should have everything ready before you start to suggest that you are going to bring this program forward?

Professor Hill: In a sense. Naturally, we recognize that there must be considerable preparatory work and there enters the element of vision, but when we actually make a concrete, concise promise it should be with caution.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): Even when dealing with politicians.

The Chairman: Mr. Low, you have been talking very knowledgeably about education. It is my opinion that for the last ten years we have had open-handed, endless amounts of millions of dollars for education at all levels. Has that brought the results that we should have expected and wherein did we fail?

Mr. Low: If you are thinking in terms of results with regard to a particular group, this group with which we are concerned, it would appear that by and large it has not brought the results which we expected. This group has not moved at all and remains the same from one generation to the other. It would be a very interesting study for someone to make to see what percentage of this poor group has actually moved above the poverty level.

The Chairman: In the last ten years we have had great prosperity and great poverty. How do you reconcile that?

Mr. Low: It seems that the education has benefited one group and at the same time made the prosperity gap greater. One group has benefited tremendously and the other has remained at the same level.

The Chairman: If that is the case, and I was talking in terms of ten years, why have you educationalists not brought that to our attention long before this? When there was relatively no movement five years ago, why were the educationalists silent?

Mr. Low: To speak on behalf of educationalists, these people themselves are from a certain category, middle class for example, and

they cater to that class. The people below them are not much of their concern.

The Chairman: As a matter of fact, you can see that many of the senators sitting here are agreeing with what you are saying. They know that only too well from actual experience. We had some discussion last week with the Presbyterian group on the work ethic. They related it biblically and brought it up to date. They said that in their view it does not mean what it meant in the days when the Old and New Testaments were written. Professor Hill, you have repeatedly said throughout your evidence that we must have incentives and have the people doing some work. You just do not hand out; you have got to have them interested in doing something. Your colleague said that automation will make sure that we have not got too many jobs available. In the light of all this, tell us what you think of the work ethic?

Professor Hill: I heartily endorse the Apostle Paul when he said if a man will not work, neither shall he eat. The principle involved is that there should be some contribution made on one part that appears feasible as a means of exchange from the other part. What is actually performed as the work is going to change vastly in every society and every age. However, I do not believe we have moved away from the basic principle. Surely we do not have the same type of work today that we had ten years ago. It is not precisely clear to us what our responsibility will be under automation, but I cannot believe that we would become totally irresponsible. I believe that the human character actually needs a sense of achievement and accomplishment. That is important.

The Chairman: Let me bring you up to date. In this day and age this is as real for you as for us. Consider a man of 45 or 50 years of age working in Dunlop's factory in Toronto for 20 years. The factory closes down; he knows nothing else and is a human being with no great savings. What is work for him? He has got to eat and live but he cannot get a job, or is not likely to, without retraining. How does the work ethic apply to him?

Mr. Low: He may have latent talent as an artist and may blossom out at this time and get more fulfilment out of his life.

The Chairman: Let us be realistic.

Senator Hastings: I think he is realistic.

The Chairman: That may happen, but not to a very great degree.

Mr. Michael: There may be a responsibility there with respect to the individual and I would not deny the responsibility of the company. A company that shuts down operation abruptly in terms of its employees is showing a degree of irresponsibility. I would not for one moment wish to soft pedal that the corporate responsibility of good citizenship calls for consultation and separation warning. There is a great tendency on the part of the worker himself to feel that he has a job and lives in an industrial community, a General Motors town. Many young people feel that if only they can get into GM they have got it made.

Senator Fournier (Madawaska-Restigouche): They have got the world by the tail.

Mr. Michael: That is right, and a pretty good pay packet attached to that tail. I have the problem with my own children. I tell them that they are going into a job which may not always exist and they should have something in reserve. I have even told my girls that the whole pattern of society today is that you are going to get married and not to worry, the husband will do it all then, but that they must have some skill. The husband may be disabled and the wife will have to become the wage earner and should have something up her sleeve that she can do. If the employee did not have that self concern and self interest, certainly his union could have done something about it. However, I admit it is very difficult for them to see beyond the immediate problem of wages and benefits and they are not interested in training people for something else, because ultimately it means they will leave that union. I really think that many of those workers could have embarked a few years ago on some sort of evening course or correspondence course, or some training that would give them some preparation for this kind of calamity. I know that is not the full answer.

Professor Hill: I have pastored quite a number of congregations and I invariably have had a number of retired constituents. I have always noticed that disaster results when the retired person equates inactivity with retirement. If he comes to the point where he feels that he is on the shelf, he does not matter to anybody else, he is not needed, there is no contribution he can make, I might as well get his funeral service ready. I have seen this again, again and again. I believe

there has to be some sense of a person fulfilling a need; he has to have a sense of achievement; there has to be something to absorb his energy; he has to feel that he is a useful member of society, or there is a problem.

Mr. Low: If I may make a comment on what Mr. Michael has said, he said it is typical of the middle class man who can think and plan ahead. All the poor man can think of is filling his stomach; he has not the ability to plan for tomorrow.

The Chairman: That was the next question. I was going to ask you, Mr. Hill. Take the ordinary poor man. We already have three generations in this country to my knowledge and yours. He asks himself what he is for. Now you tell me what he is for?

Professor Hill: If I cannot convince him, or if his social milieu is incapable of in any way getting across the point, that he is not for something, if he interprets his life or perceives it as useless, then I think disaster is there. I think the church has a responsibility to find something for that person today.

The Chairman: I am not getting on the back of the church. I am not blaming you. I am not questioning you as a church group, but using your basic knowledge of life. We are at the point where in this country we have 24 million people, with 800,000 or 900,000 heads of family who are what we consider poorly stricken. You know the line we use, I will ask you something about that in a minute. It is all very well for you and me to say that the man has a purpose in life, that he is there for some purpose. How does he answer it himself to himself? "Here I am poor and my father before me was poor. My children look as though they will go along in the same way." What is his thinking? You live with those people and deal with them, as we do. What are his thoughts?

Professor Hill: Frequently in those circumstances he is tempted to do all the things you just said, to feel, "What am I for? The implication is that I am useless." I think the temptation towards that is very strong. One type of approach is in the area of relating to his associates, that he is performing some type of service in that way so that there he has some perception of usefulness. Here, though, I think our religious faiths have something to offer, in that very important in all of our religious convictions is some element of provision for the future, even though

we have to cope with gross disappointments in the present existence. I think many times a person can be equipped to face what may seem as insurmountable obstacles in his immediate environment, because he has the type of faith that envisions some type of future life where new equalities are present.

The Chairman: I am not arguing with you people in the church about the infinite. I am talking about the finite. Mr. Michael said that the standard, perhaps not of success, but that we accept for people today of success or usefulness in the community is possibly the economic. That is what he said, and I agree. Are we likely to be able to build the man up to the point where he feels he is somebody, that he has a use and a purpose, if we make some money available to him so that he has access to the things in the community that others have? Do you not think he would appreciate that a little more than some of the other things we have been promising?

Professor Hill: I think is a part of our purpose in being here. We are certainly not in any sense negating that what you have just said plays a vital part. We see it, but we feel that this in itself may not be the total answer.

The Chairman: No, we agree with that.

Senator McGrand: Mr. Chairman, you will remember a lot of members of this committee were on the committee studying the aging and the aged, and it was repeatedly pointed out to us then that everyone as he grows older should have continuing education in order to adjust himself to his environment, come to old age and grow old gracefully. Many of the poor, these drop-outs, the people who cannot rediscover themselves, as you say on page 9 of your brief, have grown old before their time. What applies to these people who throughout life have to adjust in order to grow old so that they do not have to re-enter society has equal applicability to the poor, who have to be educated, to change with their environment. Is that not right?

The Chairman: We do not disagree. I think Senator Carter has another question.

Senator Carter: Mr. Chairman, you have covered the two main questions, employment and the work ethic, in which I was interested. I was rather confused about the reference to workshops. What do you have in mind? In manpower training there are all sorts of

courses that people can take and get retraining. Are you thinking of something different from that?

Mr. Low: In addition to that. With the manpower courses, a man who starts from zero, from no education, can perhaps get to grade 8, if he is lucky, and still he is at the bottom of the stream without a skill. In referring to workshops, I am likening them to a little semi-industry. Two or three years ago a gentleman came from Holland to tell us about what goes on there, where they manufacture anything from typewriters to television, radios, clothing and shoes. The people are taught to work, even though they are disabled or handicapped in some way; they are taught to produce.

Senator Carter: On-job training?

Mr. Low: It is on-job training, yes. Instead of giving them welfare the government subsidizes industry so that the individuals are not given welfare but receive the normal minimum wage, whatever it is.

Senator Carter: I would not call that a workshop.

Senator Inman: I have a short question. Perhaps it will only take a few minutes to answer. I was rather intrigued by what you said in regard to special education for the poor.

Mr. Low: By special education I meant getting this army of people we need to reach out through family agencies, and public health agencies into the homes of these people.

Senator Hastings: Don't we have an army now working—these specialists and so forth. Have they failed?

Mr. Low: They are not in the front lines, sir. We do not have these people reaching into the homes of the poor.

Senator Hastings: Where is this great army working now?

Mr. Low: That is a good question. Maybe it is the Ontario Institute of Studies of Education. I do not know.

Senator Carter: I gather that you have done a lot of social work. Have you discovered in

your activities, among the very poor, that they have a totally different outlook on life as well as different expectations and different sets of values? For example, they do not expect marriage to last because their parents or grandparents' marriages did not last, and that their outlook is totally different from what we might call the non-poor.

Mr. Low: Their outlook is totally different. Perhaps the reason for this, I would tend to think, is that it is imposed upon them through circumstances rather than saying that they assumed this outlook because they feel that they are different and are going to be different from you.

Mr. Michael: I agree with that, senator. I find in my work now, as a lawyer, people come to me with problems and you can very quickly find out that they are in that category. For them it is a matter of survival. They are likely to lose a home, apartment, or be without housing when there is no job. The family has disintegrated or is on the verge of it. It gets down to very earthy issues. They are not thinking about careers or future for their children, they are thinking about whether they are going to make it to the end of the week or next week. This is a striking contrast to the middle class and up—these are artificial terms—because they are able to think and look ahead.

I know of a case where a couple was sent to me and the man was running a little trucking business. His debts were in the range of \$30,000 to \$40,000 and he was lucky if he made \$4,000 or \$5,000 per year. They are going to lose their home, but some generous person is willing to give them a mortgage at 18½ per cent. I could not tell them to take it because that would be no solution. It is really a question of life and death economically and socially.

Senator Carter: How can we come to grips with that kind of problem where you have got to re-orient them completely from their present environment to what to them is a foreign one.

Mr. Michael: This is where I think Mr. Low's suggestion that perhaps both husband and wife need some help on money management. The only practical answer is probably bankruptcy and then to start afresh so that

they do not dig the same hole again and fall into it. This would be perhaps help for the wife because superficially she was viewed by those who referred the family to me as the good one, the brick who is standing by. I am sure she was trying to but there were many things which she needed to learn about in regard to her home. He had an alcohol problem, but he also needed a great deal of help in plain simple elementary matters, such as not hiring people unless you know you have work in order to pay them their salaries. Those types of people really need some practical help in terms of how to run their lives. Church, department of education and social family services can perhaps all make a contribution there but it becomes a question of absolute survival.

Senator Carter: Do we have these services. I know we have the services, but are they getting down to the people who really need them?

Mr. Low: It is a question of shortage and non-adequate staffing.

Senator Carter: There has got to be a concentration on that type of service.

Mr. Low: You need a real deluge to make any impact on the problem.

The Chairman: Are there any further questions? May I say on behalf of the Committee that you can see how carefully and thoroughly your brief was read by the page reference to it by the various senators. It was a thoughtful and convincing brief and you presented it very well this morning. We appreciate the fact that you took time and thought about the matter.

Of course, Reverend Michael is an old hand at this. He has been before many committees dealing with social matters over a period of ten or fifteen years. He was always Senator Roebuck's main witness on all those important questions and he has done himself credit in that extent.

Senator Hastings: I might mention that it was some 35 years ago in Oshawa that you said, "I would sooner walk with the workers than ride with General Motors". It may be of interest to know that through his years in the Parliament of Canada he has been a great

humanitarian and even in the work of this committee, he is still with the workers.

lived is still held due to the efforts when the senator was a mayor.

Mr. Michael: I was first introduced to him by a parishioner 30 years ago in Windsor who told me one night that the house in which he

The Chairman: Thank you very much.

The Committed Adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

A Brief

on

Poverty

Submitted to
The Special Committee of the Senate

on

Poverty

By The

Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada

Oshawa, Ontario
June, 1970

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SUMMARY

To summarize, we would respectfully suggest that any successful assault on poverty must recognize that

1. The basic role in fighting poverty is to be played by government—federal, provincial and municipal, and
2. Supportive roles to be supplied by the private sector, including the Church and by the poor themselves, together with the following—
3. A negative income tax
4. Full employment
5. Higher minimum wage levels to encourage adequate wages
6. Adequate unemployment benefits
7. Intensive training and re-training programmes including in-service training
8. Re-location allowances
9. Guaranteed annual income
10. More adequate housing
11. Full health care
12. More extensive family service agency programmes
13. Day Care centres
14. Work centres
15. Family Planning information and clinics

INTRODUCTION

The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada, through its National Executive Committee, wishes to express to the distinguished Chairman, and Members of this Special Committee of the Senate its appreciation for the invitation to appear and present its views on the subject of poverty.

The Christian Church is not unmindful of the difficulties and complexities that confront anyone who attempts to probe deeply to discover the causes of poverty and the remedies that can be realistically employed in a democratic society to eliminate or reduce the inci-

dence of poverty. Too often the view that we shall always have the poor with us tends to obscure the fact that while it might not be possible to completely eradicate poverty, a truly free society cannot afford to sit back and do little or nothing to reduce it to the absolute minimum.

If we truly believe in the fundamental tenet of a democratic society, the freedom of the individual then, anything that curtails or destroys that freedom poses a serious threat to the very life of our society. Poverty deprives the poor of the freedom of choice. It deprives a person of his freedom to make those important, meaningful decisions that a free person must be able to make if he is to be truly free in our materialistic, free enterprise economy.

Seventh-day Adventists believe passionately in the freedom of the individual. The members of this Communion hold the view that poverty represents just as grave a menace as that posed by any tyrant or dictator that has threatened human liberty. To stand aside indifferent to this danger is to encourage the enslavement of our fellow men. We would be the first to admit that adversity can often result in the spin-off of patience and fortitude that characterize men and women of courage. Even as these admirable qualities are frequently displayed in wartime, no one would suggest for a moment that a little poverty is required in order to develop strong characters and good citizenship, any more than a little war is desirable because of the courage and self-sacrifice it often brings to the surface.

For these reasons, and because we do not believe that poverty is an essential weapon in the arsenal of the Church in pointing people to a better way of life, we wish to commend the Members of this Committee for the thorough, painstaking and objective study to discover the causes of poverty and the means of removing it. While we possess no special expertise in this area, and have no secret formula or magic policy to offer, apart from the great Christian principle of unselfish concern for our neighbour, we sincerely hope that the views expressed herein will assist not hinder, enlighten rather than confuse and encourage, not discourage the Committee in its admirable task.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

It was felt that it might assist the Committee to know something of the historical background of the Seventh-day Adventist Church

and the reasons for its desire to submit its views on this subject to the Members of this Committee.

Seventh-day Adventists are a conservative Christian communion with theological antecedents that unite them in some respects with their co-religionists in the Catholic, Anglican, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Baptist, Methodist (United Church), and Congregational faiths.

Growing out of the great religious renaissance teachings of Scripture, Seventh-day Adventists emerged as a distinct church organization. Believing in the Holy Bible as the only sufficient guide or rule of faith, the name fairly sums up the outstanding and distinguishing features of their faith.

A conviction that the seventh-day of the week (Saturday) is the only day of religious worship mentioned in the Bible and observed by Christ and His apostles, leads Seventh-day Adventists to observe the Sabbath from sundown Friday night to sundown Saturday night. The Biblical teaching of the literal, visible, and physical return of Christ to this earth and the need for men and women to prepare for this cataclysmic triumph of the Christian faith is the other salient doctrine summed up in the name.

Seventh-day Adventists believe that governments "are ordained of God" and teach obedience to properly constituted civic authority within its legitimate sphere as a religious obligation. Adventists are known for their loyalty to their country and for their devotion to the great traditions of responsible government, parliamentary institutions and liberty. They view the preservation of our tradition of personal liberty as the inescapable responsibility of every loyal citizen.

Numbering nearly two million members around the world, (Practicing baptist by immersion only adults are counted) and over 18,000 in Canada, Seventh-day Adventists conduct a world-wide programme of Christian missions, education, welfare, evangelism and medical service to the community. It is their firm conviction that devout Christianity and a strong sense of social responsibility are not incompatible.

In harmony with this conviction, the Church operates a world-wide welfare and disaster relief service, resulting in over one million pounds of food and clothing sent overseas last year. To better service those in need

at home and abroad, the Church has established 1,258 service centres and 8,523 welfare societies. All distribution to the poor from these locations is without charge. The Church cooperates with EMO and related Civil Defence organizations in training programme so that its members may be adequately prepared to serve in case of emergency.

Recognizing the shortage of medical personnel to adequately care for the needs of the sick, the Church operates over 300 medical centres. Some of these are teaching institutions where more than 700 nurses were graduated last year. In addition to nurses, approximately 100 doctors complete their medical training each year at the church's medical school affiliated with Loma Linda University. To help underprivileged people in isolated areas, the Seventh-day Adventist Church operates a fleet of over 50 medical-welfare mission boats. The denomination is now adding airplanes to speed services of help to people in remote places, with 35 planes now being operated by 200 licensed pilots.

An adequate education is essential if citizens are to participate in and support responsible government, a prosperous economy, and a progressive society. In helping to meet these objectives, 4,972 schools are operated by the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Many of these schools are located in under-developed countries and areas. As a further means of assisting youth in gaining an education and training, the denomination offers work opportunities helping the student to earn as he learns. Thus, by a combined programme of welfare services, missions, medical assistance, and education the Church is endeavouring to meet the needs of the disadvantaged in today's world.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

The Seventh-day Adventist Church commends the willingness of government to seek more effective ways of preventing, mitigating and removing poverty. It is not unmindful of the fact that much has been done to ease the burden of insecurity in our society. Strides have been made in giving the sick adequate medical care, and there have been extensive efforts to enable the handicapped to lead useful and productive lives. While much has been done to meet the needs of distressed persons, abuses to exist in society, and these facts are not to be lightly passed over to the suffering of the disadvantaged.

The very complexity of modern urban society places the State in the singular and unique position of making provision for the common welfare of its citizens. Only the State has the institutional machinery to coordinate individual and group energies in an attack on poverty. The Seventh-day Adventist Church does not see this effort of the State as infringing on the individual Christian's responsibility of giving assistance to those in need. Massive governmental aid conducted in a most efficient way will still leave pockets of physical need calling for a practical ministry by the Church, to say nothing of the other dimensions of the Church's concern which appear as an ever-increasing challenge.

In order to maximize anti-poverty resources, government might well encourage autonomous, self-help projects insofar as their methods for aiding the disadvantaged are compatible with the basic principles of our free society. It should be clear that the efforts of such groups play a complementary role in the comprehension programme which must be undertaken by government. The governmental structure especially involved in this work may be enhanced by incorporating so far as possible local representatives who may be in a better position to communicate more effectively than those whose social background puts a certain distance between themselves and the persons they serve.

We recognize that income must be maintained at a level which will allow for adequate housing, health care, clothing, food and other basic needs. We also concede an element of truth in the view that government handouts can foster dependency and lack of initiative on the part of some who remain indigent even in the face of work opportunities. But, this must not cause us to lose sight of the fact that many of the poor are ambitious and have jobs, but are unable to support their families due to their inadequate wages. By being trapped in such circumstances, their spirit may be broken and their initiative destroyed.

Should some form of guaranteed minimum annual wage be adopted, then it must have built-in incentives for personal industry. Such a plan, incorporating a negative income tax scheme, might have to be entered upon gradually on an experimental basis. If we give the right to government to take money from individuals, then it would appear that government should have the right to disburse its revenues on an individual basis, if it so desires.

Many appear opposed to the idea of making an adequate income a human right alongside of other human rights. In the face of this opposition, it is necessary to demonstrate logically that a guaranteed income would not undercut Canadian productivity nor increase inflation. It may be helpful to suggest that action in this regard is not only our Christian duty, but possibly our key to survival.

While direct economic support to the poor is vital, yet it appears to us that this must be seen in the larger context, involving a large spectrum of interventions in every facet of their lives. Unrelenting efforts to improve educational facilities must be accompanied by strong encouragement to the children of the poor to avail themselves of the opportunities provided in this area. Thus, we may eliminate the cause of poverty rather than simply treat its effects.

Again, it would seem that considerable attention must be given to helping the non-poor to discover the benefits of allowing the poor to re-enter society. To make a place for the poor may require a complete change in attitudes and actions toward the poor. Gaining permission from the secure segments of society for a diversion of resources may prove a formidable hurdle. A system which lays too heavy a burden upon the more prosperous elements of society will engender a sense of injustice and hostility which keeps alive antagonisms and fails to promote the peace and harmony which should characterize a just society.

Seventh-day Adventists believe that the Church should provide a helpful perspective to a social welfare programme. As poverty persists in the midst of plenty, they do not endorse tokenism as a way of escape. They feel that the Church should quicken the consciences of all men and help them to sense their responsibility to one another.

Personal morality is not irrelevant to the building of a just society. Dishonesty will invariably work to the disadvantage of the dispossessed. If honesty characterized all of our actions, a significant increase in tax revenues would be realized by the Federal and provincial treasuries. By discharging its prime responsibility of inspiring high moral standards among its parishioners and those who fall under its influence, the Church could stem some of the corruption of contemporary society and thus contribute toward justice in all human relationships.

Suggestions put forward for governmental action relative to the problem of poverty must be compatible with the basic principles of human justice. Otherwise, there may be indirect, unintended and unwanted consequences more baleful in their effects than the condition occasioning the special intervention of government.

We recognize the difficulty facing any specific programme advanced as an attack on poverty due to the conflicting interests of varied groups in our pluralistic society. Nor are proposals always compatible with each other. For instance, raising the minimum wage appears as a worthy objective, but it may have a negative effect on the goal of full employment, or on the battle to curb inflation.

There now appears to be a vast reservoir of public sentiment calling for the improvement of community life. Government will do well to channel this toward specific goals worthy of united support. The inherent weaknesses of both the individual self and the community as a whole are sufficient to guard us against undue optimism. Promises for the removal of poverty should therefore be restrained, lest failure to achieve the goals envisioned leads to further radicalization of the poor.

Enlightened government will surely seek the alleviation of suffering through intelligent efforts for social justice. Such efforts will activate the moral faculties of other segments of society, and the very effort to help the disadvantaged will result in the moral betterment of society as a whole.

SUBMISSION

Poverty in the midst of plenty is one of the paradoxes of our North American Society. It is a problem which, until fairly recently, was thought to exist only in the developing countries. Today, however, the poor are making themselves felt and heard, and they are not just a small handful as some would like to suggest. It is estimated that one third of our population are living in poverty; and to be poor in a rich country is far worse than to be poor in a poor country where there is not as much contrast between the "haves and the have-nots".

The psychological effects of poverty in our society are as crippling as the direct effects due to the lack of financial means, if not more so. The poor are relegated to the "other side of the tracks", they are the slum dwell-

ers—often housed in dwellings that are dilapidated, lacking running water and indoor plumbing, and impossible to keep warm during the cold months. There they become estranged from the rest of society, and as such are deemed to be misfits and undesirables. It is no wonder that they lose all hope and give up their struggle for survival.

Any definition of poverty must include such factors as unemployment and under-employment, low wages, insufficient income, unskilled jobs, lack of education and training, poor health, poor housing, feelings of despondency and despair, repeated failures, feelings of being an outcast of society in general and inability to fit into the mainstream of life. The free enterprise system does not give evidence of its ability to deal with the problem, or perhaps it is not one that concerns it. Since poverty is a national problem it seems therefore that we need a nation-wide plan to combat it at the federal, provincial and municipal levels, which could incorporate most, if not all, of the following proposals.

(1) Full Employment

Full employment is a prime necessity for everyone able and willing to work. It is generally accepted that unemployment, under-employment, poor wages, and low earnings as a result of irregular employment are major contributing factors to poverty. In our present economic system there is no alternative to full employment, if poverty is to be alleviated. Long periods of unemployment and frequent interruptions in employment due to lay-offs lead to serious financial difficulties. The unemployed goes into debt. His household effects are repossessed. He moves to cheaper housing. He experiences dislocation of family life, and in general a lowering of the entire family's morale and self-esteem.

To meet the foregoing needs would require planning at the national level, and it may be that if the private sector cannot provide full employment then the government would have to provide jobs for those who are unemployed. The question may well be asked as to who is ultimately responsible for the well-being of all the people. Is this the responsibility of private enterprise, or is it the responsibility of government? Perhaps in twenty-five to fifty years time we may have to adopt a new concept of work, but for this and the next decade, work as we understand it, will still be necessary, if the incidence of poverty is to be diminished.

(2) Adequate Wages

A minimum wage that will provide an optimum standard of living for all is essential to serve as an incentive to work. In too many instances, the wages of the lower income worker are insufficient to maintain a reasonable standard of living, while welfare grants are higher. In a study on poverty in Ontario in 1964, the Ontario Federation of Labour stated that "approximately 30 per cent of the Canadian wage earners do not earn enough to pay income tax, and of those who do pay income tax, 55 per cent earn less than \$4,000 a year, and 34 per cent or roughly one and a half million wage earners earn less than \$3,000 a year." While wages have increased since 1964, it is assumed that the percentage of those not paying income tax is more or less the same. This situation helps to point out the need for a decent minimum wage.

(3) Adequate Unemployment Benefits

The lower income worker is most often the one who is frequently laid off. Because of his low income, he is unable to save up for that "rainy day". Present unemployment benefits rates can barely keep him from starvation, and the time lag in receiving it certainly adds to his difficulties in his efforts to survive. Unemployment benefits should be no less than 75 per cent of regular wages. It should also be noted, however, that large numbers of those who are unemployed do not qualify for unemployment insurance.

(4) Training Programmes

It is essential to train the untrained for available jobs. This may be done through existing Manpower programmes and/or training-on-the-job. The latter would require the willing cooperation of industry. Trainees would need to be given adequate living allowances so that they or their families would not have to go hungry while they are being trained.

(5) Relocation Allowances

Industries should be located within easy access of workers. However, there will be times when a worker may have to relocate in order to obtain work. Relocation allowances should be provided.

(6) Adequate Social Insurance or a Guaranteed Annual Income

Even if we could achieve full employment, there will be times when some people will be unemployed. This may be due to old age, sickness, disability, death, or displacement

due to automation. An adequate income is needed to replace lost earnings. Perhaps a guaranteed annual income may be more appropriate to take care of the needs of the worker and his family as this would prevent anyone from using up all of his savings before becoming eligible for assistance as is more or less the case at present. An adequate guaranteed annual income would also enable our older citizens to retire in a measure of comfort.

(7) Adequate Housing

Mr. Leon H. Keyserling in his study on poverty has this to say about bad housing: "The slums are off-shoots of poverty, but slums are also at the roots of poverty, because they affect the health and morale and behaviour of those who live in them." Poor quality housing and overcrowding which form part of the culture of poverty contribute to poor health and low morale. Low rental housing that meets good public health standards is needed.

(8) Full Medical and Hospital Coverage

Sickness, whether due to disease, accidents, or any other reason, contributes to poverty. Every man, woman and child should have full access to medical and hospital treatment, and all of the auxiliary services that may be needed to keep him in or restore him to maximum health.

(9) Special Educational Facilities and Techniques

The children of the poor are the ones who have the highest drop-out and failure rates in our school system. Contributing to this is, perhaps, their inability to adapt to the middle class oriented school system, and the failure of middle class teachers to understand the ways and needs of these lower-class children. Many of these children are from one parent homes—parents who can offer no stimulation to learning, and worse, many who view the present school system with hostility and fear after having experienced nothing but failure and frustration themselves. Teachers who are specially trained to understand the needs and value systems of the poor and who are sympathetic to their children are needed. Perhaps we may need to set up residential schools in order to remove these children from their present environment, if no radical change can be made in their home conditions.

(10) Family Service Agencies

Family Service Agencies in conjunction with Public Health Services can play a major role in re-educating the poor in mental hygiene, home economics, nutrition, cooking, sewing, homemaking, purchasing of food, clothing, household goods, the proper care of children, budgeting, proper use of time-recreation, work study, and family life in general. In short, what is needed is to introduce a whole new sense of values. This applies not only to the poor but to all segments of society. "Through unscrupulous advertising we have created a way of life that is lacking in moral and spiritual values." Our national heroes are show business people, ball players, hockey players, and pop artists. Financial help alone will not be enough, essential as that is, we must educate people to make sound choices in their life styles.

(11) Day Care Centres

The proportion of married women entering the labour force has been increasing steadily. It is estimated that of the number of women who are in the work force, married women comprise approximately 50 per cent of the total. As would be expected, the highest proportion of these working wives have husbands whose incomes are in the lower income groups. Invariably, working mothers cannot make satisfactory arrangements for their preschoolers. Usually some relative, or neighbour helps to keep the child, while a few lucky ones are sent to a day care centre or nursery school. In the majority of cases, the conditions under which the child is kept leave much to be desired. Day care centres can play a very useful role in the fight against poverty, if there are sufficient numbers of them with trained personnel who will offer not merely protective care to the children of working mothers, but who will also function in an educational capacity to the parents. A child's growth and emotional development may be stimulated or retarded depending on the kind of activities with which he is brought into contact. Parents should therefore be involved in their children's activities in day care centres in order that they may assist in their children's development and in their own understanding of child care. Day care centres should be either free or there should be some system of tax allowance to offset the cost.

(12) Work Shops

Since we are a work oriented society and believe that everyone who can work should do so, or be branded as shiftless, lazy and

indolent no-goods, many of those who are handicapped either temporarily or permanently feel guilty and worthless because they are unable to enter or re-enter the competitive labour market. To meet the needs of the thousands of persons who at some time or another become temporarily handicapped or permanently handicapped, we need to have a system of work shop industries embracing the most simple to the most complex type of jobs on a progressively graded basis that would accommodate all levels of handicapped persons, and enable them to advance to the highest level or work for which they are ultimately capable.

Each handicapped worker should receive a minimum wage that would enable him to maintain the standard of living accepted and expected by society. Incentive payments should be given every time the worker's productivity increases and when he moves from a less complex to a more complex task. The ultimate aim of these workshops being to transfer as many workers back to the regular competitive labour market. The successful operation of such workshops would need the support of all levels of government, in particular the national government and the willing support of private industry and labour unions.

(13) Family Planning

It has been suggested that one of the problems that afflict the poor is the incidence of large families. Many a wage-earner with one or two children might be able to manage on a marginal income. But, with six or eight or even more children, all hope of survival economically or even socially steps out of reach.

A stepped-up programme of public information and education on family planning should be undertaken on a nation-wide scale by the Federal Department of Health and Welfare. Provincial Departments of Health through municipal boards of health could sponsor family planning clinics that would put this important tool to combat poverty within the reach of those who need it most and whose religious and conscientious scruples would permit them to use it.

The foregoing and many more services will be needed to combat poverty on a comprehensive scale. To be successful there will need to be close coordination and cooperation. This will involve the combined efforts of all levels of government and various agencies

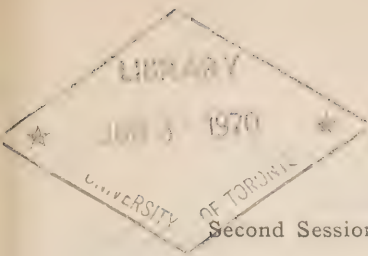
working in close collaboration, including Labour Councils, Employment Agencies, Canada Manpower Centres, Vocational Rehabilitation Services, Public Health Department, Family Counselling Services, Education Department, Welfare Department, Private Industry and the poor themselves.

CONCLUSION

Any society worthy of the support of its members must demonstrate a genuine concern and regard for its individual members and in particular, for its weaker, disadvantaged constituents. Canada, having entered upon its second century of national existence cannot hope to fulfill its destiny half slave and half free. The provision of a social, economic and political climate that will enable its people to reach the highest level of self-realization in a free society is an objective that should commend itself to all Canadians.

The Seventh-day Adventist Church in Canada wishes to make its contribution to the realization of a more equitable society that will give practical expression to the great Judeo-Christian principle of reverence for life with concern and compassion for the weak. We are confident that the report of this Committee will not only suggest the bold imaginative, legislative moves that Parliament can make to achieve this goal, but also delineate the role that private agencies and the Church can play to make Canada truly free for every Canadian.

We sincerely hope that the support for the work being done by this Committee under its distinguished Chairman as evidenced by the presentation of this Brief will serve to encourage the Committee in its work and commend the results of its efforts to our Country.



Second Session—Twenty-eighth Parliament
1969-70

THE SENATE OF CANADA

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE

ON

POVERTY

The Honourable DAVID A. CROLL, *Chairman*

No. 35

TUESDAY, APRIL 28, 1970

WITNESSES:

The Consumers' Association of Canada: Mrs. F. E. Jones, Vice-President; Mrs. W. E. Brechin, Chairman, National Studies Committee; Mrs. B. D. Balls, Executive Secretary; Mrs. David Anderson, Publicity and Public Relations Chairman.

APPENDIX:

"A"—Brief submitted by the Consumers' Association of Canada.

MEMBERS OF THE
SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

The Honourable David A. Croll, *Chairman*

The Honourable Senators:

Bélisle,	Hastings,
Carter,	Inman,
Connolly (<i>Halifax North</i>),	Lefrançois,
Cook,	MacDonald (<i>Queens</i>),
Croll,	McGrand,
Eudes,	Pearson,
Everett,	Quart,
Fergusson,	Roebuck,
Fournier (<i>Madawaska-Restigouche</i> ,	Sparrow.
<i>Deputy Chairman</i>),	

(18 Members)

(Quorum 6)

ORDERS OF REFERENCE

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Tuesday, October 28, 1969:

"The Honourable Senator Croll moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck:

That a Special Committee of the Senate be appointed to investigate and report upon all aspects of poverty in Canada, whether urban, rural regional or otherwise, to define and elucidate the problem of poverty in Canada, and to recommend appropriate action to ensure the establishment of a more effective structure of remedial measures;

That the Committee have power to engage the services of such counsel, staff and technical advisors as may be necessary for the purpose of the inquiry;

That the Committee have power to send for persons, papers and records, to examine witnesses, and to report from time to time;

That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate, and to adjourn from place to place;

That the evidence taken on the subject on the preceding session be referred to the Committee; and

That the Committee be composed of the Honourable Senators Bélisle, Carter, Cook, Croll, Eudes, Everett, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), Hastings, Inman, Lefrançois, McGrand, Pearson, Quart, Roebuck and Sparrow.

After debate,

In amendment, the Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Burchill, that the motion be not now adopted, but that it be amended by striking out paragraph 4 thereof and substituting therefor the following:—

"That the Committee be authorized to print such papers and evidence from day to day as may be ordered by the Committee, to adjourn from place to place, and notwithstanding Rule 76 (4), to sit during sittings and adjournments of the Senate."

After debate, and—

The question being put on the motion in amendment, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative.

The question being put on the motion of the Honourable Senator Croll, seconded by the Honourable Senator Roebuck, as amended it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

Extract from the Minutes of Proceedings of the Senate of Wednesday, October 29, 1969.

"With leave of the Senate,

The Honourable Senator McDonald moved, seconded by the Honourable Senator Smith:

That the names of the Honourable Senators Connolly (*Halifax North*) and MacDonald (*Queens*) be added to the list of Senators serving on the Special Committee of the Senate appointed to investigate and report all aspects of poverty in Canada; and

That the name of the Honourable Senator Nichol be removed from the list of Senators serving on the said Special Committee.

The question being put on the motion, it was—
Resolved in the affirmative."

ROBERT FORTIER,
Clerk of the Senate.

MINUTES OF PROCEEDINGS

TUESDAY, April 28, 1970.

Pursuant to adjournment and notice the Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Present: The Honourable Senators: Croll (*Chairman*), Eudes, Fergusson, Fournier (*Madawaska-Restigouche*), McGrand, Pearson and Quart.—(7)

In attendance: Mr. Frederick J. Joyce, Director.

The following witnesses were heard:

THE CONSUMERS' ASSOCIATION OF CANADA:

Mrs. F. E. Jones, Vice-President;

Mrs. W. E. Brechin, Chairman, National Studies Committee;

Mrs. B. D. Balls, Executive Secretary;

Mrs. David Anderson, Publicity and Public Relations Chairman.

The brief prepared and presented by the Consumers' Association of Canada was ordered to be printed as Appendix "A" to these proceedings.

At 11.30 a.m. the Committee adjourned until Thursday, April 30, at 9.30 a.m.

ATTEST.

Georges A. Coderre,
Clerk of the Committee.

THE SPECIAL SENATE COMMITTEE ON POVERTY

EVIDENCE

Ottawa, Tuesday, April 28, 1970

The Special Senate Committee on Poverty met this day at 9.30 a.m.

Senator David A. Croll (Chairman) in the Chair.

The Chairman: Honourable senators, this morning we have the Consumers' Association of Canada. On my right is Mrs. F. E. Jones, Vice-President, whose biographical sketch you have in front of you. She will introduce the persons who are here with her.

Mrs. F. E. Jones, Vice-President, Consumers' Association of Canada: On my right is Mrs. W. E. Brechin, from Etobicoke. She is Chairman of the National Studies Committee. Then there is Mrs. Frances Balls, Executive Secretary of the Association.

I think many of you are already acquainted with the Consumers' Association of Canada since we have been the national voluntary organization representing consumers' interests in Canada for the past 23 years. We want to stress that membership is open to any consumer in Canada for a nominal annual fee.

When CAC prepared this submission, we focused our attention on the particular needs of low-income consumers, but did not attempt to isolate the poor as any special group or to define precisely a poverty level or who are the poor in Canada. We have emphasized that consumer education should be given the highest priority, but we also emphasize that we are not proposing consumer education as the panacea or solution to the low-income consumer's problem in the Canadian marketplace. We particularly want to, as you will note at the end of item 2, emphasize four other needs; further consumer protection legislation, the need to grant additional authority to existing government agencies who have already been given responsibility to protect consumers, the need for more consistent and effective self-discipline of industry and business in accordance with their professed ethics, and, very important, the need

for a stronger organized independent consumer voice speaking for consumers of all income levels.

Throughout our submission, we emphasize that we see grouping of all consumers of all income levels together as needing many of the same educational and protective services. We considered that we should face the question of do the poor pay more, and in an effort to answer this question, CAC proceeds to have the local associations throughout Canada undertake a survey to compare prices on certain grocery items, clothing and furniture in stores in selected high-income and low-income areas in their respective cities, during one week of January of this year. The very first finding, and it may be one of the most significant, in the survey revealed that the poor in Canada are hidden. In several of the towns and small cities the survey could not be completed, as the members of the local association could not distinguish high and low income areas. In view of the problem of making clear distinction in income levels between the clientele of different stores, the general finding that there was no identifiable pattern of differences in prices between the sample stores in the high and low income areas is not surprising. Generally, uniform prices on the same items were noted. Although there were occasional variations in prices of individual items from store to store, the price was sometimes higher in the low income area store, but just as frequently the opposite was true and none of the differences were large.

Certain exceptions merit attention. Although there was insistence that no distinction could be made between high income and low income shopping areas in either Yellowknife or Whitehorse, higher food prices were reported in the stores closest to the Indian settlements in both cities, and we draw your attention to similar findings of a recent study in the United States that was far more extensive and comprehensive.

We note that most of the proposals to help the low income consumer are limited to help-

ing the individual cope more effectively with the existing market place. One finding in the CAC comparative pricing survey points up the potential of group action in affecting any consumer's purchasing power. Here we refer to the significant and consistent price variation on the majority of the items in co-operative stores as compared to the supermarkets, regardless of the income area in which the store was located. We note also the success of buying clubs for the poor, similar to Boston's Comarts, where the low income consumer derived learning and shopping skills from participating in the co-operative enterprise so that they could cope more confidently and competently in the open market, as well as receiving the additional benefit of reduced prices on specific items purchased through the co-operative.

We note also the introduction of low income buyers clubs, and the Winnipeg Buyers Association was drawn to our attention. We are aware that others are developing in other areas of Canada, but obviously initially help will be needed from other organizations for these low income buyers clubs to get started.

We suggest an alternative to developing exclusively low income buyers clubs or co-operatives, and suggest that existing co-operatives might be extended more aggressively to include low income consumers, again, in an effort not to segregate the low income consumer into a special group. We also point out that this would allow the low income consumer an opportunity to learn merchandising skills by working alongside other experienced members rather than starting with an inexperienced group. However, this suggestion does not mean that governments can evade their responsibilities in this area and assign these responsibilities totally to the co-operatives or to volunteer organizations.

We have noted that the low income consumer appears to be exposed to the same prices and, for the most part, to the same products as the high income consumer, but with concern we point out that he is exposed to the same blandishments to buy and to use credit and he enters the market place with severe restrictions on how he can purchase. We note also, as I know you have had drawn to your attention on numerous other occasions, the particular limitations of the low income purchaser. It is difficult for him to be a thrifty consumer, as we advise, when he cannot take advantage of end-of-season cloth-

ing sales or even special week-end buys. He does not have the resources to buy in bulk or quality for durability because he cannot afford the immediate larger cost and cannot do effective comparison shopping, as we continually advise the wise consumer, as his mobility is reduced because of the additional cost of transportation. His ability to shop around is further reduced by his lack of ready cash, as this directs his purchasing to specific stores that will supply credit and where the prices and choice may be less.

We note that this exposes the low income consumer to transactions with door-to-door salesmen, and here we note that the low income consumer is one who should particularly benefit under the cooling-off legislation, but we point out that this protection is useless to the low income consumer who is not aware that this protection exists. Where the information that the cooling-off period is allowed is not on the face of the contract, where the consumer does not have the confidence and the expertise to advise immediately he wishes to withdraw from the contract, such protective legislation has little value unless it is known and can be used. We note this in particular because this is one area where lack of information is an additional hindrance to the low income consumer.

We note too that the low income consumer is rarely eligible for the standard credit arrangement with department stores and has to buy credit at higher risk interest rates.

The low income consumer has the least confidence, ability or resources to seek civil redress for his grievances. Therefore, the federal and provincial government agencies already established to protect human interests should have their powers reassessed to ensure that they have adequate authority to act effectively on behalf of the low income consumer.

We note also that the sales tax operates specifically against the interest of the low income consumer, and given specific instances.

We had noted earlier the priority we place on consumer education, but this means that community institutions and organizations have a special responsibility for consumer education for the poor. We note particular groups in the community who enter the market place with the disadvantage of unfamiliarity and lack of knowledge.

We do tell you something of the efforts of the CAC in the area of consumer education, and share with you our question as to how much the low income consumer has been able to benefit from the public meetings, the group meetings in which CAC has provided speakers and leadership. We have confidence, however, that individual CAC members, frequently professional home economists, have made a contribution by assisting in giving courses to welfare mothers, training in homemaking, leadership in setting up debt counselling services, in developing programs for single parents and in assisting legal aid centres. Individual CAC members in cities across Canada have been involved in such projects.

In a number of cities in Canada CAC contributes to consumer education of an unidentified public, and we assume a large number of low income consumers, by providing weekly radio or television programs.

In addition, in three of the major cities—Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver—CAC has provided a telephone information service to consumers that is used extensively. We have made no distinction as to who of what level of income use the telephone service; probably a number of low income consumers have availed themselves of this resource. We do question how useful printed material can be to the low income consumer. Our major effort to educate and inform the members of the consumer's association has been through our bi-monthly publication "Canadian Consumer." We are concerned that only a portion of the public libraries of Canada subscribe to the *Canadian Consumer*, even though it is doubtful that low income consumers make extensive use of such references in libraries.

This brings us to our further suggestion as to the effective transmission of consumer information and education to the low income consumer. We do suggest that neighbourhood information centres modelled on the Citizens Advice Bureaux which have operated in Great Britain since early in World War II could be an effective base for the provision of consumer information and education to the low income consumer when he needs it and at a place where he can use it. Certainly the Consumer Information Service offered as one of the wide range of services provided by the Citizens Advice Bureaux has been extensively utilized by British Consumers. Our report published in 1968 indicated that the fastest growing category of inquiries handled by the CAB has related to such consumer problems

as instalment buying agreements, high pressure doorstep salesmen, guarantees, and the quality of goods, which are all matters of concern of Canadian consumers and particularly of the low income consumers.

We point out also the advantage of integrating consumer information and education with other programs designed to relieve poverty. We note that volunteers from associations like the Consumer's Association would be an essential back-up to the provision of information services by neighbourhood centres.

In paragraph 15 we emphasize the fact that we are only suggesting ways of alleviating poverty. We recognize that the essential problem is one of lack of income.

There is one final point we wish to make on consumer education. We have devoted much energy and effort to pressuring for the introduction of consumer education into school curricula before the drop-outs leave school. You may have further questions on that point, and I suggest that Mrs. Brechin, in particular, might speak to it.

The Chairman: If there is nothing further that the other members of the delegation wish to say then I gather they are ready for our questions.

Senator Fournier: I am pleased to hear this morning that somebody is thinking of trying to do something about consumer education. I firmly believe that if we are going to be successful in removing poverty then consumer education is an essential part of that process.

As I read your brief yesterday I was struck by two statements. One is that the poor pay more, and I should like to have further explanation of that. I know that you have given some explanation, but this is a point for discussion. The other statement is that the poor are hidden and cannot be found. This is a point that I would like clarified. I am a poor man, while the chairman is a very wealthy man. When I go to a store does it cost me more than it does him to buy a pound of coffee or a pound of cheese

Mrs. Jones: No. This is a point we really discovered in our survey. In attempting to compare prices in the low income and the high income areas we found that you were lucky to be paying the same amount in each. We asked this question: Do the poor pay more? The actual price that they pay appears

to be the same, but to the low income person it is a larger percentage of his disposable dollar.

Senator Fournier: Did you make a check as between the supermarkets and the local corner grocery stores?

Mrs. Jones: Yes, one of the reports from this survey, which was done by volunteers in the local associations, indicates that supermarkets are pretty generally available. We noted—and this relates to your other question as to the hidden poor—that in the small cities and towns of Canada everybody is likely to be shopping in the same areas. There was recognition of the fact that a different situation prevails in Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver, and to some extent in Winnipeg where there seemed to be a mix as to where people shopped.

Senator Fournier: I am thinking of the supermarket where you have to pay cash, and the local corner grocery store which will give credit. Is there some advantage to the poor in either of these categories of stores?

Mrs. Jones: There did not seem to be any particular advantage offered by either the smaller store or the supermarket. We are certainly not suggesting that our survey proves there is not a difference, but from the limited number of stores that we compared there is not the significant difference that has been suggested in some of the other studies.

Mrs. W. E. Brechin, Chairman, National Studies Committee, Consumers' Association of Canada: The comment that came back to us from Toronto was that in the small stores the larger sizes, which give greater value for your expenditure, were generally not available. The small size was there, but there was not the choice available to the consumer. In one area which is generally considered to be a low income area there was only one supermarket but many small stores within walking distance. There was not a choice as between the supermarkets.

Senator Fournier: Would you agree that the women who are doing the shopping usually go for the small packages instead of the large ones? There are many reasons for that. For instance, there is the matter of transportation, and the large packages naturally are more costly.

Mrs. Jones: This is what we recognize when we say that the low income consumer cannot buy in bulk. As you say, they do not

have the ready cash to take the larger package, and the fact that they have to carry the larger packages home is a consideration. When they do get them home they have no place in which to store them.

Senator Fergusson: Mr. Chairman, I should like to thank the delegation for appearing before us. I found their brief most interesting, and it touches on things that we have not gone into so deeply in this study.

You will realize why I am particularly interested in your work when I tell you that in 1923 I was a provincial president of the Council of Women, and one of the responsibilities of provincial presidents at that time was to try to organize throughout Canada what was then called the Canadian Association of Consumers, and which is now the Consumers' Association of Canada. It has retained the same initials, and it is generally known as the CAC. So, I have been extremely interested in your work, and I have remained so, and I have followed it through the years. You have had ups and downs, and I think it is terrific that you have been able to continue and are now in such an excellent position that you are recognized as a very important group in Canada. This is one reason why we are very glad to have you appear before us.

I would like to congratulate you particularly on your being able to continue the *Canadian Consumer*. I know that this has been a real struggle, but there is a terrific amount of information that would be very helpful to poor people if they knew about it. One of the things we have to do, I think, is see to it that this information gets wider circulation. Have you any way of putting the *Canadian Consumer* into the hands of people other than those who subscribe to it. I understand that you send it to libraries.

The Chairman: No, they sell it to libraries. They did not say they send it to libraries.

Senator Fergusson: The libraries pay for it, do they?

Mrs. Jones: Yes, this is one of our problems as an organization whose funds come from the membership fees. This, of course, is where we see that there can be greater government support which would enable us to extend service to people beyond the membership. At this point we are desperately struggling to do this. It is a major concern of our executive, whose meetings are under way now.

Senator Fergusson: Do you not consider it possible that you might circulate this to more people who need it, even though you do not have Government support?

Mrs. Jones: Yes.

Mrs. Frances Balls, Executive Secretary, Consumers' Association of Canada: This is done through the consumer education courses rather than actually giving them the magazine, which they may not read anyway. As we have pointed out, they probably do not use a great deal of reading material. Therefore, we are trying to introduce adult education courses of consumer education in the schools. This is where our manpower goes.

The Chairman: This is where your money goes is what you mean, is it not?

Mrs. Balls: Yes, both.

Mrs. Brechin: We reach the people in another way, not necessarily with the *Canadian Consumer* itself, but the material from it is reprinted by weekly and daily newspapers throughout Canada. We have a column entitled "News and Views" which is a condensation of articles prepared by one of our volunteer members. This is circulated to about 400 weekly and daily newspapers and used very extensively.

Senator Quart: I certainly echo Senator Fergusson's views with respect to the Consumers' Association of Canada, with which I am familiar. Would it not be possible to have volunteer speakers in high schools and universities?

Mrs. Jones: We do.

Senator Quart: Then I am a little late with that suggestion.

Senator Fergusson: In page 1 of your brief you state:

We refer to the need for further consumer protection legislation, the need to grant additional authority to existing government agencies who have been given the responsibility to protect consumers, the need for more consistent and effective self-discipline of industry and business in accord with their professed ethics, and the need for a stronger organized independent consumer voice speaking for consumers of all income levels.

I would like to know just what legislation you have in mind with respect to the need for

further consumer protection. I find the reference to the need for more consistent and effective self-discipline of industry and business interesting. I have mentioned it once or twice in this committee without a very enthusiastic response. How do you visualize that this self-discipline could be brought about?

Mrs. Brechin: I cannot offer any suggestions as to how it can be brought about, except by a change in the general climate. The fact that many industries are publishing codes of ethics indicates that they see the need for self-discipline and probably are moving toward it. We feel that they might move toward it more rapidly. The fact that the larger ethical industry is more apt to be bound by these codes than some of the small, fly-by-night operators makes the low income consumers particularly vulnerable. Very often he lacks the confidence or financial resources to go to the large industry or retailer. This is something that business must do itself. However, as consumers we can create the climate in which business will feel impelled to discipline itself more.

Mrs. Jones: The reference to consumer protection is in the general area of contracts and warranties. We have not identified the particular legislation in the brief, but it is particularly related to protection under guarantees. This is a problem for the lower income consumer, who sometimes does not even have the competence to avail himself of the protection which may be there now. This waiving of his rights without his knowing it is a matter of real concern.

Senator McGrand: I am following the lines of Senator Fournier's question with respect to the poor paying more. The areas in which poor people are found today are usually not close to the shopping centres, which are strategically placed close to the middle class areas and where there is good bus service. Do you find that to be the case. If this is so, then do you think that the answer is to have market facilities brought into the low income areas, with proper 'bus service.

Mrs. Jones: We are wondering what you mean by shopping centres.

Senator McGrand: Our supermarkets are strategically placed where 'bus services come and go and in the middle of upper class areas. Are there proper marketing facilities, shopping centres, in the areas where the poor

live. It seems to me that they do not have good 'bus service and some cannot afford to go to the shopping centres by 'bus. Is that one of the problems?

Mrs. Jones: This is certainly one of the concerns. The volunteers who at our request observed the clothing and furniture noted particularly that there were no outlets for clothing and furniture within low income areas. They did note the difference in quality in the merchandise that was available in those two particular areas. There was not as great a problem with respect to food and grocery items, which did seem to be available in any area. The problem remains how attractive it would be to bring a store to this kind of area. Our approach throughout has not been the need to support special shopping facilities for the poor, but to consider the problem of their having enough money to operate in the marketplace with everyone else. This is consistent with our other approach, that we should not consider that the amount of protection needed in the marketplace is that needed for the more sophisticated and able shoppers, but for the less able shopper.

Senator McGrand: Do the large chain stores co-operate in the consumer education of the poor, and in providing the poor with, perhaps not a lower standard of assortment, but something that is suitable to them. It seems to me that with competition between these chain stores they are after the dollars and are not concerned with anything else. On page 3 you say that higher food prices are reported in stores closest to the Indian settlements. Do you know of any reason for this.

Mrs. Jones: No. This is simply an observation that we make from the findings of the survey.

Senator Fergusson: Were the prices noticeably higher.

Mrs. Jones: They were consistently higher, but there was not that much difference. One other interesting detail in the findings is that in one of the stores near the Indian settlement the meat prices were not marked. The meat prices quoted by the store manager were lower than in any other store, but it is significant that the prices were not marked; this was the information given by the manager.

Senator McGrand: What about the quality of the meat? Was it as good?

Mrs. Jones: On the whole; the same brands seemed to be available in both. There was no comment on that.

Senator McGrand: What has been the success of the buying clubs in the Boston Co-Mart?

Mrs. Jones: Really successful. As we note, the participants graduated really from buying exclusively through the co-marts to being able to handle shopping adequately on the open market. We are looking at this as real education, learning from experience how to apply the results in a broader area.

Senator McGrand: This is how to apply consumer education.

Senator Quart: Senator McGrand has stolen my music about the buying clubs, which I had marked out as my area of interest. To follow his questions, might I ask if you have done anything very much along these lines in Canada? How did you approach it? Through the association of what? Again, what type of buying club is it, and how does it operate in Boston and Winnipeg? Have they a special locale, or something, where people go?

Mrs. Jones: Yes, in Winnipeg. The answer to the first question is, No. C.A.C. has not been involved in sponsoring or initiating any of these to date. We are looking at this. The Winnipeg Buyers Association, to which I refer, is a relatively new group, and is given some leadership by some of the voluntary welfare organizations in the city. It was brought to my attention by a member of the Welfare Council advising the Minister of Health and Welfare. Their last meeting was in Winnipeg and the existence of this association was brought to our attention through this council member. Since our brief was circulated to our board, other members of the board have drawn to my attention, without giving me enough detail that I can share with you, that there are other buyer associations being organized, directed particularly towards the low income consumer. What we want to emphasize is that we wish to look more closely at the alternative of encouraging existing buyers' clubs and co-ops to devise ways of bringing low income consumers into that group, rather than setting up another category of buyers' clubs for low income people and again setting them aside out of society.

The Chairman: Are you not setting them aside by merely talking about low income group shopping? Is our purpose to get away

from that, as you have said, to provide them an income so that they shop like other people? If you continually talk about low income groups and making special provisions for low income groups they will be there perpetually.

Mrs. Jones: Always.

The Chairman: Then why do you people do that? Why do you consistently keep making that approach?

Mrs. Jones: I do not think we do. I would again point to our reference to introduce consumer education into the schools at an early level, when every child is still in the school, so that everyone has the same access to information. This is the idea of our suggesting neighbourhood information centres being available to everybody, not just to low income people. I think every one of our suggestions tries to include them.

Senator Quart: I believe you are doing a wonderful job. Yesterday afternoon I was out shopping with some ladies, and we found ourselves in a situation that I think you would appreciate. At the Billings Bridge shopping centre we went into a store and saw a handbag similar to one that one of my friends had with her, but we found that it was marked at \$3 more than she had paid for hers. There seemed to be no reason for this, so we spoke about it to the saleslady, who said it could not be the same sort of handbag. We examined the bags thoroughly and discovered they were the same. The manager was not there, but I suggested that we pursue the matter a little further, although none of us wanted to buy the bag. The saleslady telephoned to another of their stores, after which we were told that probably an error had been made in marking the cost. I let fall the remark "Boy! I think the Consumers' Association should know about this," and we were then told that if we wanted to buy the bag we could do so at the same price that my friend had paid for hers. This led me to remark on the value of volunteers working in this respect, because I am a great believer in volunteers. If I might coin a phrase: hell hath no greater fury than a group of dedicated women volunteers who think the devil is trying to put something over on them. Of course, the saleslady had suggested that we might like to contact the manager, but I think that if more people did that sort of thing and dropped hints about referring it to the Consumers' Association, as we did yesterday afternoon, it might help

you, and it would certainly help stabilize prices in different areas. This happened in the Billings Bridge shopping centre.

Mrs. Jones: This is the advantage of comparative shopping, but it involves being mobile enough to go from one area to another. It also involves having the time to do it.

Senator Quart: Of course. Certainly the poor have not the time nor the money to go around doing that. I think that from a humanitarian viewpoint Senator McGrand's suggestion of having the large shopping centres nearer the poor areas might be a good one, but as businessmen I do not think the promoters of the shopping centres would agree, they want to be near the buying public. Would you not think that was so? Have I made myself clear?

Mrs. Brechin: Yes. Perhaps you might be interested in an alternative to this, which is working successfully. A Consumers' Association group was responsible for obtaining a bus service for the residents of a low income housing group, who were segregated, put away from the rest of humanity, and did not have the facilities available. The CAC group were able to obtain a bus which on one day a week, on Thursday, after the Wednesday shopping group, picks them up and takes them to a large shopping plaza. Now before that bus comes, the group have a get-together where they have coffee and discuss the ads which have appeared the night before to determine which would be the best buys, and to help these people and to answer their questions, if it is possible. It is a way of educating as well as increasing their mobility. Granted it is only a drop in the bucket.

Senator Quart: I think it is much more than a drop in the bucket.

Mr. Jones: There is another example you might be interested in. The CAC group, by pressuring for re-zoning of a particular area, was able to ensure that there was competition for the one existing grocery shopping centre in a low-income public housing area. We successfully pressured for this and so there was an opportunity to compare prices, and it was not the trapped group of shoppers that had existed prior to that.

Senator McGrand: Do you think that you can successfully teach consumer buying to high school students? There was mention of the fact that this should be taught more in high schools. I am of the impression that most

of the young people going through high school today care very little about consumer buying, and it is not until they have set up housekeeping and are confronted with a situation where they have only so much money to spend and so much food to buy that they become conscious of it. I am of the impression that many young women do not learn to cook until they get married.

Senator Quart: If even then.

The Chairman: I am sure Senator Pearson can correct us on that.

Senator Pearson: Referring to the question about the sales tax, you say in one part of your brief that the sales tax weighs more heavily on the poor than on others. Your idea seems to be that it might be well if the government concerned would cut out the sales tax entirely. But how would they recompense themselves for cutting this out?

Mrs. Jones: Well, we would see progressive income taxes as being one way of avoiding taxation of the really low-income consumer. Our concern with sales tax is where it applies to foods and necessities. You note that we refer to the sales tax on margarine.

The Chairman: But that is the only one.

Mrs. Jones: But it is also on children's clothing. We feel it is not realistic, particularly in relation to the size of today's children.

The Chairman: The one reason that it is still on margarine is that the government will not admit it is a food. The minute it admits that it is food, it will lose a terrific amount of money in tax.

Mrs. Jones: The only thing I do with margarine is eat it.

Senator Pearson: The other question I wanted to deal with was this co-ordination or consolidation of debts. Have you any program on that and how to overcome the advertising we see all the time about how to consolidate your debts and pay one person instead of paying half a dozen?

Mrs. Jones: I suppose this is a continuing battle around education on the use of credit, and some of our CAC members have given leadership in establishing credit counselling services and debt counselling services, but these are purely remedial measures for the person who is already in trouble.

Senator Pearson: But you have no definite program you are working on?

Mrs. Brechin: To curb the advertising, we have no definite program. But for the last two years we have been working on the whole aspect of credit and the training of consumers into realizing its costs and its dangers, and how to use it wisely, if they are going to use it. But we have not a definite program against the advertising.

Senator Pearson: How wide-spread is your organization throughout Canada? Can you get in touch with great blocks of people throughout the big cities?

Mrs. Balls: We have 52 local organizations and nine provincial organizations. Out of the 52 local organizations, we have three in the Northwest Territories and in the Yukon combined, so that those territories are covered.

Senator Pearson: But how many members?

Mrs. Balls: We have 40,000 members.

Senator Pearson: Do you keep in touch with these members? Is this part of your educational program?

Mrs. Balls: Yes, it is.

Senator Pearson: You keep in touch with them through circulars?

Mrs. Balls: Primarily through the *Canadian Consumer*, and we also send studies and information out to the local executives so that they can take these and work on them on their own area. This gives an opportunity for regional differences to be considered because a person in that area knows best how to present a particular program.

Senator Pearson: Are your members all volunteers?

Mrs. Balls: Yes, they are.

Senator Pearson: You are not quite sure of what you are driving at or whether you are going to get the program through.

Mrs. Balls: Well, we get reports back from the areas, so that we can analyze these and see if more information on one particular aspect should be sent to one particular area or if information on something else should be sent to another area, or if everybody should get more information on the same aspects.

Senator Pearson: So some areas may give you very few returns and you can then concentrate on seeing why you are getting so few.

Mrs. Balls: To a certain extent, yes. We are always trying to improve the areas where we don't have a very active group.

The Chairman: What is your membership fee?

Mrs. Jones: Three dollars a year, and that includes the *Canadian Consumer*.

Senator Fournier: How much does that cost you?

Mrs. Jones: Three dollars per year.

Senator Fournier: But to get it on the market?

Mrs. Jones: If you were buying an individual copy of the *Canadian Consumer*, it would be 60 cents, but it is mainly available to the members.

Senator Fournier: But how much does it cost you to have it printed?

Mrs. Balls: We cannot give a breakdown of that because we have not got the time-costs for our editor. The direct paper and printing costs are 10 cents a copy.

Senator Fournier: But I want the total in bulk. How much of that money is put to this?

The Chairman: How many copies do you use?

Mrs. Jones: The current *Canadian Consumer* has a run of 40,000.

The Chairman: That is 40,000 at 10 cents a copy.

Mrs. Jones: But that is just the paper and printing costs. The problem is that our editor has many other duties besides editing the magazine, and then there are the other administration costs and translation.

Mrs. Balls: And then there is postage also.

Senator Fournier: Your membership is \$120,000 from 40,000 members. How much of that money goes towards publishing the magazine?

Mrs. Jones: We cannot give you that breakdown.

Mrs. Balls: We do not have the money to get an accounting firm to give us a breakdown.

Senator Fournier: You must pay somebody?

Mrs. Balls: We have an editor who has public relations duties and administrative

duties in the office in addition to editing the magazine, and it would mean doing a time analysis to ascertain how much is actually spent on putting out the magazine, plus the time of the secretary who also covers these areas.

Mrs. Jones: We cannot even tell you the precise translation costs. The *Canadian Consumer* is published in English and in French in the same publication.

Senator Quart: To clarify things for you Senator Fournier: How many have you on staff, the entire executive staff?

Mrs. Balls: Eight people.

Mrs. Jones: But only two are executive staff, and six are clerical.

Senator Quart: Eight staff in all. Is it not fantastic what you do with eight paid employees?

The Chairman: Mrs. Jones, as I understand it, the membership is 40,000, at \$3 a membership. That has risen in recent years, has it not?

Mrs. Jones: Yes, probably within the last five years; the last increase was probably about five years ago.

The Chairman: In addition to the money that you receive here, there is a Government grant?

Mrs. Jones: Right, through the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs.

The Chairman: We follow that up usually by the normal remark that: It is totally inadequate, but you take it just the same.

Mrs. Jones: Right.

The Chairman: For the moment we are dealing with the society as is, and we have in that society the poverty stricken. In trying to reach these people, in the main the bulk of them you will find within that four million group that we talk about, the 20 per cent.

Mrs. Jones: Yes.

The Chairman: Of course, you do not have to look far to find a very large number of them in the welfare web. That is correct?

Mrs. Jones: Right.

The Chairman: And the disadvantaged. Those lists are available to you without any difficulty. Having that large group—and I am

talking now about the welfare poor, the disadvantaged, the blind, crippled, maimed and old, and the female head of family—they are all what we call below the poverty line. Now, have we them identified?

Mrs. Jones: Yes.

The Chairman: We will leave the working poor alone for the moment.

Mrs. Jones: Yes.

The Chairman: So these consist of about two million people. What have you done to reach these people who particularly have needs, as against trying to reach my wife or Senator Fournier's wife, who can use the information but it is not a matter of bread and butter?

Mrs. Jones: The point we are making is that it is more important to reach this group, and I think, like every other individual professional volunteer, we have not the answer as to how to reach them effectively. We think our use of television is one way of getting some information across, but we are convinced that it is the personal face-to-face contact that matters. That is why we say we have some confidence that we do reach that group through individual CAC volunteers working with identified groups in special projects. We have much more confidence that we can be effective in giving them the information they need through neighbourhood centres on a face-to-face basis.

The Chairman: I am not being critical of your organization, please understand that. We have been through it all in the consumer field. I think we know what it is all about, but I think the Government are taking the view that one of our difficulties is that there is not enough participation by the people who need it...

Mrs. Jones: Right, but it costs money to participate.

The Chairman: No, it does not—participation by the people who need it in positions sometimes of decision-making. Why have you not in your group 10 per cent of the 40,000 who are welfare participants, membership free? Do not forget, you are drawing money from the Government—not that you have a great deal, and we would like to see you getting more, and we will help, but you are drawing money from the Government and these are people who pay some taxes which, in part, go towards the money you receive.

Why have they not representation on the consumers' group in some form or another? Do you not have to reach out to these people rather than talk at them, and draw them into your group, on some basis, in the various organizations across the country? We have found in our travels about the country that where we have been able to bring these people into participation they have been very appreciative. Is that not your mission?

Mrs. Jones: Yes, it is very very much our mission.

The Chairman: Then why are you not doing it?

Mrs. Jones: We are trying. It is a tough job, as I was explaining. When I interrupted you a moment ago I said that participation costs money. You cannot go to a meeting without your bus fare. Who subsidizes that?

The Chairman: Oh, you mean the poor people have not the money to come?

Mrs. Jones: Right.

The Chairman: I agree with that.

Mrs. Jones: They need more money in order to participate. Our enthusiasm about this organization is related to the fact that it offers the opportunity for the low income consumer to be part of it. This is the thrust of our whole brief.

The Chairman: You and I, as chairman of the committee and on behalf of the committee, have talked for a moment about an identifiable group, and we identified some a few moments ago. These people receive cheques from the Government on a monthly basis. Does it not seem simple that a special attempt should be made by including some special information form the consumers' group, who are independent, to be presented with the cheque, saying: "There is information you ought to have which may help you to save money, or information that would be useful to you"? It seems to me that is not a very expensive proposition.

Mrs. Jones: I think it could be quite expensive, and you might not be giving them the information they need and could use at a given time. This is a sort of storage of information, and people can only use the information they need at a given time, and this is why we see the more effective way of getting information to these people is in the face-to-face neighbourhood information centre where

we would see them becoming involved. It is where they are.

The Chairman: In the last three years we have had established the Department of Consumer and Corporate Affairs, and almost every province in Canada has a consumer affairs department.

Mrs. Jones: Right.

The Chairman: Our problems seem to be increasing, so what has happened that has changed the picture?

Mrs. Jones: You are asking us to evaluate the Government departments?

The Chairman: Certainly.

Mrs. Jones: We are saying that they need to be stronger and have more resources, and that they should be ready to take or initiate action on behalf of the individual. They have limited much of their activity to handing out printed material that you have referred to, and we question whether that is really consumer education or adequate consumer education.

The Chairman: Most of the provinces have laws concerning this matter of buying on time payments.

Mrs. Balls: But even the well educated consumer does not know about them, let alone the low income consumer.

The Chairman: Then we get back to the problem that you are not involving the low income consumer; you are not reaching him somehow.

Mrs. Balls: Is it up to us? Yes, we try to educate them, but is it not part of the Government's responsibility to tell these people what the laws are?

The Chairman: You can tell the people what the laws are, but that does not help them too much. I can tell you that from experience. But, involving them is another matter. Involving them is not telling them what the laws are; involving them is helping them to live with the laws.

Mrs. Balls: I agree.

The Chairman: That is what I am talking about.

Mrs. Balls: But is not that partly the responsibility of government as well. I am not saying that we should not do that kind of

thing—or that we are not doing it, because we are doing it in some areas.

The Chairman: But government can only involve them at pretty high levels, whereas you can involve them at all levels, because you are a consumer's association.

Mrs. Jones: But we have no resources with which to do it.

The Chairman: That is what you say, and I agree.

Mrs. Jones: And they need some resources to enable them to participate. Whatever is involved in this word "participation", it really means engaging in some exchange with another person. If that is not a forced engagement in an individual's home, then the individuals have to come out to our meetings.

Mrs. Brechin: We see the neighbourhood information centres as an involvement. Part of the lack of value in government services as we have them now is in the fact that they are fragmented. You have to go to this department and that department, and this agency and that agency. They are not co-ordinated. There is not one spot to which a citizen can go, and be directed to the means of solving his problem. We see the information centres as filling this need by providing one easily identifiable spot to which a consumer can direct his complaints, and through which he can participate and learn.

The Chairman: But has not the Department of Consumer Affairs attempted to make it possible for an individual to bring his problems to their attention?

Mrs. Brechin: Yes, but the Department of Consumer Affairs very often turns out not to be the department which is concerned with the particular problem. The problem may concern the Department of Agriculture, so the Department of Consumer Affairs merely refers the individual to the Department of Agriculture. Part of his problem may be solved there, but another part of it may concern the Department of Health, and so he is referred to the Department of Health. To the low income consumer this is a complete impossibility.

The Chairman: What are you suggesting as an alternative?

Mrs. Brechin: We suggest that the neighbourhood information centres could be a co-ordinating body of sources of information,

using both volunteers and Government workers. Every one would be working together, each contributing his own strengths.

Mrs. Jones: We are concerned also about the accessibility to Box 99, to which you referred. This involves a stamp, and it involves getting a complaint form and filling it out. These are real barriers to the low income person, and this is concerned with making his problem known. We are expecting a certain level of education, but usually when a consumer gets to that level of education he can handle many things for himself. We want to help people who are below that level.

The Chairman: I have a feeling that despite what we have done in the field of consumers affairs, both federally and provincially, we really have not made any miles. That is the substance of the evidence you have given—at least, you cannot put your finger on any benefits that there may be.

Mrs. Jones: We do not feel that they have included the role of the voluntary organizations by any means.

The Chairman: No one is suggesting that they be excluded. Among consumers particularly they have a very important role to play, and they have always had that field. The feeling I have—and this is the second time that I have been through this mill, as you know—is that somehow you are not reaching the public. There is the very fact that your magazine, which is a very good magazine, is sold to libraries. I can understand why libraries are not buying it. On the other hand, it should be available at almost any place.

Mrs. Jones: Who is going to finance it, then?

The Chairman: Of course, that is another matter. The Government has indicated that it is prepared to spend some money to help your group. These areas in which they can be very helpful should be pointed out to them particularly. The Government spends a great deal on sending out real junk free of charge to many people. You could turn the matter over to them and tell them to pass it out to the libraries and to the universities, and to other institutions.

Senator Pearson: Mr. Chairman, there are many circulars going out from the Government and from consumers organizations, but in actual fact you will never get anywhere with this unless you do a salesman's job on it,

and that means personal contact. The mere fact that information is sent out does not mean a thing, except that some people may read some of it.

The Chairman: How do we get personal contact?

Senator Pearson: That is the problem.

Mrs. Balls: We get it through our neighbourhood information.

Senator Fournier: You have covered a lot of ground in your brief, and it is very interesting. As I said a while ago, we have an unusual group before us this morning in that they are people who are doing something about helping consumers. Most of the subject has been touched upon, and I would be inclined to support Senator McGrand in what he said about training in schools. I would think that the young boys and girls would not be too interested in it, although you might do something in the home economics classes.

Mrs. Balls: No, the boys need it too. I think the extent to which they become interested in it depends upon the way in which it is presented. We can see it being used in the ma'h class in grade one where they are comparing the different costs of so many apples and oranges. It could deal with matters like insurance, how to buy a house and how to buy a car. These are things that the boys should know as well. They should know how to make a will. I think it would be useful to include both boys and girls in such classes.

I do not agree entirely with the statement that they are not interested in consumer information. They might not be interested in knowing how to buy groceries at that particular point of time, but they are interested in knowing how to buy clothes, because they like to have as many new and stylish clothes as possible. They can be shown how to make their money go further in that area, and they can be shown how to buy a car. A boy can be shown a breakdown of his income and how much he has to make payments on the car, because he will not have enough saved up to pay for it entirely, and how much he has left over to run that car.

Senator Fournier: I do not disagree with you, but I think you are facing a problem when you want to change the curricula.

Mrs. Balls: Yes, we are.

Senator Fournier: The time when a young couple realizes they need this type of training is when they are married and are having to face the music.

Mrs. Balls: But they should have it before then, you see.

Senator Fournier: Yes, I agree with you completely. I notice that you are not working too much with the welfare people. You have very little to do with the welfare people?

Mrs. Jones: Only through these individual volunteers.

Senator Fournier: There was a remark made here about transportation—the provision of buses, and so on. This is a good move, but it is my experience that people on welfare—and these are the people I refer to when I talk about the poor—do not hesitate to pay \$5 for a taxi when they go shopping. This is a problem of which you may not be aware, but we are aware of it. It has taken place on many occasions. With respect to the hidden poor, we also find that it is not possible to find where the poor are, from the surface anyway, unless you go to the homes.

Mrs. Jones: That is really what we are indicating.

Senator Fournier: Sometimes they may not be as poor as we think they are, although inside the four walls of the little shack there may be some suffering. On page 1 reference is made to the need for more legislation, the need to grant additional authority to existing Government agencies. While I do not disagree with your recommendation, we have to keep in mind that every time we put more regulations into statutes we are cutting down the freedom of society, of which there is not much left now. We always must be careful of this. We receive recommendations from nearly everyone who appears here that there be more regulations. We are living in a democratic society and hope we can keep our freedom. However, every time we ask the Government to add another post to the fence already surrounding us we must be cautious. These needs can be met by education and the programs you are carrying out now, talking to the people, and always preserving freedom.

I do not want an answer to this; I am just making a remark with reference to your finances. You receive \$120,000 a year, plus a grant of maybe \$10,000. I hope it is.

Mrs. Jones: It is better than that.

Senator Fournier: So much the better; that aggravates the problem. You all work on a voluntary basis, yet you have no money. I am going to try to find out somehow where the money is going.

Mrs. Jones: One place...

Senator Fournier: You do not have to answer.

Mrs. Jones: A sizable amount this year paid for the increased postal rates, which cost us an absolute increase of \$9,000 in one year.

The Chairman: Was the grant increased by that amount?

Mrs. Jones: No, it was not taken into consideration at all.

Senator Quart: You mention one of my pet theories for a co-ordinating council of some sort where people could go and not get the runaround that "we can do nothing for you here" without too much definite information as to where you go from there. The CAC is very close to the heart of all this poverty, because naturally buying comes into it to a great extent. Would it not be wonderful if through your Association co-ordinating councils were set up with probably one person for staff and volunteers helping out? That one person would be paid by the Government. I am going to be just as popular as a skunk at a garden party for saying this.

Mrs. Jones: Our title for this structure is neighbourhood information centres, which are modelled on the citizens advice bureaux in England. These bureaux are located right in the neighbourhood so to be accessible by walking and to the street for those who are handicapped. People come with what perhaps seem to be trivial questions, but they are the kind of questions that when answered today do not develop into a big problem tomorrow. They may be with respect to consumer problems at first, then the next stage is debt, followed by a family breakdown which goes back to the original problem. The centres would give education and direction on a whole range of services. We share with you real concern that there be voluntary direction of the centres. We are very aware that if this is going to be effective there needs to be Government support. We do see this as an opportunity for volunteers in the community to give service.

The Chairman: Is the service in Britain supported by the Government?

Mrs. Jones: Not totally, but there are Government grants. Initially it was started by volunteers during World War II, and there are not 489 centres in various sized cities, but in the neighbourhoods in Britain. There are similar centres in the United States, but we see the pattern that has been developed in England as more suitable on which to model. We are also very aware of the fact that we need to adapt the English system because our needs are different. Each locality in the country would develop its own particular kind of centre.

The Chairman: Are the British centres under the auspices of an organization?

Mrs. Jones: No, it has its own organization on a national level. It is the National Citizens' Advisory Bureau and Council.

Senator Quarr: It is the WVS, the Women's Voluntary Service; they are still going strong.

Mrs. Jones: Yes, and they probably contribute volunteer service. One of the differences in adapting to Canada is really the need for a staff person at the centres to ensure continuity and consistency. This is the kind of response we have to make to the complex world we live in, not only in low income areas, but in all income areas.

Senator Fergusson: The reference in section 15 on page 9 in block letters to "the essential problem is lack of income," I presume, is the income of people and not that of your organization?

Mrs. Jones: In this instance we mean the people. However, it is also our essential problem.

Senator Fergusson: In the event this problem of lack of income of people were taken care of, then there probably would be no need for the work you do. Is that so?

Mrs. Jones: No, we do not agree. There is great need for the consumer to be alert, informed and represented. We do not believe that it will be the best of all possible worlds when we improve the income level of the disadvantaged.

Senator Fergusson: But you do believe it is a basic aspect.

Mrs. Jones: Yes, we feel that is the starting point, then we can become more effective.

Senator Fergusson: But we still need services for people such as your organization provides, other than giving them money.

Mrs. Jones: Yes. The basis is more money.

Senator Fergusson: In page 4 of the brief reference is made to door-to-door salesmen. There are many people who have to depend on that sort of salesman. Do you not feel that they do supply a certain service?

Mrs. Jones: They can if there are these protections, and if the salesmen are licensed and responsible.

Senator Fournier: What about Avon?

Mrs. Jones: No comment.

The Chairman: But today all door-to-door salesmen are licensed by either a provincial government or the municipality, so that is covered.

Senator Fournier: Has the CAC been able to obtain more stringent regulations to cover these salesmen?

Mrs. Jones: As the chairman has indicated, in most provinces there are. I do not know whether Mrs. Brechin wishes to refer to circumstances she has been noting, where there is any such unsatisfactory coverage.

The Chairman: Are any provinces not covered?

Mrs. Brechin: I believe they are all licensed. There is always the problem of the fly-by-night who comes in without a licence, or of the licensed salesman who fails to deliver. Eventually they are out of business, but they can involve many consumers before they are put out of business. On the same subject, I should like to make a comment on Senator Fournier's reference to protective legislation. I do not quarrel with the assertion that all legislation limits freedom of choice and the citizen's freedom of activity, but we feel that even the existing legislation could be improved, strengthened and made more useful to the consumer. For instance, if under the present legislation the Government could take class action on behalf of consumers, which would fulfill a great need—there are many laws that have never been tested and to which the consumer does not have access, because of lack of money, expertise or time—it would strengthen the Government's present functions. Consumer protective legislation on door-to-door sales could be strengthened enormously with a requirement that the right of rescission must appear either immediately above the space for signature or on the face of the contract, so that everyone signing a

contract would realize that he has this right. We sometimes do not go quite far enough.

The Chairman: Are you sure it does not appear on the contract in small letters, in Ontario?

Mrs. Brechin: No, it does not.

The Chairman: There is nothing to say that within a certain number of days the purchaser is allowed to do so-and-so?

Mrs. Jones: No, it is not required.

The Chairman: It is not required to be put on the agreement?

Senator Fergusson: Is it in any province?

Mrs. David Anderson, Publicity and Public Relations Chairman, Consumers' Association of Canada: It is in Manitoba.

The Chairman: It is required to appear in the contract in Manitoba?

Mrs. Anderson: Under new legislation.

Senator Fournier: If it is it must be in very fine print.

Mrs. Anderson: No, large print, sir. It is supposed to be there.

The Chairman: In Manitoba?

Mrs. Anderson: In Manitoba it is supposed to be in larger print that the print of the rest of the contract, on the face of the contract. It has just been introduced, as of March 7.

Senator Fergusson: Has it become law?

Mrs. Anderson: Yes, it was proclaimed as of March 7.

Senator McGrand: You have talked a lot about consumer education, and have done a lot of work on it, but how do you get this information into the homes of people. Through magazines, in information centres, and so on? You have a very effective competitor in TV advertising. A woman is in her home, sitting in front of the television hours and hours at a time, and sees advertisements in which actor demonstrators whip up excellent preparations in a jiffy. Who will get closest to her. There is your problem. In the work that you are carrying on, and will carry on, how would consumer education effectively reach the poor? By your volunteer groups? Or should the education be carried on by personnel of the Department of Welfare,

whose people have access to the homes, who go in, supervise and help? Which could do the better job?

Mrs. Jones: My first response would be that I think the welfare recipient who has the welfare visitor is in the minority of low income consumers. I have grave doubts whether that would be the effective person to do the educating.

Senator McGrand: Tell me why?

Mrs. Jones: I think there are too many different problems, too many other responsibilities and roles to be played out between these two people, that it is just an additional one. Also, the skills, or perhaps I should say qualifications, of the welfare visitor do not necessarily include skills in consumer affairs.

Senator McGrand: They are all attached to sociology. There are a large number of people on welfare who feel that the money they get comes to them as a right, and they do not want any supervision, whether it comes from one group or another. I wonder whether the poor we are talking about who are just getting by, by one means or another, do not have that same feeling, that they will spend their money as they please? How do you reach them?

Mrs. Jones: We want to reach them only to show them how to spend their money most effectively. We do not reach them to tell them how to spend it. We only reach them to tell them how the can get the maximum satisfaction and the most out of their dollar.

Senator McGrand: You do not tell them how to spend it, but you suggest how they should spend it. What is the difference between telling them and suggesting?

Mrs. Balls: We show them how it can be done. They do not have to do it. We just show them how it could be done if they wish to do it. I think this is the same at all income levels. I do not necessarily spend my money in the way I know it should be spent, but at least if I know how it should be spent I can compare things and say, "Granted that product is less expensive, I like to look of this one and that is the one I am going to get."

Senator McGrand: That is the same thing. The woman in the home looks at the TV.

The Chairman: Is it not a little more than that? Are you not trying to tell them that one product has values that another product does

not have? That is really what you are trying to get to them. You cannot teach these people who have been on welfare anything about shopping, and if you think you can, you are badly mistaken. They know more about it than any of you people around here do, because they have had to work on a low budget for a long time. But you can tell them about dietary values, health values and food values. Isn't that what you are doing or trying to do?

Mrs. Jones: We are in agreement.

The Chairman: You can take your choice of agreement or disagreement—that is up to you.

Mrs. Jones: We want the choice left up to the individual.

The Chairman: We are not suggesting you should force it on them.

Mrs. Brechin: It isn't a matter only of providing access to more information that they need and giving them motivation, but leaving the choice up to the individual.

Senator Fournier: Earlier we have been talking about credit cards. Do you think that credit cards have become a menace to the consumer?

Mrs. Brechin: That would have to be a personal opinion. I would think that the increase in the number of personal bankruptcies and the figures which are provided to us on the increasing load of consumer debts indicate that many more consumers are becoming overextended and that they are being used by credit rather than using credit wisely. Part of this may be a reflection of the inflationary tendencies of our times, but consumer credit and easy availability of consumer credit through credit cards is a relatively new thing in our society. Business has been using it for years and knows how to use it effectively, but consumers have not been trained in the use of it. Credit cards are offered holus-bolus to children just coming out of school, and as we have already noted, the schools give no training in consumer choice. Suddenly they have what appears to be inexhaustible credit on a card, or offered to them on TV by their friendly loan company, with no question of repayment appearing, and I think it is much easier now to become overextended because of the use of credit cards and the fact that they do not know how to use them wisely.

Senator Pearson: Would the fact of having a guaranteed annual income increase the spending in the credit area? If people knew they had a certain amount of money coming in all the time, would that increase their perspective? Would they try to get more and more and so result in going further into debt?

Mrs. Brechin: I cannot be sure of that, but I am sure of one thing, and that is that it will increase the necessity for education in the wise use of credit.

The Chairman: The experiment shows that they do not go further into debt, as you know already. I notice Mrs. Brechin was very cautious in answering that. But, the experiment in the United States indicated that these people who have these further moneys and credit do not go further into debt, but rather use their money wisely.

You said earlier, Mrs. Jones, that all these people need, and now we are speaking of the poor people, is an independent organization. Well, you are an independent organization. How are they benefiting from it? I agree with you that there are thousands of middle-class Canadians who are benefiting from it, but how are these poor people benefiting from your independent organization, the Consumers' Association of Canada?

Mrs. Jones: We think the protective legislation we have been involved in pressing for has assisted the low-income consumer as effectively or probably more effectively than it has assisted the middle-income consumer. We think that there has been some, maybe only a trickle down of consumer information and education that we keep pushing out to the absolute limit of our capacity. I don't think I can emphasize that enough. We know there is a very large job to do, and we are very much aware of how far we are from meeting the total task, but it is not for lack of effort, and I don't think it is from any underutilization of what resources we have. I think probably the television that we have been able to use has been one way of getting through. We have considerable confidence that the telephone service in the three cities I mentioned has been useful to the low-income consumer.

The Chairman: Please tell the committee about that telephone service.

Mrs. Jones: In Winnipeg, Vancouver and Montreal, volunteers operate a telephone information service where anyone who knows

the number can call in and get directions and suggestions about consumer problems. I stress that these telephones are manned by volunteers which means certain limitations on when the service is available. The follow up and assistance is being given by volunteers if there is a problem to be tracked down. Many times there is a referral to government services as part of the suggestion and a solution to the problem. But even this service is costly to operate. In addition, there is such use of the service, particularly in Montreal, from recent reports, that they are confronted with the problem of how to expand the service.

Senator Fergusson: How would one get to know the right number to call?

Mrs. Jones: It is in the telephone book, but there again that is one of the problems. You have to know that you should look under Consumers' Association.

Senator Quart: May I ask one question? Have you ever given any thought to evaluating in terms of dollars and cents the amounts spent by volunteers in money, time and energy. It would be very interesting sometime to let the public know, because I imagine it would be four or five times the amount of grant you receive from the government.

The Chairman: Just while we were discussing the question of Consumer protection, I sent out for the Act because I thought I remembered it fairly well, the Ontario Act does provide executory contracts—the cost of borrowing, size, type of colour of lettering used in the provisional contract.

Mrs. Brechin: But not on the face or immediately above the signature.

The Chairman: No, but in the contract as presented, it has to have that under the regulations.

Mrs. Brechin: But only in the fine print.

The Chairman: I didn't say anything about the fine print, but the point is that it is there somewhere.

Mrs. Brechin: I am sorry if I misled you. the point I was trying to make was that we would see if it was on the face of the contract or immediately above the position for the signature as being a distinct improvement, and this is something we have been trying to press with Ontario. I am sorry I must have misunderstood you.

The Chairman: The lady, Mrs. David Anderson, said that in Manioba they had it all in bold letters and that, of course, is desirable. In Ontario, I knew they had it there someplace. You are trying to bold up the letters in the contract.

Mrs. Brechin: We are trying to make it easier for the consumer, because we realize that many consumers do not read the contract.

The Chairman: They do not have to be poor people.

Mrs. Brechin: No.

The Chairman: I have to get back to where we started, and try to have you somehow leave with the committee the impression that the benefits go to your members no others. What I cannot quite conceive is, since there is a large group of people in this country who need the information that you have, why you have not approached either the Department of Consumer Affairs or the Department of National Health and Welfare for special projects to direct to those people who need that information.

Mrs. Jones: I would say we have tried to indicate that we consider the Government contribution to be the source of funds for this kind of effort, but we need a lot more. We know we can only do so much with the resources we have.

The Chairman: But when Mr. English was here the last time we were holding these kinds of hearings he said that they were not receiving enough money, and we agreed. But what I am getting at is that here is a special need that is hard to meet. It is to the benefit of the Government, who are spending these vast sums of money, that this should be done. You say they are not doing it, and you can do it better than they can. How is it you cannot sell them the deal?

Mrs. Jones: We really did not say that.

The Chairman: Well, if you cannot do it better than they can, they are doing it.

Mrs. Jones: We see a task for us in supplementing what we are doing, and we do suggest we need Government support for the neighbourhood information centres, which we see as one of the new and promising approaches to this problem.

The Chairman: Have you approached them on it?

Mrs. Jones: Not specifically to support a specific centre. We made information about the usefulness of neighbourhood information centres available to both the federal and provincial staffs almost two years ago.

Senator Pearson: Do you receive any benefits from the provincial governments?

Mrs. Jones: Some associations on the provincial level do, but only in some provinces.

The Chairman: But the information level is a new idea and you think it has great possibilities. It has proved to be of considerable benefit in Britain too, but it is not being done here. How is it you have not made forceful representations with respect to that particular aspects?

Mrs. Jones: In co-operation with other voluntary agencies we have made forceful representations, I know in Ontario, to the provincial government, and also to the federal Government in relation to the one city I know about, Hamilton, and this has not been just the Consumers' Association, but the Special Planning Council representing, of course, a number of voluntary organizations.

The Chairman: With no luck?

Mrs. Jones: No. There was an interesting statement by the Provincial Secretary in Ontario, but I do not know the significance of his announcement.

The Chairman: What was it?

Mrs. Jones: It was a general statement reported in the press that there was going to be government support of neighbourhood information centres, but it did refer to them as Government neighbourhood information centres, which would not be consistent with the plan we are suggesting. That is only a press report, and I have had no opportunity to follow it up.

The Chairman: In connection with the problems raised about the poor paying more for their needs, you said it was difficult to recognize the poor, that they were hidden. It was not difficult to recognize poor Indians.

Mrs. Jones: That is a very good point, is it not?

The Chairman: Is that the reason you were able to bring us some views on that?

Mrs. Jones: This is simply the statement of the observation from the individuals who did

the survey in those particular communities, but I think that our survey did go to people in the small cities and towns of Canada, and there is not the division in the residential areas between rich and poor that you get in the large cities.

The Chairman: Some of you have been associated with the Consumers' Association for some time. Do you remember the survey that was made by, I think, one of your vice-presidents in the Kitchener-Waterloo area on that particular aspect? When we were dealing with the price of food we had various studies made. I recall a survey made by a very clear woman who was one of our vice-presidents, who did it for us, and she came up with some startling answers. Do you remember?

Mrs. Jones: I am afraid I do not recall.

Senator McGrand: On the Indian question, you did not quite complete what I asked you. You said someone had made a survey of this situation.

Mrs. Jones: Yes.

Senator McGrand: Did they make any comments as to why this happened, did they merely report the fact, or was some investigation made as to why it happened?

Mrs. Jones: On the survey they simply reported the fact and referred to it being within walking distance of the Indian settlement.

Senator McGrand: I would think anybody making that survey would go a little deeper and ask a few questions as the cause of this.

Mrs. Jones: We have not been informed as to what follow-up the local association or individual doing it may have done, but as far as this study was concerned it stopped with the factual observation.

The Chairman: If there are no more questions, I say, on behalf of the committee, that your presentation here today is very significant to the study being made by the committee. The work you are carrying on is known to the committee, and we know it is important and appreciate that you are operating on a low budget and under difficult conditions, but that is the nature of the country today, and it will be for a while. On the other hand, I do think you ought to keep in mind the fact that you should be reaching out for those people who need your help very much. You

ought to be forcefully pursuing the Government for such things as information centres at all levels, and other matters of vital concern to the poor people.

On behalf of the committee I thank you very much for your presentation. I thank also

the other ladies who are present, and who have come from various parts of Canada, for their interest and concern.

Mrs. Jones: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

The committee adjourned.

APPENDIX "A"

Brief
to the
Special Senate Committee
on
Poverty

Consumers' Association of Canada
100 Gloucester Street,
Ottawa 4, Ontario
613-236-2383

April 28th, 1970

The Consumers' Association of Canada is the national voluntary organization that has been representing consumers' interests in Canada at the national, provincial and local levels for the past twenty-three years. Membership is open to any consumer for a nominal annual fee.¹

In preparing this submission, CAC has not presumed to define poverty in Canada in order to isolate the poor as a special group, but has attempted to clarify how the low income consumer fares, relative to the rest of society by focusing on the every-day particular problems the low income consumer encounters in the market place. Frequently, consumer education is proposed as the panacea to the consumers' problems in the market place (certainly it has already been proposed to your Committee). Although CAC gives highest priority to consumer education (particularly from kindergarten to Grade ten) as the basic weapon for consumer protection, we suggest that even with extensive consumer education the struggle in the market place will continue to be unequal, particularly for the low-income consumer, unless other essential protective measures are developed. We refer to the need for further consumer protection legislation, the need to grant additional authority to existing government agencies who have been given the responsibility to protect consumers, the need for more consistent and effective self-discipline of industry and business in accord with their professed ethics, and the need for a stronger organized

independent consumer voice speaking for consumers of all income levels.

In considering the statement "the poor pay more", CAC raised the question, "Do the poor *have* to pay more because of the conditions in the market place itself?" In order to answer the question, CAC proceeded to have the local CAC associations undertake a survey to compare prices on certain grocery items, clothing and furniture, in stores in selected high income and low income areas of their respective cities during one week in January, 1970. The first finding the survey revealed was that the poor in Canada are *hidden* indeed. In several towns and small cities, the survey could not be completed as there were no distinguishable high and low income areas. In most cities, only pockets of low income and high income residents could be distinguished and it was asserted that both income groups used the same stores and shopping centres. Although it was conceded that certain stores were in low income areas when low income residents predominated, only in the largest cities was there confidence in identifying certain stores as serving either predominantly low income or high income consumers. In view of the problem of making clear distinction in income levels between the clientele of different stores, the general finding that there was no identifiable pattern of differences in prices between the sample stores in the high and low income areas is not surprising. Generally, uniform prices on the same items were noted. Although there were occasional variations in prices of individual items from store to store, the price was sometimes higher in the low income area store but just as frequently the opposite was true. Certain exceptions merit attention. Although

¹ The annual membership fee of \$3.00 includes a subscription to the CANADIAN CONSUMER, published bi-monthly by the National Office and Provincial and local newsletters.

² Title of the well-known book, *The Poor Pay More*, David Caplovits. New York: The Free Press, 1963.

there was insistence that no distinction could be made between high income and low income shopping areas in either Yellowknife or Whitehorse, higher food prices were reported in the stores closest to the Indian settlements in both cities. A much more comprehensive and scientific study in the United States³ presented parallel findings of insignificant variation in food prices between high and low income areas.

Most of the proposals to help the low income consumer are limited to helping the individual cope more effectively with the existing market place. One finding in the CAC comparative pricing survey points up the potential of group action in affecting any consumer's purchasing power. Significant and consistent price variation on a majority of the items were reported in favour of co-operative stores as compared to supermarkets regardless of income area. The success of buying clubs for the poor has been demonstrated by Boston's Comarts⁴ (Consumer Markets) where the low income consumer derived such learning and shopping skills from participating in the co-operative enterprise that they could also cope more confidently and competently in the open market.

If low income buyers clubs (similar to the Winnipeg Buyers, Association for example) are to develop in other areas of Canada, initial help will be needed from other organizations. An alternative to developing exclusively low income buyers clubs or co-operatives might be to include low income consumers in co-operatives already organized. This alternative could avoid isolating the poor as a group in still another structure and provide the opportunity for the low income consumer to learn merchandising skills by working alongside other experienced co-op members. However, this suggestion does not mean that governments can evade their responsibilities in this area and assign these responsibilities totally to co-operatives.

The low income consumer may be exposed to the same prices, the same products as the high income consumer, but he is also exposed to the same blandishments to buy and to use

credit, and he enters the market place with severe restrictions on how he can purchase. With cash resources inadequate for even immediate necessities, he can not time his purchase like a thrifty consumer to take advantage of end-of-season clothing sales, or even special weekend buys. He can not buy in bulk—another recommended way of keeping regular basic costs down. He can not buy quality for durability and longterm savings, because he cannot afford the immediate larger cost. He cannot do effective comparison shopping, as his mobility is so reduced because of the additional transportation, and/or baby sitting costs that are involved. The ability of the poor to "shop around" is further reduced by their lack of ready cash, which may limit them to buying at stores which will supply credit. The cost of "going out shopping" also makes the poor particularly vulnerable to door-to-door salesmen. The low income consumer should be the primary group to benefit from stringent regulation of transactions with door-to-door salesmen, which CAC has long sought and endorsed, but they cannot benefit unless the provision of the cooling off legislation is known to them or unless they know how to utilize the protection. It is the low-income consumer who is most vulnerable to the consequence of disclaimer clauses in standard form contracts which take away the implied conditions of fitness provided by the Sale of Goods Act, as he does not have the resources for the replacement or the repairs for the faulty merchandise. Even when the guarantee would offer protection, his inability to discern his rights or his lack of mobility to make still another trip to the store to present his case can hinder or prevent his securing redress. The lack of adequate legislation to regulate acceleration and forfeiture clauses in sales contracts affects him most adversely. The low income consumer is rarely eligible for the standard credit arrangements with the department store, but has to buy his credit as high risk interest rates, and then faces increasing and overwhelming credit costs in continued debt consolidation arrangements.

The low income consumer has the least confidence, ability, or resources to seek civil redress for his grievances in the marketplace. Therefore, the Federal and Provincial Government agencies,⁵ established to protect con-

³ *Comparison of Prices Paid for Selected Foods in Chain Stores in High and Low Income Areas of Six Cities*. U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250, June 1968.

⁴ As reported by Milton J. Huber, "The Poor in the Market Place" *Power, Poverty and Urban Policy*, ed. W. Bloomberg, Jr. and H. J. Schmandt, Beverly Hills, Sage Publications 1968.

⁵ The U.S. Uniform Consumer Credit Code might be studied as a model in determining appropriate responsibilities and jurisdiction.

sumer interests, should have their powers reassessed to ensure they have adequate authority to act effectively on behalf of the low income consumer.

A factor in the market place that operates specifically against the interests of the low income consumer is the sales tax, particularly on staples and necessities. The outstanding example of such discriminatory and inadequate tax is the Federal Sales Tax on margarine. Since 1963, the Consumers' Association of Canada has made repeated requests to the Federal Government to remove this federal tax without success. Rigid size-based, rather than age-based Provincial tax on children's clothing also adds an undue burden to the low-income group. The consumer attempting to economize in this area, through sewing skills, pays the penalty of sales tax on yard goods, patterns and notions.

As noted earlier, CAC has always considered consumer education essential preparation for any consumer for competent performance in the contest in the marketplace. Obviously, consumer education is needed even more by the low income consumer whose additional handicaps in the marketplace have been outlined. Frequently he is excluded from even the most general resource for elementary consumer education—the family—since, in the many cases where poverty has become institutionalized, the poor cannot learn the market skills from their own families on how to cope adequately with meagre resources. Community institutions and organizations therefore, have a special responsibility for consumer education for the poor. In addition, migrants from rural communities and immigrants from countries with different levels of industrialization are faced with new and strange shopping problems with which they need help. It is vital to differentiate between ability to learn to be an adequate consumer and opportunity to learn in planning and developing consumer education for the low income consumer.⁶

⁶ Two statements in response to the CAC survey on comparative prices should be noted. Both originate from CAC (Winnipeg). "I have been impressed with the thrifty shopping habits of low income shoppers. They take advantage of the good buys, and indulge very little in ready mixes and such things. They buy cheaper cuts of meat and usually of commercial quality. I rarely have seen children and husbands doing the weekly shopping."

"The ladies (Indian and Métis groups in central Winnipeg) are very careful shoppers and know the right stores to go to for special items."

On the local level, CAC has devoted much of its energy and resources to consumer education—through public meetings, by providing speakers for community groups, through sponsorship of short courses on consumer issues, and by preparing educational displays. Although CAC-sponsored public meetings are usually without admission charge, or with only a nominal fee, and are largely attended by non-CAC members, there is question that many persons in the low income group have received consumer education through such a medium. It is questionable also that many low income people were reached through the Home and School meetings, church groups, service clubs, and Women's Institutes where CAC speakers were provided. CAC has more confidence that there has been significant contribution to consumer education for the poor through the participation of individual CAC members in different projects designed for specific low income groups in different cities across Canada. Individual CAC members (frequently professional home economists) have assisted in giving courses to welfare mothers, training in homemaking, leadership in setting up debt counselling services, in developing programmes for single parents and in assisting legal aid centres. In a number of cities CAC contributes to consumer education of an unidentified public by providing weekly radio or television programmes, and CAC leaders are invited by the media to comment briefly on specific issues of special concern to consumers.

The major effort of CAC to educate and inform its members is through its magazine, CANADIAN CONSUMER. Only a portion of the public libraries in Canada subscribe to CANADIAN CONSUMER and it is unlikely that low-income consumers make extensive reference to it even in the libraries where it is available. During the past three years, CAC has distributed more than one half million pieces of informative literature (buying guides, etc.) to non-members of the Association, but again, it is doubtful that low-income consumers have been widely represented amongst this group who have taken the initiative to write to the Association for some specific consumer information.

In each centre across Canada where they are organized, the local CAC association designates a Consumer Problems Chairman who deals with the complaints and problems of anyone who directs written and telephone inquiries to the Association. The majority of

the inquiries are from non-members, but there is no way of knowing the income level of the inquirer. This volunteer service is sought and utilized in spite of extremely limited publicity (because of CAC's budgetary restraints) by such a volume of consumers on such a range of problems that it confirms the need for more visible and accessible local outlets for consumer information for the less persistent and less resourceful consumer. Neighbourhood information centres, modelled on the Citizens Advice Bureaux which have operated in Great Britain since early in World War II, could be an effective base for providing appropriate consumer information and education to the low income consumer when he needs it and where he can use it. Certainly, the consumer information service offered as one of the wide range of services provided by the Citizens Advice Bureaux has been extensively utilized by British consumers. A report in 1968 indicated that the fastest growing category of inquiries handled by the C.A.B. has related to such consumer problems as instalment buying agreements, high pressure doorstep salesmen, guarantees, and the quality of goods.

The advantage of consumer education and information being related to larger information and education programmes, is spelled out in a report of 1965, from the President's Committee on Consumer Interest.⁷ This same report emphasizes that consumer education should be a component of a set of pro-

grammes designed to deal with or combat poverty. In view of the difficulty experienced in capturing and holding the interest and attention of the low income consumer through the traditional media or the class-room approach to education, the potential in providing specific information on the inquirer's individual and immediate problem on a face-to-face basis for effective learning should be explored.

If the individual attention and follow-up required for successful and satisfactory handling of inquiries were to be given, Neighbourhood Information Centres would have to depend heavily on volunteers to assist in their operations, and follow-up on consumer problems would be tasks that CAC volunteers could undertake with enthusiasm and capability.

The best shopping skills, the most exhaustive consumer education and sophistication and a fair, open and protected marketplace can only alleviate some of the discomforts of poverty. **THE ESSENTIAL PROBLEM IS LACK OF INCOME.** Consumer education courses before the drop-out leaves school are important. Adequate protective legislation, stringently enforced, is essential. Knowledge by the poor of such legislation is an urgent need. Problems encountered by the average consumer in a complex, devious marketplace are only frustrations or setbacks; in that same marketplace, the same problems are, to the low income consumer, disasters. Only an increased income will change those disasters to hardships and hardships to frustrations.

⁷ *The Most for Their Money.* A report of the panel on Consumer education for persons with limited incomes, June 1965, 0-775-172, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

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